GUIDE TO THE SP17 NAMBICUARA FILE

[This file contains eight sources and is concerned with the culture of the Nambicuara Indians of the Mato Grosso in Brazil. The basic source, translated from the French, is by the French ethnologist Lévi-Strauss. This work deals mainly with social organization, but also covers religion, kinship and subsistence activities. 4: Oberg, by an American social anthropologist, deals with the culture in general and includes kinship charts and anthropometric data on the northern Matto Grosso. 7: Roquette-Pinto (translated from the Portuguese) covers material culture, and includes some data on physical anthropology and linguistics. 3: Lévi-Strauss deals with Nambicuara chieftanship, while 6: Lévi-Strauss is concerned with kinship terms. 2: Lévi-Strauss is a summary article on Nambicuara ethnology, while 5: Roquette-Pinto deals with material culture. 8: Vellard, a translation from the French, deals with the preparation of curare poison. The file is relatively well-rounded in coverage of the various aspects of culture, despite a lack of depth in coverage of many specific features. The file was processed between 1958 and 1966.]

1:Levi-Strauss--1 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAMBIKWARA INDIANS

by

C. Lévi-Strauss

INTRODUCTION

● 101 The name of the Nambikwara appears in ethnological literature from the eighteenth century on; but it seems useless here for us to [114] compile references reduced to a more or less distorted citation of the tribal name and to the approximate indication of the territory occupied by the group. In fact, with the exception of the name, which seems to be a surname of Tupi (1) origin, the Nambikwara remained

1. Cf. below, page 129, footnote 1.

practically unknown until the time of their discovery in 1907, by General (then Colonel) Candidio Mariano da Silva Rondon. From this date on, we are directly or indirectly indebted to the Rondon Commission for all the information available concerning them.

000 It is known that in 1907 Colonel Rondon was given a commission by the Brazilian government to explore the territories which extend approximately 1, 500 kilometers from the village of Diamantino to the Madeira River. This was to precede the construction of a strategic telegraph line connecting the federal capital with the frontier outposts of the northwest. In the course of a first expedition begun in 1907, Rondon succeeded in reaching the Juruena, principal source of the Tapajoz, unknown up to that time. This discovery took place the twentieth of October. A second expedition, begun in 1908, permitted the opening of a land route toward the Madeira. This was the first objective of the mission entrusted to General Rondon which 177 was realized on December 25, 1909. It was during these two expeditions that contact was established for the first time with the Nambikwara.

The laying of the telegraph line continued through the Indian territories from 1909 to about 1915. During this period and since, there have been regular, although intermittent, relations between the Indians and the members of the telegraph commission--construction

137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls—for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
131 Nambikwara correspond—roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest—to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paressi and the Iranşe Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

a density of constant population for the whole territory, one might admit a total figure of 10,000 inhabitants at the time of discovery, corresponding to 2,000 or 3,000 today, and probably even less. Our itinerary had been drawn up with the main purpose of putting us in contact with the greatest possible number of Indians. After five months of traveling across their territory, we had only encountered 200; that was the actual mean of a single Nambikwara band twenty years ago. Today the nomad band consists of from 4 or 5 to 30 or 40 members. This demographic decrease is explained by the introduction of diseases of other races after the first penetration of the territory in 1907. The few numerical data which it was possible for us to collect will dispense with all commentary. Fifteen years ago, the known fraction of the Sabané group numbered more than 1,000 individuals; when the group visited the telegraph station of Campos Novos in 1928, there were counted 127 men plus women and children. In November of 1928 however, an epidemic of grippe broke out, when the group was camping at a place known to the telegraph employees by the name of Espirro. The illness rapidly evolved toward a form of pulmonary oedema, and 300 Indians died in 48 hours. The whole group disbanded, fleeing the malady and leaving behind the sick and dying. Of the 1,000 Sabané formerly known, only 19 men survived along with their wives and children. Besides the epidemic it should be added, to explain these astounding figures, that the Sabané were at war several years ago with certain eastern neighbors (group a2) (1).

1. See the classification of the Nambikwara group, below, p. 10 f.

But a large group of dialect b2, installed not far from Tres Buritis, was completely liquidated by the grippe in 1927 except six or seven persons of whom only (2) three were still living in 1938. The Tarundé

2. See below, p. 51.

group, [7] formerly one of the most important, still had 12 men (besides women and children) in 1926; of these 12 men, 4 only were living in 1939.

A southern group of dialect b1 (Kabişi) seems to have resisted better; undoubtedly because their contacts with the people of the Line are rare. From 1929 to 1934, no Kabişi had been seen along the telegraph line. The Indians perhaps circulated more to the south

101 where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned,
161 must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabişi. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and

[163] 1. See below, p. 52.

owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

* * *

114 All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of
101 the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast,
197 the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camararé Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunzé, who occupy the basin of the Doze de Otubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uaintaçu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Doze de Otubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Taruté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 20 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

101 Tamainde, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
114 comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
197 the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -ĵore, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiaté, and the name Tamainde was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b1) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

121 What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
[28] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

197 This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjutu, -kedutsu -kititu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Doze de Otubro River and the Camarare River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

197 sub-group b1 with the verbal suffix -dige or -dage, and a sub-group b2, in all points identical to the preceding except the verbal suffix of the form [10] -ʃore. The region of the dialect b1 extends from the right bank of the Guaporé in the south to the lower course of the Tenente Marques and Iké Rivers in the north, and from the basin of the Doze de Otubro River in the east, to a region terminating above the right bank of the Roosevelt River to the west. One hears dialect b2 from the upper basin and the middle basin of the Roosevelt River to the juncture of the Barão de Malgaço and Commemoração de Floriano Rivers.

In these semantic and morphological characters, dialect c departs clearly from the preceding. We have not progressed far enough in studying it linguistically to decide whether or not it is correct to include it in the Nambikwara family. It is spoken in a region situated to the north and northeast of the region of dialect a2.

We shall now attempt to establish a correlation between our classification and the previous outlines.

● 101
197

1. Group a.

Sub-group a1.

From the vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto at the end of Rondonia, and from geographic indications which he furnished, one can conclude that his Kokozu (which form his group in the southeast) certainly corresponds to our sub-group a 1. Nevertheless, we have not been able to find the term Kokozu (P. de Souza: Cocozu) again. The ending -u indicates dialect a 1; but the term koko belongs to the Paressi language and to the dialects of group c, with the same meaning "maternal uncle." It is completely unknown in the system of parentage of group a. According to our information, group a 1 would be called:

1. ualiʃere by group b 1;
2. ualiriri´te by group c;

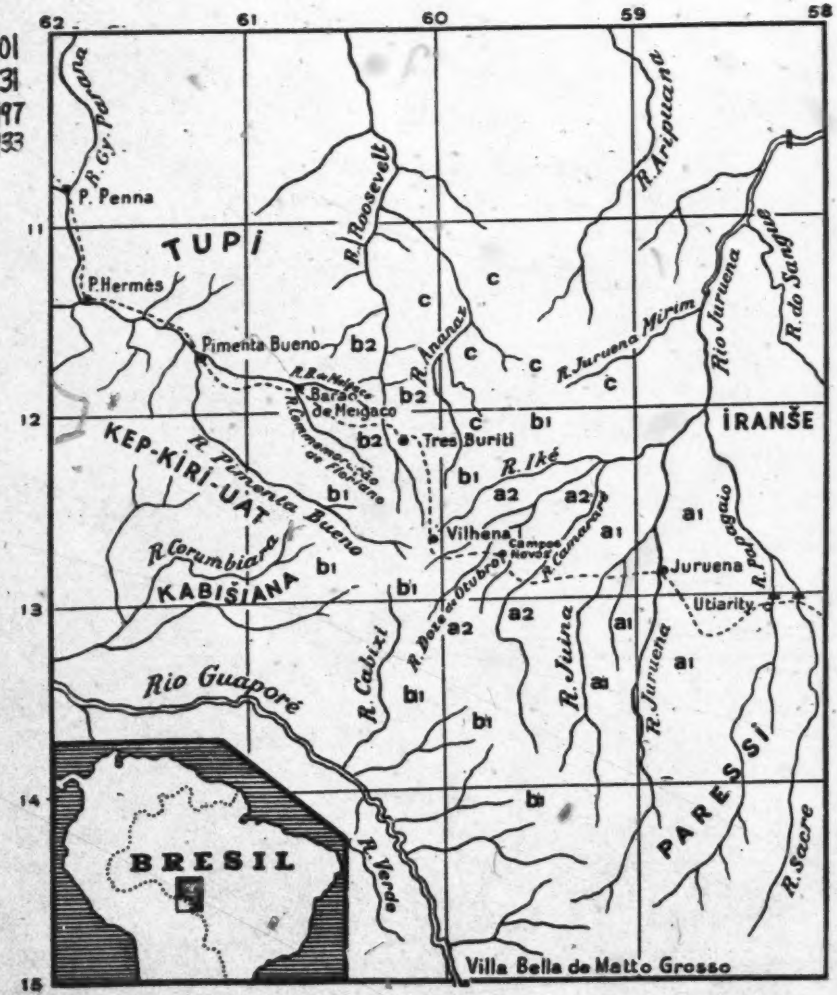
and it is divided into numerous bands who call themselves, or who give these names to one another:

3. oakletosu (right bank of the Juruena);
4. halotesu (left bank of the Juina);
5. kiaaru (surname: "the liars"; upper-Juruena);
6. kuri´tsu (left bank of the Juruena).

1/1 [Map No.1 follows here. - Analyst]

1:Lévi-Strauss 10(A) E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

101
131
197
133



Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

101 Group a 1 is in contact with the Iranşe Indians, whom they call:
197 7. iraˀsu (at the juncture of the Clavary and do Sangue Rivers).

[11] Sub-group a2.

These are the Anunzu, Anunzé, or the southeast group of Roquette Pinto (P. de Souza: Anonzé). The brief vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto following his own vocabularies also belongs to this group. We have never found the term Anunzé nor the other forms, but only the names,

8. soˀlesu (a 1/2);
9. kakaˀteli (b 1);
10. munuˀkoti (c).

II. Group b.

Sub-group b1.

Our sub-group b 1 includes the Uaintaçu, Uaindzé (Rondon: Uainedezi), Kabixi, Tagnani (Rondon: Tagnani), Tauité (Rondon: Tauité), Tarité, Taschuité (Rondon: Tachivuité) of Roquette Pinto, that is his two groups, southwest and northwest. We have never found the term Tagnani, nor, as a name of a band, the terms tauitte, tarute, tasuitte, which signify respectively, in the system of parentage of group b, "my child," "my brother-in-law," "my relative to the third degree." The Paressi apply the name Kabisi to group b. For the term Uaintaçu, we have found an equivalent:

11. oãindesu (a 1),

which designates group b. On the other hand, we have collected the following appellations:

12. nikedetosu (a 1; to the west of the Camararé River);
13. tarũnde (b 1; basin of the Doze de Otubro River);
14. maimãnde (b 1; --Kabisi [Paressi] Mama-Inde [Rondon]; sources of the Doze River and right bank of the Guaporé);(1)

1. It seems that the southern frontier of the maimande group is rather on the course of the tributaries of the right bank of the Guaporé River. The Guaporé strictly speaking is inhabited by river tribes, distinct from the Nambikwara in tongue and culture. But these tribes

101
197

know and fear the Indians called Kabişi, this as far away as the São Miguel River (Haseman, "Some notes on the Pawumwa Indians of South America," American Anthropologist, 1912, p. 333). To add to the obscurity which still covers the problem of the southern frontiers of the Nambikwara, the Paressi of the south, who live to the east of the sources of the Juruena, are also known by the name of Kabişi (Max Schmidt, "Reisen in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1912, Vol. 44, pp. 146-176). Today they have intermingled or disappeared.

[12] 15. mamaindeti (c; identical to the preceding, and, by extension, to the whole group b 1);
16. itamolo (c; toward the south).

Sub-group b 2.

This dialect had never been pointed out, except by the short vocabulary published by Max Schmidt and attributed to a Tamainde group. We have collected the following names:

17. toainde (b 1; left bank of the Barão de Malgaço River);
18. idiola (c; same region);
19. naselate (b 1; between the Tenente Margues and Roosevelt Rivers.
20. lakonde (b 1; right bank of the Roosevelt River);
21. sovainte (c; same region);
22. navaite (b2 [Rondon: Navaite]; Roosevelt River);
23. taiate (b2; Roosevelt River).

III. Group c.

This group seems not to have been studied. Only Rondon mentions, without geographic or dialectic information, a group Sabane and a group Taia. This last term belongs to the system of parentage of group c with the meaning "elder brother (or sister)"; we have never found it as a name of a band. On the other hand, group c calls itself by the name:

24. sabane (c),

and is called by other groups:

25. toantesu (a 1/2;
26. tamainde (b 1/2).

IV. Names of Other Nambikwara Groups.

101 For the terms Malutundu, Ualutnudu, Ua-lut-ndu (Roquette
197 Pinto), Malotundu (Rondon), we have an equivalent:

27. malõnde (b 1),

which, nevertheless, has been given to us with the general sense of "Indian" (maãlone, b 1 = "it is an Indian") as opposed to "Brazilian" (keiaõgere, b 1 = "the dressed").

We have not been able to collect any equivalent for the following terms cited [13] by Roquette Pinto and Rondon to designate Nambikwara groups: Taiopa (Roquette Pinto), Teiobé (Rondon), Tayopa (P. de Souza) (1), Xaodikokas (Roquette Pinto), Xaodes (Rondon), Xaodys (P. de Souza), Nêné (Rondon), Minis (Rondon), Payates (Relatorios de Commissão Rondon, passim). The authors mentioned do not furnish any precise information concerning the dialect and the geographic situation of these groups.

1. There is a term of parentage iõpa which belongs to dialect c with the sense of "brother-in-law," but the possessive t or ta comes from dialect b.

V. Names of Other Tribes

Roquette Pinto cites the term Saluma as belonging to his northwest group. We have documented it under the forms:

28. solõnde (b 1);

29. soloma (c);

to designate a northern tribe strange to the Nambikwara. As von den Steinen cites the name Suruma, given, he says, by the Paressi to the Munduruku, this interpretation seems more reasonable. Group c calls the Paressi,

30. iamaãte iñaraka (c)

and recognizes at least the existence of three other northern tribes,

31. ikatinaui (c);

32. kaŋali (c);

33. jerakolõnte (c).

Sub-group b 1 at times mentions a tribe living around the Barão de Malgaço River,

34. ikanõere (b 1).

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
181
291
301

2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
[513] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
● [101] Paressi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaikoakoré, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the grated pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

142 The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

* * * *

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another or attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarũnde, maimãde (b1); mamaindeti (c) oaindesu, nikwdetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
131] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

157
152

the Gé and the Botocudo in its material culture. (1) In other terms, it

●101

1. We do not mention the Botocudo by chance. The term "Nambikwara" seems to be a surname of Tupi origin, with the sense of "large ears" (Nhambikwara). However, the Indians who use this name do not use the "bodoque" or any other ornament bringing on the same malformation. Yet it is possible that the name was originally applied to a tribe—or group of tribes—different from that which finally inherited it. In 1931, the telegraph post of Parecis, located 80 kilometers from Diamantino, was attacked and destroyed by some unknown Indians, who descended from an unexplored region somewhere between the Ariños River and the do Sangre River. Since that time, they have repeated their sorties at irregular intervals, so that it was necessary to change the trail going to Utiarity (on the Papagaio River)about 80 kilometers to the south of the telegraph line. The fires of Indian camps were clearly visible at the time of our passage to Parecis, in January 1939. Thanks to two severed heads, brought back a number of years ago by some garimpeiros (searchers of diamonds) who had a bone to pick with these Indians, it is known that the latter wear in the lobe of the ear and in the lower lip some large disks of light wood which recall those of the Suia and Botocudo. For this reason then, they are now called, by the diamond seekers and the gatherers of rubber of the region, by the name of Beiços de Pau, "Mouths of wood." The story is surprising, for people up to then were convinced that the Paressi had remained the sole occupants of these territories, and they themselves seemed completely ignorant of the presence of these dangerous neighbors. We have not found in literature any reference to the "Beiços de Pau" since the beginning of the 18th century; but at that time there is precise testimony: "Further on there is another tribe called Mahibarez... their language differs only slightly (from that of the Paressi), and they have ears with very long pierced lobes which in some of them hang to the shoulder, these being neighbors of the Paressi... and moreover they carry some short swords made from very strong wood. This people lives toward the northern part"

(Antonio Pires de Campos, "Breve noticia, etc.," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 25, 1862, p. 445). Cf. also C. Lévi-Strauss, "The name of the Nambikuara," American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, 1945. 101

is the problem of a syncretistic culture which one finds so frequently in South American ethnology. 157 182

When taken from the geographical point of view, the statement of the problem is easily reconstituted. One may ask one how best to interpret the presence of a nucleus of low cultures placed symmetrically, as regards the tributaries of the right bank of the Amazon, to that which occupied, and still occupies, eastern Brazil. Under the two wings of the "T" which sketches the distribution of far more evolved cultures of the Amazon valley, and the Madeira, with the long vertical zone which extends from the Xingu to the Tocantins, the low level Gé to the east, and the Nambikwara to the west, produce an equilibrium, like isolated islands. In the case of the Nambikwara, a supplementary problem is raised, that of the duality of their culture and their type of life. The latter can be explained either by taking as a basis the most elementary form of adaptation, and by assuming the borrowing of agricultural life from groups of a more evolved culture, or by leaving the higher form as an impoverishment determined by cultural isolation, or by the [130] suppression in particularly inhospitable regions which would have imposed secondary forms of adaptation. However, it is only by an appeal to all the available sources of information which should include, besides sociological studies, the study of the language and the material culture, and by comparison with the groups living in the same geographic atmosphere, that an attempt to interpret these problems can reasonably be undertaken. 121

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 The *Nambicuara* (*Nambikuara, Mambyuara, Mahibarez*) have been identified only recently. *Nambicuara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupi* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiços de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondón discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambicuara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambicuara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

[648]

131 Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambicuara* (map 1, *No. 2;* map 2; map 4)[1] is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Guaporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

101 The first classification of the *Nambicuara* was made by Roquette-Pinto (1938, pp. 216–217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b), 197 using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is undivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kôkôzu, Cocozu*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anunze*) in the basins of the Camararé and Doze de Otubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

[1] [Not processed for the File. - Analyst]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Nambicuara (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*, *Tagnani*, *Tauitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma, Saruma,* or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuma.*

In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha.*

Nambicuara culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupi-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Oronoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

[101]
181
648 The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicura in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "crianca" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and
171 Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço
101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

101 are their enemies whom they call the Salundé or Salõosú, probably the Apiões whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[197] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into
131 an Eastern and a Western group. Both the
101 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elótasu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Suina River; the Waklítisu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwáisu now including the Hégndisu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindisu on the Kabishí River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Tãondisú and Suédndisu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Waklítisu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Waklítisu, Elótasu, and Kitánhlu the Iritoa; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwáisu and Hégndisu are called the Manduca by the local people, and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoa and Manduca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability
621 has arisen from the changes in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite
621 conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

648 Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

797 Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To 101 the east and south are the remnants of the 797 Paressí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paressí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

222 224 Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced 241 is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87(A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
N
BI

GEOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS

101
131

Most of the series measured in northern Mato Grosso are from tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin (maps 1, 3). These are the Anetí, Trumaí, Bacairí, Nahuqua, and Camayurá. Their present locations are indicated in map 2, (p. 5), and data on their earlier shiftings are given by Lévi-Strauss (1948, p. 322–323). As Oberg has said (p. 6), the fanlike network of rivers constituting the drainage basin of the Upper Xingú River affords no natural barriers and makes for easy intertribal communication by water. But the limits of the Upper Xingú Basin to the east, west, and south are marked by the sandstone plateaus of the Brazilian Shield. These barriers tend to isolate the Basin from the outside world, thus fostering its development as a riverine cultural unit (p. 7).

West of the Upper Xingú Basin, on the semiarid plateau, the Serra do Parecís, are the Paressí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara. In earlier times, most of these people were concentrated along the "galeria" forests bordering the headwaters of rivers originating on the plateau. The location of the Iranxe at white contact was immediately north of the Paressí. The Nambicuara were thinly scattered in the less habitable areas west of the Paressí. In contrast to the more populous Upper Xingú tribes, the Paressí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara are now remnant groups.

Across the semiarid plateau, or Planalto do Matogrossense, which forms the southern barrier

[p. 128 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
N
BI
101
131

MAP 2.—Schematic map of approximate tribal locations in relation to topography and drainage systems in northern Mato Grosso. Dotted lines indicate tribal boundaries at time of contact (after Steward and Metraux, 1948). Hachures indicate the general conformation of the Planalto do Matogrossense. Tribes: 1, Bororo; 1a, Umotina; 2, Nambicuara; 3, Iranxe; 4, Upper Xingú tribes; 5, Parecsi; 6, Bacairi; 7, Carajá; 8, Tapirapé; 9, Cayapó. Drainage systems (simplified): A, Upper Xingú; B, Upper Paraguay; C, Paratinga-Verde; D, Arinos-Papagaio; E, Guaporé; F, Gy-Paraná; G, Theodore Roosevelt; H, Araguaia.

[p. 129 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
N
BI
101
131

of the Upper Xingú Basin, lived the Bororo. With the Guató and others, the Bororo occupied the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay River. As a Bororo subtribe, the Umotina formerly lived between the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay and Sepotuba rivers (Lowie, 1946, p. 419). The São Lourenço group of Bororo, measured by Ehrenreich, inhabited the upper and middle reaches of the São Lourenço River.

To the east of the Upper Xingú Basin, along the Araguaia River, are the Carajá. They are included in this analysis less for their geographic position than for their metric similarity to the Umotina.

[p. 129 (B)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amuésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 124 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups: Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauitê]. Among the Uaintacu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians 302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A and B.

2 [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]
1 [Nambicuara sub-groups— Analyst]

Brazilian Indians are brachyskelic, and the Nambicuara constitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paressi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Gé group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paressi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Mambyuara, Mambryara, Membyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

7: Roquette-Pinto--17 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

● 101 The geographical range of the name "Nambicuara" is very significant; the term designates these Indians both in Mato Grosso and in Pará. This means that the inhabitants of the Serra do Norte are known by the same name to the north and to the south.

This might lead us to believe that the name is unusually distinctive. However, it is unknown to its bearers and altogether alien to the dialect of any of the groups. It is fitting nevertheless to retain it in order to avoid confusion.

131 The southern boundary of the Nambicuara region is the Papagaio
101 River.

In the north their territory apparently extends to the Gi-Paraná; in the east, to the Tapajoz; in the west, to the Guaporé.

The people who live near the banks of the Juruena and Juina, between the Papagaio and Camararé rivers, [216] and whom I shall name the "southeastern group," are called "Côcôzú" or "Côcôçú."

Those who live along the lower reaches of the Doze de Outubro River are called "Anunzê"; I shall refer to them as the "northeastern group." They probably extend as far as the confluence of the Arinos Juruena rivers, where a few members of the first group are also likely to be found.

[221] Those who live to the southwest of the wintering place [inverndad] at Campos Novos extend down to the Guaporé River; they are called "Uaintaçú" and constitute the "southwestern group."

The great "northwestern group" lives near the Madeira River, on the banks of tributaries of the Gi-Paraná. It seems to consist of various secondary groups related in ways which have not yet been clearly defined. The Indians I encountered at the wintering place of Três Buritis, at the Campos de Quatorze de Abril, at José Bonifacio and at Campos de Maria de Molina all belong to this division. Their principal group lives between the Doze de Outubro and Roosevelt (Rio da Dúvida) rivers.

Of the northern division I found only the Tagnani, Tawite, Saluma, Tarute and Tashwite [Taschuitê]; and I only succeeded in gathering data on the first two.

●101 The Anunze of Campos Novos speak of the "Tayopa" and "Shaodi-Koka" who have not yet been found; in the far north of the region, Rondon has recently discovered tribes such as the Kepikiriwat(1)

1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná and other tribes were described in Missão Rondon [The Rondon Mission] (Rio, 1916), and in the memoirs of Curt Nimuendajú published in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes. The Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 25 (1925) contain "Notas Antropometricas sobre os Indios Urupás [Anthropometric Notes on the Urupa Indians]" by Roquette-Pinto and A. Childe.

which belong to other groups.

The Tagnani and Tawite refer to an enemy tribe which they call "Malutundú," "Ualutdú" or "Ualút-ndú."

[Page of plates 216.]

[217] It is likely that the Indians on whom the Nambicuara [825] have bestowed this name, which means tatu galinha [a nine-banded armadillo, Dasypus tatusia novemcinctus] are the Mundurucu of the Upper Tapajoz.

It is worth noting that the Anunze called the Cocozu "Cocozê," while the latter call the former "Anunzú."

The Cocozu call the southwestern group "Uaintaçú," while the Anunze call them "Uaindzê."

These Uaintaçu or Uaindze are the same people known in the vicinity of Mato Grosso, on the Guaporé River, by the name of "Cabishi"—a term which in turn has been applied by the Paressi in a pejorative way to the Cozarini group of their own tribe.

The Paressi have also bestowed on the Nambicuara the name of "Uaikoákôrê" (Ground Brother) because they sleep directly on the ground.

[142] The Tapanyuna of old, located by the chroniclers on the Upper Tapajoz, must have been Nambicuara of the Cocozu group, who are indeed the darkest people in the whole Juruena Valley. They fit their Tupian appellation of "black men."

101 The position of all groups known to be scattered through the Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is recorded on the ethnographic map of the region which goes with these notes.[1]

[218] The exact meaning of the names cited above cannot yet be given with certainty. In the light of existing data, however, their study leads to the following conclusions which cannot be far from the truth.

Cocozu: "Uncles"; thus called by the others, perhaps, because they are the most primitive members of the whole tribe.

[578] Anunzu: This is clearly a corruption of the term anungzú or anungçú, which means "woman's milk"—a disparaging epithet like so many others found throughout the Americas; it may mean "infants" (unweaned babies).

Uaintaçu: Apparently a corruption of nuntaçú, which means "alligator" [Port. jacaré] in the language of the Juina Nambicuara. The Uaintaçu group would thus be none other than the old Jacare tribe mentioned in the first chapter of this work.

Tagnani: They are obviously the Tamarari of the old geographic maps; they should be equated with the Tamarare or Camarare, who gave the river its name and who are mentioned in several ancient documents.

Tawite: This word signifies "child" or "son" [offspring], a common appellation among other tribes as well.

In order to avoid future confusion, I propose to retain the name "Nambicuara" in conjunction with the specific name peculiar to each group.

361 The villages of the Serra do Norte Indians are usually built on the crest of small hills, far from the watercourses. Some are more than one kilometer distant from the nearest river or stream.

It may be assumed that the choice of such sites has a twofold aim: the Indians suffer less from mosquitoes and they dominate the surrounding territory, which is an advantage to people leading as they did up to now a life of constant warfare.

The village is built on a large plaza, fifty meters in diameter; once cleaned of bush, which is rooted up [219] by hand, the ground [535] is kept clear by the constant tread of feet. One night of dancing, with its endless beat along the same path, suffices to smooth out the village square.

1 [See map following foreign text, cat. 116 - Analyst]

512 animated only by the crackling of a log, the light step of a provider, the howls of the dogs or the cries of an infant.

104 LIST OF PHONOLOGICAL SYMBOLS (1)

1. Cf. below, p. 37, n. 1.

ə	mute e
ã	nasal a
ẽ	nasal e
õ	nasal o
i̯	asyllabic i
u̯	asyllabic u
š	palatal fricative unvoiced sibilant
ž	palatal fricative voiced sibilant
č	palatal affricate unvoiced sibilant
ɣ	voiced velar fricative
ʔ	weak glottal stop
h	strong glottal stop
ˈ	accented syllable

7: Roquette-Pinto--i E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

EDITOR'S NOTE

The spelling of Portuguese words and of those Indian terms which have become part of the Brazilian language has been changed in accordance with the 1943 orthography reform. All other aborignal terms have been left untouched, including the entire word lists, owing to uncertain phonetic rendition.

It may only be stated with a certain measure of certainty that (´) marks stress, (^) indicates closed vowel quality, and (ua) stands for English wa. For other cues, see author's notes on pp. (..48-49).

Tribal and geographical names have been rendered in the current U.S. manner.

7:Roquette-Pinto--63 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

105 To summarize our findings on the Nambicuara, we shall now list certain postulates documented in this book.

1. The Serra do Norte Indians were discovered by the Rondon Expeditions, at first in 1907 in the Juruena Valley and later in the whole mountain range.

Up to that time only hazy references to this group existed; the first date from 1718.

2. All the names given them by their neighbors and collected by travelers and frontiersmen are completely alien to the Nambicuara language. One group among them will probably be equated with the so-called Tapanyuna or Tapayuna, mentioned by some authors as if they were colonies of runaway African slaves. . . . .

3. All Serra do Norte Indians, with their axes of ill-polished stone and wooden knives, lived to this day in the midst of the stone age; they were unfamiliar with navigation, pottery making and hammocks, and slept directly on the ground.

The very crude pottery they use is looted or bartered from neighboring tribes. To this day, in spite of more than five years of contact, no one has seen them make pottery.

[313] 4. They had remained almost completely isolated; many of them had never seen white men or Negroes.

5. They live in isolated groups and speak dialects of the same language which are in process of differentiation. Those words pertaining to the principal parts of the human body, in accordance with observations made long ago among Indians in general, are least susceptible to morphological differentiation.

6. These groups are not all at the same stage of cultural development. Those who live in the Juruena Valley are the most backward: they are less sociable, more aggressive; they build rudimentary houses; they do not use the barbecue; they have no permanent chiefs. Those who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte have already attained a considerably higher stage of civilization which is revealed in their art and in their social customs.

7. As to linguistic affinities, the Serra do Norte Indians could be included most easily in the Ge-Botocudo group. The languages most similar to Nambicuara are those of the Suya (discovered on the Xingu in 1884 by the Karl von den Steinen expedition) and of the Caraja on the Araguaia River.

105 Kiriri is another language which bears some similarity to the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

8. In addition to linguistic affinities, the Serra do Norte Indians present certain ethnographic traits peculiar to the Ge-Botocudo tribes and rarely found among Indians of other groups: unfamiliarity with navigation and the hammock, absence of pottery, screens of leaves and branches, etc.

This being the case, the Serra do Norte Indians (Nambicuara) add a western link to the chain [314] of Ge peoples whose westernmost representatives had been until now the Suya.

9. The Nambicuara have been neighbors of the Paressi for centuries but have been influenced only slightly by that tribe. The two cultures kept evolving side by side, at different stages of development and with little interaction.

10. Agriculture arose early among the Serra do Norte Indians; this seems to have resulted from the demands of the geographical environment. It is almost certain, however, that the rise of this activity was conditioned by alien influences, not yet known, which provided the opportunity to acquire the necessary materials; for the species encountered among the Nambicuara are the same as those cultivated by other inhabitants of the region.

11. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, the Serra do Norte Indians are completely distinct from their neighbors. Those American Indians who come closest to them in terms of anatomical characteristics are the Nu-Arawakan.

12. The Serra do Norte Indians are affected by a special skin disease . . . which is unknown to their neighbors . . . [and] probably a variety of tinea imbricata.

[104 137] 13. Their main parasites are Siphonaptera (chigoe, (1) believed

1. Tunga penetrans.

to be of African origin but definitely a species of tropical America); and Hemiptera of the Pediculus humanus species, which are found among all the world's peoples. [Plates, p. 264.] [315] Perhaps this particular insect should be considered a variant on account of its size.

105 14. The Serra do Norte Indians seem to have reached the heart of South America in a very remote period.

15. Their featherwork is poor and barely beginning. Their music is well advanced. Their drawings (linear, poligonal, circular) are traced evenly; the only (stylized) living forms are of saurians and ophidians.

16. They seem to have preserved vivid memories of anthropophagy, if indeed they no longer practice it.

17. Their religion consists of a pantheistic fetishism among the more backward groups; the more advanced show signs of an incipient astrolatry.

18. Whatever the ethnographic position which later studies may assign to the Serra do Norte Indians, their discovery in that region, at that stage of culture, profoundly altered certain precepts of Brazilian anthropology.

19. If they are definitively included among the Ge, the theory of an eastern or coastal origin for this group will become practically untenable.

[316] 20. If they are placed among the Arawakan group, their discovery will acquire even greater significance: according to Von den Steinen's theory, the original habitat of a people is the area where its most backward representatives are to be found.

21. The Nu-Arawakan migration, in this case, would have occurred from south to north, contrary to the classical precepts of South American ethnology.

22. With their physical characteristics close to those of the Arawakan, their isolated language, and the ethnographic traits they share with the Ge, the Serra do Norte Indians prove an important "geo-anthropological" truth which had been implied since the exploration of the Xingu area.

It was on the great Brazilian plateau that the process of ethnic differentiation began in South America.

2: Steinen--662 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Nambiquara SP17
Apiaca SP2
Guarayu SF11
Brazilian Indians SL4

N /562 cont./

105 175 [131] [162] 23. Nambiquarás. 600 at the confluence of the Rio de Peixe and the Arinos. Hunting, fishing, fruits of the sierra, implements of wood and stone. Carry on habitual warfare with their neighbors, especially the Apiacás. Will have nothing to do with the Brazilians, attack canoes on their way to Pará, but are very much afraid of firearms and offer no open resistance.

A 105 175 [131] [162] 25. Tapanhunas. Of the same type as the preceding ones. About 800 at the confluence of the Tapajoz and the Arinos.

25. Apiacáz. Dwellers along the Juruena, also visit the shores of the Arinos. They have iron goods and carry on agriculture, hunting, fishing. In their feuds with the Nambiquarás and the Tapanhunas they remain more on the defensive, but have nevertheless not by any means given up their original anthropophagous customs. Assist travelers, sell farina from mandioca, roasted maize, carás, batatas, sweet mandioca (aypim), beans, watermelons, gourds, birds, and honey, as well as wide-meshed hammocks of cotton or tucum palm, feather ornaments.

BI. 105 175 26. Mequens. On the like-named tributary of the Guaporé between the Guaraios and Palmellas. They flee; gifts which were put in the forest were not accepted.

G 105 175 [131] 27. Guaraios. At a place called Pao Cerne, 50 leagues from Matto Grosso. Mandioca, beans, maize; hunting, fishing. Seek out travelers.

G [167] [61] [Report of 1850: Moved over from Pao Cerne in 1852 to the Aldea de Sta. Ignez somewhat below Matto Grosso. 31 tribes of 40 families = 1240, originating, it is assumed, from a settlement in the Bolivian province of "Mofos" (not "Moxos").]

BI. 105 175 131 28. Cautarios. On the like-named rivers between the Mamoré and Forte Principe. Fishing, hunting, wild fruits, mandioca. Harm us as much as they possibly can. They are robbers, traitors, and murderers.

29. Paceáz. On the Mamoré east of the Guaporé mouth up to the first cataract. Quite unknown.

30. Senabós. West of the Mamoré up to the first cataract. Unknown. At war with the Jacarés (31).

1: Lévi-Strauss, Claude. La Vie Familiale et Sociale des Indiens Nambikwara. [Family and Social Life of the Nambikwara Indians.] Paris: Société des Américanistes, 1948.

Pp. i, 131; 7 end plates, 19 text figures, including 1 map, tables (translation: i, 151; 7 end plates, 19 text figures, including 1 map, tables)

Yale: C71c 0845 [HRAF MS. pp. 1-200]

Translated from the French at the State University of Iowa by Eileen Sittler for the Human Relations Area Files.

[Except for a slighting of material culture, this is a well-rounded source on the culture of the Nambicuara (spelled Nambikwara by the author), concentrating on the spheres of interest noted in the title, but also containing much material on linguistics, group psychology, and inter-group relations. The culture and individual psychology of the Nambicuara are seen as dualistic in nature, reflecting the dualism of their mode of life, which is nomadic and scattered in the dry

1: Levi-Strauss, Claude.

season, and communal in the rainy season. The author sees relationships with the Andean and Sub-Andean cultures of the West and North, and also with the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast. This monograph was presented to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris as a complementary thesis, and was also published in the Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris, N.S., t. XXXVII, pp. 1-131, 1948. Bibliographical information is contained in footnotes to each page. At that time he was Maître de Conférences des Facultés at the University of Paris. --Analyst]

Field date: 1938-1939
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1958

2: Lévi-Strauss, Claude. The Nambicuara. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 143, Vol. 3, pp. 361-369. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948.

2 end plates

HRAF copy.

[Lévi-Strauss' article is a brief summary of Nambicuara culture, covering subsistence, social organization, material culture, religion, etc. For the bibliography, see Vol. 3 of the Handbook of South American Indians, since the material was not processed for the files. --Analyst]

Field date: 1938-1939
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1958

3: Lévi-Strauss, Claude. The Social and Psychological Aspect of Chieftainship in a Primitive Tribe: The Nambikuara of Northwestern Mato Grosso. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Series II, Vol. 7, pp. 16-32. New York, 1945.

Yale: A53n 558 II. 7-9

[This article, by a social anthropologist, deals with chieftainship among the Nambicuara. Discussed are the selection, prerogatives, and various duties of the chief, and the relationship which exists between him and the other members of the band. --Analyst]

Field date: 1938-1939
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1958

4: Oberg, Kalervo. Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 15. Washington, 1953.

Pp. viii, 144; preface, 10 plates.

Yale: C51 0700 15

[Only that portion of this publication dealing with the Nambicuara (from p. 82 to p. 144) was processed. The article covers the subsistence, material culture, religion and social structure of the people, as well as some material on the life cycle. Included also is a section on the Umotina (Bororo SP8), and kinship charts for a number of Northern Mato Grosso tribes. There is an appendix by Marshall T. Newman on the physical anthropology of the Northern Mato Grosso, for which see SL4 Brazilian Indians. --Analyst]

Field date: 1949 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: James Leary Processed in 1958

5: Roquette-Pinto, E. Os Indios Nhambiquara do Brasil-Central. (The Nambicuara Indians of Central Brazil). Proceedings of the XVIII Session of the International Congress of Americanists, Part I, pp. 382-387. London: 1913.

Yale: C2 054 18

[This short article has been left in the original Portuguese, since there is a one page English summary at the end. Translations have been added of the picture captions, and explanatory material for the page of vocabulary. The article is based on collections made by Rondon in 1909. In addition to a short cultural summary, descriptions are given of some Nambicuara tools, weapons, and musical instruments. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1958

6: Lévi-Strauss, Claude. The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians. American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 45, pp. 398-409. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1943.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II 45

[This is a comparative study of one aspect of kin term usage among the Nambicuara and the Tupi of the sixteenth century, devoted mainly to what Levi-Strauss terms the "compérage" - a special "brother-in-law" relationship between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie in order to insure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. He gives an instance where this relationship was brought into effect for uniting two distinct groups of the Nambicuara. He believes this institution once had a much wider distribution on the South American continent. At the time of publication, Lévi-Strauss was with the New School for Social Research in New York. --Analyst]

Field date: 1938-1939 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary Processed in 1958

7: Roquette-Pinto, E. Rondonia. Fourth edition. Brasiliana: ser. 5 of the Biblioteca Pedagogica Brasileira, Vol. 39. São Paula: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938.

Pp. 399; 67 photographs; 76 text figures; 4 maps; 8 tables; 10 pages musical notation; vocabularies; index. Section on parasitological and clinical affinities between the tokelau of Asia and Oceania and the chimbêrê of the indigenes of Matto-Grosso by Olympio da Fonseca Filho.

Yale: Brazil. Cwbr. c933b. v. 39. [HRAF MS. Pp. i-vii, 1-80]

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

Omitted from the files (not dealing with Nambicuara): pp. 1-4, 6-174, 191-210, 288-306, 317-321, 327-332, 335-347, and 354-399. Map facing page 18 reproduced for foreign text only.

[This source is concerned with the physical anthropology, pathology, ethnography and

7: Roquette-Pinto

linguistics of the peoples in the anthropogeographic region between the Juruena and Madeira rivers in western Brazil, cut by the "Rondon Road" and designated as "Rondonia" by the author. Only those pages relevant to the Nambicuara tribes have been processed. The author presents extensive anthropomentric notes, linguistic data collected by himself and other authors, and considerable data on the material culture of the Nambicuara, especially regarding houses and settlements, subsistence, clothing and ornament, and weapons. Occasional brief notes appear concerning the social organization, marriage and funeral practices, and religious customs. Notes on music and dance include descriptions of instruments and transcription of recordings of three pieces of music, one with words. The author's field data are supplemented greatly by a description and pictures of the ethnographic collection in the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, and by notes on the observations of several other authors. --Analyst]

Field date: no date (ca. 1912)
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1959

8: Vellard, Jéhan. Préparation du Curare par les Ñambikwara /The Preparation of Curare by the Nambicuara/. Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n.s., Vol. 31, pp. 211-221. Paris, 1939.

3 plates (III-V).

Yale: C51 +So13 II. 31-32. /HRAF MS. pp. 1-17a including plates/.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Priscilla Reynolds.

[This source presents an excellent summary of the methods and techniques of preparing curare poison by the Nambicuara Indians. The author notes that while the composition of the curare is the same for all the Nambicuara, the methods of preparation differ from one group to another, a fact which he illustrates with examples from the Çabanè and Rio Juruéna Nambicuara. In addition to the actual details of the preparation itself, the author discusses the reliability of earlier accounts made by travelers and physiologists regarding the properties of curare, the difficulty of obtaining samples for testing because of the rapid deterioration rate of curare, its use by neighboring tribes (primarily the Paressi), the utilization of curare by the Nambicuara, the physiological effects of the drug on the organism (some of the data of which were obtained from the author's own field experiments), and the division of curares into simple (as used by the Nambicuara) and composite forms.
The above data was gathered by the author during a field trip to the central plateau of the Mato Grosso.]

Field date: 1938
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Physician, Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

Vellard, J. Preparacão do Curare Pelos Ñambikwaras. Revista do Arquivo Municipal. Vol. 5. No. 59. pp. 1-16. São Paolo: Departamento de Cultura. Prefeitura do Municipio, 1939.

Yale: Brazil Cwbr ssa63 Sa63 5(59)

[This brief source, in Portuguese, describes the making of curare poison. It contains information on the preparation, use and properties of the poison, as well as some comparative data from the Paressi. Since this article is devoted to a single culture trait, which has been treated in other sources processed for this file, it has not been processed for the Nambicuara file. --Analyst]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

113 ALBISETTI, P. CESAR. *See* COLBACCHINI, P. ANTONIO.

BOYD, WILLIAM C.

1950. Blood groups of South American Indians. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 6, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 6, pp. 91–95.

CARVALHO, JOSE C. M., LIMA, PEDRO E. DE, and GALVÃO, EDUARDO.

1949. Observações zoológicas e antropológicas na região dos formadores do Xingú. Rio de Janeiro.

COLBACCHINI, P. ANTONIO, and ALBISETTI, P. CESAR.

1942. Os Boróros Orientais. São Paulo.

EHRENREICH, PAUL MAX ALEXANDER.

1897. Anthropologische studien über die urbewohner Brasiliens vornehmlich der staaten Matto Grosso, Goyas und Amazonas (Purus-gebiet). Braunschweig.

EICKSTEDT, EGON FREIHERR VON.

1934. Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit. Stuttgart.

GALVÃO, EDUARDO. *See* CARVALHO, JOSÉ C. M.

GOLDEN, G.

1930. Distribution of blood groups in South American Indians. Lancet, II, vol. 219, pp. 278–280. London.

IMBELLONI, JOSÉ.

1938. Tabla clasificatoria de los Indios regiones biológicas y grupos raciales humanos en América. Physis, vol. 12, No. 44, pp. 229–249.

1948. De la estatura humana, su revinidicación como elemento morfologico y clasificatorio. Runa, vol. 1, pp. 196–243.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE.

1948. The tribes of the upper Xingú River. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 3, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 3, pp. 321–348.

LIMA, PEDRO E. DE.

1950. Grupos sanguineos dos Índios do Xingu. Bol. do Museu Nac., n. s., Antropologia, No. 11, Dec. 20, ppl. 1–4. Rio de Janeiro.

See also Carvalho, José C. M.

LIPKIND, WILLIAM.

1948. The Carajá. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 3, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 3, pp. 179–192.

[p. 136 (8)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

●113

LOWIE, ROBERT H.

1946. The Bororo. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 1, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 1, pp. 419–434.

MÉTRAUX, ALFRED.

1948. The Paressí. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 3, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 3, pp. 349–360.

NEWMAN, MARSHALL T.

1951. The sequence of Indian physical types in South America. In Papers on the Physical Anthropology of the American Indian. New York.

PAULOTTI, OSVALDO L.

1948. Los Toba. Contribución a la somatología de los indígenas del Chaco. Runa, vol. 1, pp 9–96.

RANKE, KARL ERNST.

1910. Anthropologische beobachtungen aus Zentralbrasilien. Abhandl. K. Bayer. Akad. Wis. München, Kl. 2, vol. 24, Abt. 1, pp. 1–148.

ROQUETTE-PINTO, EDGAR.

1938. Rondonia. São Paulo. Ed. 4. Ed. 3, São Paulo, 1935.

SCHMIDT, MAX.

1942. Estudos de etnologia brasileira peripécias de uma viagem entre 1900 e 1901. Seus resultados etnológicos. Tr. direta do alemão de Catharina Baratz Cannabrava. São Paulo.

SILVA, E. M. DA.

1949. Blood groups of Indians, Whites and White-Indian mixtures in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil. Amer. Journ. Phys. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 575–585.

STEINEN, KARL VON DEN.

1894. Unter den naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Reiseschilderung und ergebnisse der zweiten Schingúexpedition. 1887–1888. Berlin.

1940. Entre os aborígenes do Brasil central. São Paulo.

1942. O Brasil Central; expedição em 1884 para a exploração do rio Xingú. Tradução de Catarina Baratz Cannabrava. São Paulo.

SULLIVAN, L. R.

1923. Essentials of anthropometry. New York.

[p. 136 (c)]

145 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their
145 digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[194] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the
[514] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred
164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar piorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots
[513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

164 These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[757] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet [278] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113]

1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

164 secretly mix the scales from their skin with the food and water of their
114 neighbors so that the disease may affect them too.

He adds that no hair grows on the white spots. The itching is always intensive.

In 1909, Koch-Grünberg wrote of the purupuru found in the valley of the Rio Negro. In accordance with the Indians' views he distinguished three varieties of the disease, white, black, and red, depending on the predominant coloring of the spots. Koch-Grünberg says that the black spots are hard and coarse, the white ones smooth and similar in aspect to burns.

However, Oswaldo Cruz (1) stated in 1913 that there is no

●[113]

1. Oswaldo Cruz, Relatorio sobre as condições medico-sanitarias do vale do Amazonas [Report on the Medical and Sanitary Conditions of the Amazon Valley], Ministry of Agriculture (Rio, 1913).

justification for this division into three varieties. He considers the white spots to constitute a more advanced stage of the disease and to result from the elimination of skin pigment by an infectious agent.

Oswaldo Cruz also noted scaling around the black spots.

[113] Already in 1886, Hirsch (2) had stated that purupuru could only

2. A. Hirsch, Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie [Handbook of Historical and Geographical Pathology] (1886).

be a dermatomycosis. The studies of Montoya y Flores (3) and

[113]

3. J. B. Montoya y Flores, "Recherches sur les Caratés de Colombie [Studies on the Carate of Colombia]" (Paris, 1893); Archives de Parasitologie, Vol. 2; "Notes sur les Caratés" [Notes on the Carate], Ann. de Derm. et de Syphil. (1897).

164 Thus the true likeness between the two diseases only appears clearly in the last stage, when the elongated papery scales cover the whole body.

On the other hand, the symptomatology of the Serra do Norte disease bears no similarity to that of the Araguaia River tokelau which was described in 1903 by Dr. C. Paes Leme (1) and which Fritz Krause

● [113]

1. C. Paes Leme, "Contribuição ao estudo do Tokelau [Contribution to the Study of Tokelau]," Doctoral Thesis (Rio, 1903).

failed to mention. The general symptoms reported [by Leme] are altogether lacking among the Serra do Norte Indians, whose ailment bears all the characteristics of a local disease.

For these reasons, I believe that báanêcêdútú is an exfoliating dermatomycosis, perhaps even a tinea akin to tokelau.

At that time it proved impossible to obtain materials for microscopic examinations. At present the situation is more favorable; the sick are becoming more trustful, and this makes it possible to carry out much more complex investigations.

I have examined [ornamental] bands and other objects which had long been in direct contact with the skin lesions. It is obvious that such observations are quite rudimentary, and I do not expect them to be successful. Should it prove possible to isolate a fungus from these objects, to cultivate it and innoculate it, I shall return to this interesting subject.

It is the task of specialists to complete and correct these notes, which merely attempt to record the clinical [190] aspects of a pathological manifestation found among some primitive Indians. Sooner or later, contaminated by alien infections which unfortunately they will be unable to avoid, they will exhibit similar disturbances in a different form, modified by the benefits and evils of civilization. (1)

113

1. See Olympio da Fonseca Filho, "Afinidades parasitologicas e clinicas

● 113

entre o tokelau da Asia e da Oceania e o chimberê dos indigenas de Mato-Grosso [Parasitological and Clinical Affinities between the Tokelau of Asia and Oceania and the Chimberê of Mato Grosso Aborigines]," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 6 (1930) No. 2.

[Pp. 191 through 210 omitted because they do not pertain to the Nambicuara.]

144 142 [211] If we compare the Serra do Norte Indians with other Brazilian aboriginal types, the following similarities and differences become apparent and worthy of note:

Skin: Their skin coloring places them alongside the Bororo and Caraja. (1) The southern group comprises the darkest Indians in Brazil.

[113]

1. The following data from Paul Ehrenreich's Estudos antropologicos sobre os Primitivos Habitantes do Brasil [Anthropological Studies on the Primitive Inhabitants of Brazil] (1897) were cited earlier by the author: "The skin color of the Paressi and Bororo is considerably darker and even more reddish [than that of other groups cited], being comparable to the tone of terra cotta (Broca Scale 30, 32, 44). The Caraja are the darkest on the exposed areas of the body." (Ed.)

141 144 Hair: The average index found in cross-section was about 59, very close to that of the Semang (Negritoes) of the Malayan Peninsula. Very intense pigmentation, thick medulla; circular section. [Fig. 15]

Stature: Twenty-five percent [of the Serra do Norte Indians] are less than 1.60 meters in height, 56 percent from 1.60 to 1.65 meters, and 19 percent from 1.65 to 1.70.

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [296] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

● [113]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

752 They spread saliva on bâanêcedûtû sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing kiss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikriceknerá--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

[532] [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

● 113

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

7:Roquette-Pinto--42 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

● 113

Brasil [Materials for the Study of Brazilian Indian Psychology]," Arquivos Brasileiros de Psiquiatria, Neurologia e Medicina Legal (Rio de Janeiro, 1917).

237 301 Featherwork is scarce and in fact insignificant. One of the illustrations in this book [p. (60B)] shows an interesting feather diadem patterned after an object of similar type but of admirable craftsmanship which the Indians purloined from their neighbors to the west and which is also to be found in the [National] Museum. (2) [Fig. 42]

2. Semicircular straw head ornaments are to be found mainly in the state of Amazonas as well as among the Huari of the Guaporé River, who resemble the Nambicuara in their primitive axes, their circular houses, etc. (Cf. Nordenskjöld, "The Ethnography of South America Seen from Mojos in Bolivia." [Engl.]).

The use of cotton has given an extraordinary boost to the development of featherwork among the Tupian Indians, as I demonstrated with the gorgeous ornaments made by the Urubu Indians (Gurupi River). The Nambicuara are familiar with cotton, but have not even developed featherwork based on plaiting or netting; this seems to attest to a tradition poor in such textile techniques. The Guayaki, who are Tupian Indians of rudimentary culture, according to Vellard, have neither featherwork nor agriculture. (R. L.)

535 We were able to observe two types of dances: a war dance which we recorded in a film shown at the National Library [of Rio de Janeiro] on March 15, 1913, and in which Indians of the Cocozu,

194 The consonants are b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z; h is always strongly aspirated, like German ch.

F, j, v, and x are lacking.

The following consonant clusters are characteristic: an, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kt, nt, nz, tz, td, nç, tç, tzũ, gç, gd, ndz, nk.

193 Those words designating parts of the human body have the same root in all Nambicuara dialects, slightly modified in one case or another: uá or toá.

[263]

	Cocozu	Tagnani	Tawite	Anunze
Arm	Oá-nukicú	Uá-nokrí	Toá-rabatndê	Uá-nukizê
Mouth	Toá-iuçú	Uá-iurí	Tá-iuirí	Uá-iuarê
Tongue	Toáio-herú	Uái-hêndê	Táiu-hendú	Uáile-herú

Here the particle toa (uá, oá) has the same possessive value as the nu particle of Arawakan languages; it is found only in words pertaining to parts of the human body. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "The Indians of Serra do Norte," [Engl.] Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1917).

[Fig. 50]

Nearly all Cocozu words end in zu or çu, used interchangeably. Anunze words often end in zê. But this last sound, to be pronounced properly, must be approximated to gê. (2) In the Tawite dialect and

2. This may be a linguistic trait of Ge parentage. (H. A. T.)

/are common.

in the several Tagnani dialects, endings in di, tê, rê, and ri (soft r)

197 193 One particle found rather frequently in these dialects deserves special mention, owing to its importance for the [264] evaluation of

194
197 These traits alone would be sufficient to set the Nambicuara language apart from the Nu-Arawakan dialects.

But beyond this, it is easy to verify the dissimilarity between the lexicons [of these two groups]. Compare the Paressi vocabulary, an excellent representative of the Nu-Arawakan family, with the word lists of the Serra do Norte Indians. They are completely different.

We would search in vain through South America for a language possessing any deep affinities with the Nambicuara dialects.

[Fig. 52]

It is true, however, that the language of the Xingu River Suya bears a certain resemblance to the dialects of the Serra do Norte. The possessive particle woa of the Suya, which is clearly found among the Nambicuara in the form of either ua or toa, constitutes the best argument in favor of this relationship.

In view of this characteristic, therefore--and it is a significant one for it has served as a basis for the modern classification of our tribes--[266] wherever the Suya are placed the Nambicuara should also be included. (1)

● [113]

1. In "Beitrage zur Ethnographie des Araguaya-Xingú Gebietes [Contribution to the Ethnography of the Araguaia-Xingo District]," Proceedings of the XXI International Congress of Americanists (Göteborg, 1924), Fritz Krause confirmed this linguistic affinity and attempted to make it even closer by citing additional words akin not only to Caraja but also to Ge dialects.

As to cultural aspects, it becomes obvious, especially in view of Nordenskjöld's comparative ethnographic studies, that the Nambicuara as well as the Caraja have been influenced by sub-Andean cultures.

The Caraja show signs of being partially subjected to this influence at the time when

/211/

114
278 Numerous travelers and physiologists have concerned themselves with curare without succeeding in exactly determining its nature and its method of preparation. For some curare is purely vegetable; for others it appears to be composed largely of animal materials. Without analyzing here all the literature on this subject, it will be enough to recall that most former authors and travelers of the past century name diverse species of Strychnos as the principal base of curare; many other plants belonging to various families have also been mentioned as possibly entering in this poison. The partisans of an animal or mixed origin for curare, practically all travelers, assert that the venoms of snakes, batrachians, and arachnids, and fish and insect extracts, etc... play an essential role in its preparation. Despite numerous opinions to the contrary the presence at least of certain venoms in some curares (1) is indisputable.

[113]

1. Vellard and Assis, "Études immunologiques sur le curare /Immunological Studies on Curare/," Annales de l'Institut Pasteur. Paris, LII, 102, 1934.

Often these controversies on the composition of curare have lost sight of one essential fact. Curare is not a set substance and does not correspond to one single formula. There is not one but a number of curares, more or less complex, peculiar to each region, each tribe, and in many cases to each preparer.

Besides it is the general but false practice to call every paralyzing arrow poison of South America curare. The application of this term should be limited, in accordance with its classical physiological definition, to any poison suppressing the passage of excitations of the nerve to the muscle while preserving direct excitability of the muscle and that of the motor nerve.

1:Levi-Strauss--1 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAMBIKWARA INDIANS

by

C. Lévi-Strauss

INTRODUCTION

101 The name of the Nambikwara appears in ethnological literature from the eighteenth century on; but it seems useless here for us to [114] compile references reduced to a more or less distorted citation of the tribal name and to the approximate indication of the territory occupied by the group. In fact, with the exception of the name, which seems to be a surname of Tupi (1) origin, the Nambikwara remained

1. Cf. below, page 129, footnote 1.

practically unknown until the time of their discovery in 1907, by General (then Colonel) Candidio Mariano da Silva Rondon. From this date on, we are directly or indirectly indebted to the Rondon Commission for all the information available concerning them.

000 It is known that in 1907 Colonel Rondon was given a commission by the Brazilian government to explore the territories which extend approximately 1, 500 kilometers from the village of Diamantino to the Madeira River. This was to precede the construction of a strategic telegraph line connecting the federal capital with the frontier outposts of the northwest. In the course of a first expedition begun in 1907, Rondon succeeded in reaching the Juruena, principal source of the Tapajoz, unknown up to that time. This discovery took place the twentieth of October. A second expedition, begun in 1908, permitted the opening of a land route toward the Madeira. This was the first objective of the mission entrusted to General Rondon which 177 was realized on December 25, 1909. It was during these two expeditions that contact was established for the first time with the Nambikwara.

The laying of the telegraph line continued through the Indian territories from 1909 to about 1915. During this period and since, there have been regular, although intermittent, relations between the Indians and the members of the telegraph commission—construction

177 officers, soldiers /2/ and workmen. These contacts have continued since the completion of the work. They are always intermittent and are made especially by the stations whose service is assured by the Paressi Indians educated in care of the Commission.

● 114 Leaving aside several books and articles of anecdotal character written by certain collaborators of General Rondon, we are limited to the following works as the only sources of information concerning the Nambikwara Indians. First, the Rapport ethnologique, by General Rondon himself, and printed in Rio de Janeiro as one of the numerous official publications of the Commission under No. 2, 1911. Next must be cited the lectures of the same author which followed the Roosevelt-Rondon expedition to the Rio da Duvida (Portuguese edition: Missão Rondon, Rio de Janeiro, 1916; English edition: Lectures delivered by General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, etc., Commissão Rondon, Publication No. 43). Recourse should also be made to an article by a young officer of the staff of General Rondon, Antonio Pyreneus de Souza ("Notas sobre os costumes dos Indios Nambikwaras," Revista do Museu Paulista, Vol. 12, 1920) and to the information scattered in the diverse reports of the Commission, published during and after the exploratory work, of which the most useful is doubtless that of Carnier (Rapport géologique et ethnologique, No. 23, Annexé 5). Some information will be found in the book of Theodore Roosevelt (Through the Brazilian Wilderness, Works, Vol. 6) and a short vocabulary in Max Schmidt ("Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungsreise in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 40, 1929).

In 1912, the Director of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, Dr. Edgar Roquette Pinto, was authorized to join the Rondon Commission in the field to receive, examine, and report to the Museum the ethnographic collections made since the beginning of the work. This trip must have given Dr. Roquette Pinto the occasion to write and publish several articles and a book. Certainly the most important of the former is his communication to the International Congress of Americanists held in London in 1912 (Os Indios Nambikwara do Brasil Central); then, his communication to the Pan-American Congress at Washington (1917) under the title, Os Indios da Serra do Norte. The book, Rondonia (last edition: Cia Editora Nacional, Sao-Paulo, 1935) is almost entirely dedicated to the Nambikwara and represents our best source of information.

114 However, all the works mentioned in the preceding paragraphs contain various linguistic data—generally limited to mediocre vocabularies—and a description of material culture, carefully undertaken in Rondonia. Nowhere do they treat of family life and social organization. Under these circumstances it may be surprising that the Nambikwara seem to have been completely forgotten after the publication of the work of Roquette Pinto. It was natural that our own expedition, begun exactly
121 26 years and two months after /3/ the beginning of Roquette Pinto's trip, should be dedicated to filling in—even partially—the gaps of preceding research. We have sought more extensive and precise linguistic information; paid more attention to the "dynamic" aspect of the material culture, considering less the finished products than the processes of their fabrication; and above all, we have dedicated ourselves mainly to the study of family and social organization, the description of which is the object of the present work.

114 It is superfluous to stress that an exhaustive study of the life and society of the Nambikwara will not be found here. We were only able to share the life of the Indians during the nomadic period, and that alone would be enough to limit the extent of our research. A trip undertaken during the sedentary period would no doubt furnish some important information, and would permit correcting the general perspective. We hope to be able to undertake this some day. As Roquette Pinto wrote at the beginning of Rondonia: "Lentas hão de ser sempre as construcções cientificas en tal terreno". ["Scientific building in such country must always be slow."] (1) His book, however, must always

1. Prefacio da Segunda Edição, p. 13.

be merited with having called attention to one of the most interesting cultures of indigenous Brazil and having been the first to produce a lively and charming picture of it.

131 The territory occupied by the Nambikwara Indians extends from the
133 Papagaio River in the east to a zone in the northwest ending approximately at the junction of the Commemoração de Floriano and Barão de Melgaço Rivers, both branches of the Machado River or Gi-Parana. This point marks, at the same time, the end of the plateau which occupies nearly the entire central and western parts of the state of Mato Grosso. The southern boundary is placed at the middle course of the Guaporé River, and, farther to the west, it follows the entire course of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The location of the northern

101 where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned,
161 must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabişi. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and

[163]

1. See below, p. 52.

owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

* * *

114 All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of
101 the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast,
197 the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camararé Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunzé, who occupy the basin of the Doze de Otubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uaintaçu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Doze de Otubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Tarute, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 20 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

1. loc. cit.

101 Tamainde, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
114 comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
197 the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -tore, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiaté, and the name Tamainde was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b1) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

121 What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
[28] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

197 This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjutu, -kedutsu -kititu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Doze de Outubro River and the Camararé River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system. This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

171
601

two types of solidarity, the one, mechanical and expressed by the term brother, and the other, organic, expressed by the term brother-in-law. We have alluded to this above, p. 71.

114
601

One might object that the old authors might have interpreted doubtful observations in the light of European facts. As we shall propose [84] the name of compérage to designate an institution which we believe to be authentically Indian, it will be useful to stop for a moment at this aspect of the problem.

Without doubt the facts analyzed above, and the European institution of compérage [compatemity]offer striking analogies. At the beginning, the godfather and the godmother were connected with one another, and both of them to the parents of the child, by the mystic bonds of sponsorship. But the relationship soon became secularized in all the small rural communities, or, more exactly, everywhere where the family grouping takes precedence over the extended social group. The relationship is then employed to establish an artificial kinship line, or even, as happens among the Nambikwara to translate in kinship terms a simple phenomenon of spatial contiguity. (1) The strangers, the newcomers, are adopted

1. This derivation is well brought to light by etymology: in English, god-sib becomes gossip.

thanks to the reciprocal usage of the appellations of godfather and godmother which they receive from—and return to—their contemporaries. On the other hand, the stranger usually assimilates himself by taking a wife in his new community, and the terms godfather and brother-in-law become synonyms so rapidly that the men allied by marriage only call one another by the first. In the villages of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the godfather or "compadre" is an actual or potential brother-in-law. That in certain regions of Central or South America the analogy between the Indian and European institutions has aided the first to establish and modernize itself is not doubtful. Thus, in Mexico, the primitive institution of the moste, that is, obligation, for the heads of families to exchange presents periodically now functions in the framework of the relations of "compadres," the Spanish term offering a convenient translation of the ancient Otomi. (2)

2. Jacques Soustelle, La famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique central, Paris, Institut D'Ethnologie, 1937.

114 But the formal analogy of the two institutions should not disguise
601 their truly opposite characters. In the Latin-Mediterranean society
the bond, formerly mystic and now social, of compérage, can be
[171] transformed by marriage into an actual kinship line. Among the
ancient Tupi, and among the Nambikwara, it is, on the contrary,
the concrete kinship which furnished its model to a type of bond
utilized to establish wider relationships.

That having been posed, there are two reasons why our authors could not have elaborated a pseudo-Indian institution after a European model. In the first place, men as familiar with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Lery, could not have likened a relationship whose first consequence, and the probable object, was to permit new types of marriage, to the relationship between godfather, godmother and relatives who observed very severe enforcement [85] of the prohibitions of marriage, especially since the thirteenth century. At the time when they were writing, the question had actuality, since it was set down in the program of the Council of Trent, where the ancient rules had to be a little softened. But we have a more decisive argument. From the arrival of the first missionaries, the two institutions, European and Indian, must have evolved side by side, especially among the baptized Indians. But neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted Christian sponsorship in terms of Indian compaternity. On the contrary, and more logically since the newly introduced institution carried restrictions regarding marriage, they treated it as a modality of the relationship of paternity. They likened the godfather to a classificatory father: "Thus, they (the children who come to receive baptism) regarded their godfathers as their real fathers and called them Cherou, meaning "my father," the French called them Cheaire, which means "my son," and the little girls Cheagire, "my daughter"... (1)

1. Yves d'Evreux, l. c., II, 1, p. 234.

607 We believe we have assembled enough information concerning the fundamental character of the relationship between brothers-in-law in the South American society so that the nucleus of an original institution of compaternity can be seen in it which appears still living among the Nambikwara. The documents here presented suggest (2)

2. An English version of these observations has been published under the title: "The social use of kinship

621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the Eastern Nambicuara are as follows: Waklítisu, 18; Kitánhlu, 45, Elótasu, 17; Chiwáisu, 50. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half [164] as many exist today. It must be remembered that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

● 114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires do Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hisipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Noticia published in 1746, he mentions the Caviro Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres de Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1800 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixí, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26–51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Paressí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically competent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, 648 small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tolosa on the upper Cravarí River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyreneus de Sousa between Campos Novos and

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

In 1949, Kaoro Onaga, under the supervision of Dr. Oberg, measured 22 Umotina (14 males, 8 females), 13 Eastern Nambicuara (7 males, 6 females) of the Waklîtisu band, and 5 Iranxe males. The Umotina were measured at Barra dos Bugres, the Nambicuara and Iranxe at Utiarity. Small as these series are, they represent relatively large samples of the groups from which they are drawn. The total Umotina population is about 65, with 34 adults (see p. 106); the Waklîtisu band numbers only 18, and the Eastern Nambicuara together total only about 130 (see p. 86). No figures on the Iranxe are available but they are definitely a remnant group.

The drastic reduction of even the most secluded aboriginal populations in Brazil enhances the value of physical studies already made on them. The present contribution to the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso may be added to the earlier studies by Ehrenreich (1897), Ranke (1910), and Roquette-Pinto (1935). In addition, the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro has unpublished physical data on some of the Upper Xingú tribes, particularly the Camayurá. Vellard (see Imbelloni, 1948, p. 237, ftn.) has unpublished information on three Nambicuara bands. Willems (personal communication) is in the possession of measurements on 40 male Tápirapé. A careful analysis of all these studies should go far in rounding out the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso. In the meantime, I have endeavored to fit the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe series into the existing knowledge of the area.

[p. 128 (B)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Rozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amúésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units.

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires.

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men.

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast.

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter.

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two:

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

114 171 In questions of relationship they never use the word *ete* (true) since they call their father's brothers "father," their brothers' sons "son," and their father's brothers' sons "brother"; when they wish to designate their actual father or son, they say *xeruba xemonhangara* "my father who engendered me," or, for a son, *xeraira xeremimonhanga* "my son whom I engendered." I never heard an Indian call his wife *xeremireco ete*, but simply *xeremireco* or *xeracig* "mother of my children," and I never heard a woman refer to her husband as *xemenete* "real husband," but simply *xemena* or *xemembira ruba* "father of my children." They use these terms indifferently for their husband or lover. If the husband calls one of his wives *xeremireco ete*, he means the most esteemed or best loved wife and she is often the last one he took.[2]

This text also shows that the Tupi encountered a difficulty in their kinship system, namely, how to distinguish the classificatory parents or children from the consanguineous ones. This stresses the structural similarity between their kinship system and that of the Nambikuara, since the latter met with the same problem. Apparently the Tupi, like the Nambikuara, felt no need for special terms, but when it was necessary, made comments based on physiological considerations. When the Nambikuara are asked to point out the real status 851 of their consanguineous children, they add to the name for "son" or "daugh- 842 ter" another word, the meaning of which is "child" or "little one." The physiological implication of this new term is perfectly clear, since is is ordinarily used to designate newly born animals, while the former terms are applied only to relationships within the human family. Complementary indications regarding the assimilation of the father's brother to a classificatory father may be found in Soares de Sousa.[3]

114 171 The old authors give numerous examples of cross cousin marriage and of marriages between uncles and nieces. Here again Anchieta will be our main source:

> Though many Indians have several nieces, and very attractive indeed, nevertheless they do not use them as wives. However, brothers have such authority over sisters that they consider their nieces as belonging to them and that they are entitled to marry them and to use them ad libitum if they wish. In the same way they give their sisters to some and refuse them to others. Taragoaj, an important chief of the village of Jaribiatiba in the plain of San Vicente, had two wives one of whom was his niece, his sister's daughter.[4]

Both types of marriage are treated as symmetrical institutions in the same document: " . . . because the fathers give them the daughters and the brothers the sisters. . . ."[5] Furthermore, cross cousin marriage is referred to by Staden:

---

[2] *Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil* (Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 8, 1846, I 2da Seria), p. 259.

[3] *Roteiro do Brasil* (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 14, 1851), pp. 316–317.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 259. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

171
114
[842]

"They make presents also of their daughters and sisters . . . ",[6] by Soares de Sousa,[7] Claude d'Abbeville,[8] and others. With a sound sociological feeling, Anchieta establishes a link between the custom of a man marrying his sister's daughter and the recognition of the male as the only one responsible for conception, a theory also shared by the Nambikuara. On this matter, Anchieta writes:

> They call the brothers' daughters "daughter" and treat them as such. Therefore they would not have sexual intercourse with them, since they believe that the true kinship link has its origin in the father, whom they consider the only agent, while the mother, according to them, is merely a container in which the children are formed. . . . For that reason too, they use the sisters' daughters "ad copulam" without sin. . . . For the same reason, the father will give his daughters in marriage to their uncles, their mother's brothers, a thing which, until now, was never done with the nephew who is the brother's son. . . . "[9]

Cross cousin marriage seems to have a very wide distribution throughout South America.[10] But among the Tupi avuncular marriage in particular aroused the interest of early travellers. For instance, Léry notices: "As to the uncle, he marries his niece";[11] and Thevet: "As soon as they are born, the maternal uncle lifts them from the ground and keeps them for his future wives."[12] Magalhaes de Gandavo expresses himself as follows:

> It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, the daughters of their brothers or sisters; these are considered their legitimate and true wives. Fathers of the women cannot refuse them, nor can any persons other than their uncles marry them.[13]

But this statement seems to be doubly inaccurate. For other references to the same phenomenon one may turn to Nobrega,[14] Vasconcellos,[15] and Soares de Sousa.[16]

---

[6] Hans Staden, *The true History of his Captivity* (Ed. Malcolm Letts, London, Vol. II, Ch. 18), p. 146.

[7] *Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil em 1587*, nova edição (São Paulo, 1938. Cap. CLVII).

[8] *Histoire de las Mission. . .* (Paris, 1614).

[9] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 259–206. The same interpretation is made by Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil 1549–1560, Cartas Jesuiticas I* (Publ. da Academia Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1931).

[10] For instance, Breton gives clear evidence of its occurrence among the Antillean Caribs: "First cousins whom we call father's brother's sons call each other 'brothers' and the father's brothers are also called 'fathers.' The children of brothers do not marry, but they may contract marriages with the children of their father's sisters." *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François* (Auxerre, 1665), p. 11.

[11] *Voyage faict en la Terre du Bresil*, ed. Gaffarel. (Paris, 1880. Vol. 2, ch. 17), p. 85.

[12] *Cosmogonie Universelle*, p. 932.

[13] Pedro de Magalhaes de Gandavo, *The Histories of Brazil* (The Cortes Society, New York, 1922. II, ch. 10), p. 89.

[14] *Cartas do Brasil. Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

[15] *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil* (Lisboa, 1865. I, 82), p. 133.

[16] *Tratado*, pp. 157, 152.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

595 171 Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171 114 The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *chetouasap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*compérage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *atour-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171 607 582 One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Lafone Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST. Vol. 21, 1919). pp. 421–440; Kirchhoff. *Die Verwandschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Bresil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 109.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 169–170.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

171 The objection may be raised that the old authors have interpreted inaccurate observations in the light of European data. Since we shall suggest the use of the word *compérage*—borrowed from the French—to identify the institution, which we consider to be an authentic aboriginal one, it will be useful to discuss briefly this aspect of the problem.

Without any doubt there is a striking analogy between the facts related above and the Latin-European institution of compérage. Originally the *compère* and the *commère* were connected with each other, and both with the child's parents, through the mystical link of parrainage. However, the relation was very soon secularized in all small rural communities, or rather, wherever the familial structures were of greater importance than the social ones; it was then used to establish an artificial link of kinship, or, more precisely, as is the case among the Nambikuara, to express in kinship terms a purely external relationship of spatial promiscuity.[33] The stranger or newcomer was adopted by means of the reciprocal appellation of *compère* or *commère* which he received from—and returned to—his male adult contemporaries. On the other hand, since the stranger usually assimilated himself to the group by marrying within his new community, the terms *compère* and "brother-in-law" soon became synonymous, so that men allied by marriage usually called each other only by the first term. In all small communities of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the *compère* or *compadre* is an actual or a potential brother-in-law. No doubt in certain regions of Central and South America the analogy between the European and aboriginal institution has helped the latter to become fixed and modernized. Thus, in Mexico the primitive institution of the *moŝte*, that is, of the heads of families bound to exchange gifts at certain periods, now expresses itself by means of the "compadre" relationship, the Spanish term providing an easy translation of the earlier Otomi.[34] The formal analogy between the institutions cannot hide, however, the fact that they are really opposite in character. In Latin-Mediterranean society, the formerly mystical and, actually, social link of compérage may be changed, through marriage, into a real kinship tie. Among the ancient Tupi, as among the Nambikuara, the actual kinship provides the type of link used to establish wider relations.

114 171 174 This being admitted, there are two strong reasons why our authorities cannot have constructed a pseudo-institution based on a European pattern from inconsistent observations. In the first place, men as well acquainted with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry could not have assimilated a relationship whose first consequence and probable aim was to per-

[33] The same sociological derivation is expressed in English through the etymological origin of the word "gossip" (god-sib).

[34] Jacques Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1937).

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17.

mit new forms of marriage to the relationship between godfathers and parents, the main purpose of which, especially since the thirteenth century, had been to impose new and very rigid restrictions upon marriage. At the time they were writing, the matter was of immediate interest and was being discussed by the Council of Trent, where the earlier rules were somewhat mitigated. But there is a much stronger argument: From the moment of the arrival of the European missionaries both institutions, the European and the aboriginal, actually coexisted among the Indians, at least among those who were baptized, and neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted the Christian "god-father" relationship in terms of the native "brother-in-law" institution. On the contrary, and much more logically, since the new relationship placed restrictions on marriage, they considered it as a modality of the relation of paternity; thus, they assimilated the "god-father" to a classificatory "father."

> They [the newly baptized children] regarded their god-fathers as their true fathers and called them *Cherou*, that is to say, "my father," and the French called them *Cheaire*, that is to say, "my son," and the little girls *Cheagire*, "my daughter." . . . [35]

Therefore, it cannot be doubted that the *compérage* is quite distinct from its European parallel.

A sufficient number of convergent indications have been recorded so that we may consider the outstanding character of the "brother-in-law" relationship a specific feature of South American sociology, constituting the core of an original institution of *compérage* which appears clearly among the Nambikuara and which, as suggested by the documents presented in this article, may formerly have had a much wider distribution on the continent.

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

---

[35] Yves d'Evreux, *loc. cit.*, II, I, p. 234.

164 The disease of the overos is in fact equivalent to the vaurana
[171] of our Tupian Indians, and actually the same as the "Carate disease" of Colombia, the "spotted disease," lota in Central America or purupuru in the Amazon.

164 [186] Spix and Martius at the beginning of the last century,
114 and after them other naturalists, found the disease spread out through the great valley. Many chroniclers dealt with it, Baena in greatest detail.

"Purupuru," [wrote Spix and Martius], "is the name given by the Brazilians to those Indians who are really called Pamaouiri and who live on the Purus River."

They described the disease of the "Pamaouiri" (or Paumary as they are called today), listing as its major characteristic the presence of irregular skin spots, isolated or converging, blackish, and somewhat coarse to the touch.

Martius believed that some white spots occasionally found among the black ones represented the initial stage of the disease.

He thought that purupuru was hereditary, although its external manifestations appeared only after puberty. The Indians Martius met attributed the disease to "a bad condition of the blood"; and the naturalist believed that the "amphibious life" of these people, their food and some of their customs had a great deal to do with the coming forth of purupuru.

Later, through dissemination of the disease, the name came to designate all the tribes of the Purus-Juruá region: Paumary, Yuberi, Arua, etc.

About twenty years ago, Ehrenreich noted certain curious facts about the manifestations of purupuru. He confirmed that the disease only develops after puberty. He found some Indians whose feet and hands were entirely white, giving the impression of a partial albinism or a kind of vitiligo.

According to Ehrenreich, the spots have a grayish blue color in the first stage of the disease. As the edges whiten, the center becomes darker.

[187] He personally never observed the scaling of affected areas. But he relates popular reports to the effect that the Paumary

164 secretly mix the scales from their skin with the food and water of their
114 neighbors so that the disease may affect them too.

He adds that no hair grows on the white spots. The itching is always intensive.

In 1909, Koch-Grünberg wrote of the purupuru found in the valley of the Rio Negro. In accordance with the Indians' views he distinguished three varieties of the disease, white, black, and red, depending on the predominant coloring of the spots. Koch-Grünberg says that the black spots are hard and coarse, the white ones smooth and similar in aspect to burns.

However, Oswaldo Cruz (1) stated in 1913 that there is no

[113]

1. Oswaldo Cruz, Relatorio sobre as condições medico-sanitarias do vale do Amazonas [Report on the Medical and Sanitary Conditions of the Amazon Valley], Ministry of Agriculture (Rio, 1913).

justification for this division into three varieties. He considers the white spots to constitute a more advanced stage of the disease and to result from the elimination of skin pigment by an infectious agent.

Oswaldo Cruz also noted scaling around the black spots.

[113] Already in 1886, Hirsch (2) had stated that purupuru could only

2. A. Hirsch, Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie [Handbook of Historical and Geographical Pathology] (1886).

be a dermatomycosis. The studies of Montoya y Flores (3) and

[113]

3. J. B. Montoya y Flores, "Recherches sur les Caratés de Colombie [Studies on the Carate of Colombia]" (Paris, 1893); Archives de Parasitologie, Vol. 2; "Notes sur les Caratés" [Notes on the Carate], Ann. de Derm. et de Syphil. (1897).

164 Oswaldo Cruz, though not yet conclusive, seem to justify this
[114] hypothesis.

[188] The Indians of the Serra do Norte live on tributaries of the Amazon, and consequently in the vicinity of the extensive area where purupuru has been found. Yet they are indisputably free from the disease. Their isolation has protected them.

Báanêcêdútú bears some similarity to ringworm (herpes circinatus) and also to tokelau (tinea imbricata).

[114] In 1897 Ehrenreich confused these two diseases and stated that they are frequent among the Indians of the tropical zone.

Ringworm, however, is not the same as tokelau, and these diseases are not widespread among the Indians. The latter's skin, exposed as it is to numerous disturbing factors present in the environment, is often affected by "artificial eruptions of internal of external origin" which might be confused in certain cases with parasitic diseases.

However, there is no doubt that the initial stages of the Serra do Norte skin disorder would resemble those of herpes circinatus, with their concentric circles of small cysts, if they did not lack the inflammation that goes with herpes.

Perhaps this symptom merely goes unnoticed, owing either to the thickness of the skin or to its scanty blood supply, absence of hair, small number of sebaceous glands, etc.

The subsequent manifestations of the Serra do Norte disease, however, preclude its identification with ringworm. In its final stage, the disease of the Nambicuara is much more similar to tinea imbricata.

The covering of the individual with long scales similar to strips of tissue paper, which I clearly observed among my Indians, is also ascribed to tokelau. In tokelau as in báanêcêdútú, moreover, there is no inflammation [189] around the lesions and the hairy parts are not affected.

Tinea imbricata also begins with cystic formations, but in the Nambicuara disease the transformation of the cysts into "systems" is much more irregular. Actually there are no true "scaling systems" as in tokelau, but rather scabs surrounded by scales so small that they have a grainy appearance.

/211/

• 114 278 Numerous travelers and physiologists have concerned themselves with curare without succeeding in exactly determining its nature and its method of preparation. For some curare is purely vegetable; for others it appears to be composed largely of animal materials. Without analyzing here all the literature on this subject, it will be enough to recall that most former authors and travelers of the past century name diverse species of Strychnos as the principal base of curare; many other plants belonging to various families have also been mentioned as possibly entering in this poison. The partisans of an animal or mixed origin for curare, practically all travelers, assert that the venoms of snakes, batrachians, and arachnids, and fish and insect extracts, etc... play an essential role in its preparation. Despite numerous opinions to the contrary the presence at least of certain venoms in some curares (1) is indisputable.

[113]

1. Vellard and Assis, "Études immunologiques sur le curare /Immunological Studies on Curare/," Annales de l'Institut Pasteur. Paris, LII, 102, 1934.

Often these controversies on the composition of curare have lost sight of one essential fact. Curare is not a set substance and does not correspond to one single formula. There is not one but a number of curares, more or less complex, peculiar to each region, each tribe, and in many cases to each preparer.

Besides it is the general but false practice to call every paralyzing arrow poison of South America curare. The application of this term should be limited, in accordance with its classical physiological definition, to any poison suppressing the passage of excitations of the nerve to the muscle while preserving direct excitability of the muscle and that of the motor nerve.

/211 cont./

114 278 True curares are becoming difficult to find. Many of the modern products brought back as curares or existing under this name in /212/ trade are paralyzing poisons of variable toxicity but with a weak or no curarizing effect. The curarizing effect itself does not interest the Indian; he is only looking for a halting poison producing rapid paralysis with loosening of muscular tonus, no matter by what mechanism, for his arrows. Often also the good faith of travelers has been betrayed and the Indians, anxious about their secret, have given them false recipes or poisons different from true curare. Lastly, some curares are hard to preserve, making it impossible to ascertain their properties upon the return of expeditions.

These causes, so diverse, have always left doubt about the exact composition and method of preparation of curare.

I. Curare of the Ñambikwara /Nambicuara/

During my last trip to the central plateau of the Mato Grosso with my colleague Lévi-Strauss, I was present at the preparation of a very simple but active curare by the Ñambikwara and accompanied these Indians on the search for the necessary plants.

Curare had not been mentioned as existing among the Ñambikwara. The Rondon Commission had certainly observed the existence of an arrow poison among them, but later investigations carried out on arrows sent to Rio de Janeiro had given negative results (Alvaro Ozorio de Almeida and Roquette Pinto). The cause of this failure can only be attributed to the material used in the experiments, which was too old; the arrows keep their activity only a few weeks.

278 184 The composition of curare is the same for all the Ñambikwara, but its method of preparation varies from group to group. It must be emphasized that the preparation of this poison is surrounded with more mystery as one goes toward the

/212 cont./

278 184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 126 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] [117] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[114] [162] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

/213 cont./
278 126 [1H] [162] last Çabanê-Tagnani survivors, again showed me the complete preparation of curare. All the information gathered in the various Ñambikwara groups visited agrees with what I was able to observe.

In possession of these facts I prepared several times a certain quantity of curare identical to that of the Ñambikwara. The action of these different samples was tested in the field in order to be used in comparison with later experiments upon the return of the mission; thus any possibility of error due to a possible alteration of these products was eliminated.

A year has gone by since this time, and the various solutions brought back have kept their activity; they made it possible to examine rigorously their curarizing properties.

Preparation of Curare

278 824 Plant. Ñambikwara curare is prepared with only one plant, a Strychnos which grows in the sandy brushwood of the central plateau of the Mato Grosso. Although not rare this species is not abundant anywhere.

It is a bush two meters high (Pl. III. A), with a rather strong stem and downward-hanging branches, more or less sarmentous and sometimes changing into tendrils at the ends; I never saw a really twining example of this species. The branches have a reddish bark, /214/ without thorns, which is covered, as is the stem, with white concretions. The leaves are elongated and small or medium in size. The species is very polymorphous. No specimen bore flowers or fruit.

The Strychnos group is one of the most difficult to study. Many species rarely flower, and in the absence of flowers it is often impossible to identify them.

In certain features the species of the Ñambikwara is comparable to St. medeola. It exists in the plant collection of the Rondon Commission, but also without flowers and undetermined.

601
621

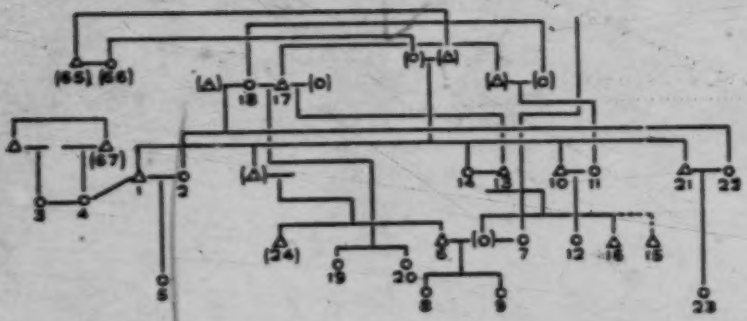


Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622
●115
157

A1. --The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years, married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531
212

1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

531
212

Besides, they called the act of writing: iekariukediutu (a1), that is "make lines," which for them had an esthetic interest:

(3) Kihikagnere mũʔiene (b1).
It is nice to make lines.

[177]

The drawings reproduced in Figure 19 thus constitute a cultural innovation inspired by our own drawings.

622 confers; also [41] he asked us for a note pad and a pencil, and we
● 115 are likewise equipped when we travel together. He does not com-
157 municate to me verbally the information that I ask of him, but traces on his paper some wavy lines and presents them to me as though I should read his response. But he himself is half duped by his comedy. Each time that his hand finishes a line, he examines it anxiously, as if the significance should miraculously spring forth, and each time, the same chagrined disillusion is painted on his face. But he doesn't give in. And it is silently understood between us that his scrawl possesses a meaning which I pretend to understand. Naturally, the verbal commentary follows almost immediately, and excuses me from having to demand some very necessary clarifications. When we discuss command, we shall return to certain aspects of this semi-mystification.

He is a valuable informant who understands the problems, perceives the difficulties, and is interested in the work; but his functions absorb him often, and he disappears for whole days on a hunting expedition, a survey of itinerary or a localization of ripe seed or fruit trees. On the other hand, his wives often call him to tender love games in which he lets himself be voluntarily involved.

In a general way, his attitude shows a logic, a continuity of purpose, very exceptional among the Nambikwara who are often unstable and temperamental. Placed in other conditions and with other means at his disposal, he might be a valuable organizer. And he is, after all, alone responsible for the destinies of his group, which he conducts with competence, although in a sometimes utopian spirit.

The father and the mother of A1 are dead. But his father's brother and mother's sister, whom he calls ahuʔnosu and aʔkenosu live in the same village (A65 and a66).

115 a2. --About 30 to 35 years. The eldest of the wives of A1, mother of a5, daughter of a18 and a now dead father. She is serious industrious, a little reserved in social relations. In the triple household

In the triple household

115 of A1, she plays the role of the guardian of the home, and she is al-
[595] ways seen occupied in some culinary or craft job. She reveals
157 little voluntarily, but when she decides to do it, her information is clear and precise. It is always to her that one has recourse to settle knotty cases, to complete a vocabulary of kinship, to respond to a systematic interrogation.

115 a3. --Vigorous girl of some twenty years, secondary wife of A1.
157 Her mother (a63), ari'ndesu of A1, akenanosu of a2, is at present married to an asukosu of A1. Her father, dead, was a brother of the father of a4.

She is exuberant, always good-humored, ready to go with her husband on the hardest expeditions, capable of carrying heavy loads. She is a true "force of nature": physically, she is not without [42] charm, she is smiling and full of good health. As an informant she is vague, practically useless.

a4. --About 17 or 18 years of age, the youngest of the wives of A1. Her father and her mother (A67 and a68) are living, asounosu and a2ejnosu of A1, ouensaesu and aseetasu of a2. She is pretty, coquettish and provocative, does not give herself over to any appreciable activity, except on a trip when she becomes the active collaborator of her husband. She talks voluntarily, laughs a great deal, is very curious about our clothing, utensils, manner of eating and living. Totally inefficient as an informant.

a5. --Eight to 9 years. Daughter of A1 and a2. She has a very
[142] marked sub-nasal prognathism, and has, on the left cheek, a sort of small pimply hole, without doubt due to a tropical ulcer. She is a very calm and amiable child, sensitive to our advances, but who, when she is annoyed, shows sudden fits of anger or outbursts of somber humor during which she is unapproachable. The rest of the time she loves our company and collaborates willingly on the ethnographic work.

A6. --About 30 years: he is the son of an older vanished brother of A1; he calls his paternal uncle "father," the wife a2 of the latter, "mother," and the little a5 "sister." From a first marriage with the daughter of his father's sister (a14), now dead, he has two children (a8 and a9). He is at present remarried (to a7). Otherwise he is vain, satisfied with himself, not very intelligent, a very good father and very taken with his young wife with whom he is always found tenderly embraced. He is a verbose informant, but dull and without personality.

115 a7. --A pretty woman of some twenty years, perhaps less; young
157 wife of A6. Her parents are living and reside, she says, in the village. She is asintu of A1 and a2, arindesu of a3 and a4, asecetasu of a5. She is stupid, egotistical, interested only in herself. She considers herself very seductive, which appears to be (from the Indian point of view, of course) very exaggerated. She systematically refuses to show the slightest interest in the two daughters of her husband, conducts herself very amorously as concerns him.

115 a8 and a9--About six and two years, daughters of the first mar-
855 riage of A6 and daughters of the deceased daughter of a14. The two
157 children are practically left to themselves. Their stepmother does not bother with them; their father takes care of them when his manly tasks and his wife permit him the time. Their grandmother is their
[603] chief aid and it is to her that they run when they hurt themselves, are hungry, thirsty or afraid. But she herself is absorbed by the cares of her sons, of her stepson (A14) and of her husband. And very often the baby is neglected for entire days, covered with ashes and filth, unless some woman of the group, seized by pity or simply [43] disgusted, takes her and gives her a bath. Most often it is her big sister, precociously mature, who takes care of her, carries her, even though she is scarcely any bigger, feeds her and cleans her up. Both are charming children, gay and hungry for caresses like those who are habitually deprived of them. Their lot is a great worry for the
[181] community. Under this regime of a hard life constantly absorbed by the small tasks, each one of which is hard work, one can with difficulty accept other cares than one's own. And these neglected children are a perpetual source of irritation, of which they are often the victims, even when taken care of. Many times we wondered if we should not take charge of the youngest of the children. They would have given her to us gladly. The baby was so cute that we would have been tempted if the perspective of seeing ourselves having a quarrel on the return trip with the Service for the Protection of the Indians had not, very reasonably, dissuaded us.

115 A10. --About 40 years. He is alonsu of A1, ajunkedisu of a2,
157 ahuinosu of a5, married to a11. His parents are dead. He is amiable and grinning, he suffers from a hernia which he hides under a piece of cloth hanging from his waist. His activity is considerably decreased. He is little interested in our work and not very eager to understand our questions and give us information.

a11. --About 40 years. Wife of A10. She is a "sister" of a2, a "wife" of A1, a "mother" of a5. She is dark, eager and industrious,

115 and only reveals her happy nature on occasions of songs and dances where
157 she excels. One always sees her occupied by some craft work which she seems to prefer—shaping or polishing disks of shells, drilling them through or filing them, rubbing earrings or bracelets. She talks little, letting herself be completely absorbed by her work. She is a wife and mother, and a remarkable informant for all details of the material culture.

a12. --Daughter of the preceding two, approximately 22 years; she is the wife of A73 who abandoned her to live with two women a74 and a75. Because of this, she returned to the charge of her parents, the more so because she is pregnant. She is placid, smiling and apathetic. She is separated from collective life by her condition
[164] and by a painful eye infection which struck her first among the members of her group of which several were later attacked by the epidemic.

A13. --About 40 years of age. Son of A18, "brother," consequently, of a2, "brother-in-law" of A1, whose older sister a14 he married. Always joyful, active and docile, he is the confidence man of A1, his preferred messenger, the companion he chooses for all complicated undertakings. He is industrious, a [44] not affected in his attitudes, and, as an informant, compliant, very verbose and not always clear or comprehensive.

a14. --About 40 to 45 years. Wife of the preceding, blood sister of A1, mother of A16. She is influential, active, diligent, at first quite rude, but in reality pleasing and competent. She exercises real authority over the other women of the group by her spirit of initiative and her pep. She is the grandmother of a8 and of a9 whom she feeds and whom she cares for frequently. Not only is she a good informant, but she sometimes takes didactic initiative. She loves songs and dances.

[608] A15. --About 15 years. He is an orphan; his father was the brother of A13 who took him in. A gentle, tranquil, rather timid boy.

A16. --7 or 8 years; son of A13 and of a14, "husband" of a5. He is a lively and curious child; his mother rarely refuses him anything, and he tyrannizes her willingly. She is very proud of him and overlooks many of his whims. One day she came to ask us to teach him to read. The attempts are not very encouraging. He looks upon the lessons as a game and refuses to learn the letters as determined forms; for him they are interchangeable, and he attributes to them in turn all the sounds which he has in his vocabulary.

115 A17. --Between 50 and 55 years, he is the dean of the group; he
157 is conscious of this and gets a certain pride from having around him
602 only "sons" or "daughters," "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law,"

115 157 602 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He is physically robust, amiable, happy and talkative; very much inclined toward erotic jokes. He gives information willingly, with an extreme good will and a tireless volubility. But his explanations are not always clear, and it is necessary to let oneself be guided by his slightly incoherent fantasy.

115 157 a18.--About 45 years; wife of the preceding, mother of a2 and a22. She is a serious woman, industrious, devoted to her husband and children. She laughs little, talks to herself, and is always busy with some task. Her bits of information are rare, but solid.

a19.--About 10 years. Daughter of the two preceding. She is a very pretty girl, still a child who yet scarcely shows the first signs of puberty. She has in the group a position as "mother," as does her little sister a20. She is a brutal and sometimes violent child, who adopted towards us an attitude confined to hostility. Her language is crude and she gets involved willingly in the most daring pranks. This attitude is at least partially explained, as will be seen farther on, by her age situation.

[45] a20.--Little girl of 5 or 6 years, sister of the preceding: her contemporaries and even some adults call her "mother." She is perfectly insufferable; pretentious, affected, continually greedy for presents or distractions.

A21, a22, a23.--It is difficult to characterize these three individuals who lived, during nearly the whole time of our visit, in an almost absolute state of silent segregation. The baby a23 is not yet weaned, and the state of couvade was to end at the end of our stay. We shall describe later on the operations which sanction return to communal life. A21, 35 to 40 years, is the brother of A1; a22, about 18 years, the sister of a2. A21 was to die by drowning during one of our absences. The baby is 12 to 18 months old.

621 As we have said before, the restricted group such as it has just been described, is temporarily united with other similar bands, or is temporarily swelled by other family groups. Thus to the 6 "fires"(1)

602 1. As the following analysis shows, the family group—that is the restricted group—of the Nambikwara is rather difficult to define. The empiric notion of the hearth seems to us the most clear and practical. It defines the grouping of the individuals who come together in the evening and sleep around the same fire. In group a1 (restricted) studied previously, there are

621 We shall comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its [578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for 621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

● 115 157 622 601 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnʔẽ, njãnajne heni niho ãmdednjẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often [77] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the
area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
[534] seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from
group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments
made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately
the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the
aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instru-
ment.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40
years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years,
b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18, sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son" also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1; he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster, they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1, thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
574 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[825] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paressi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantacú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier [115] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was [825]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaze. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandzű.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[177] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. [Fig. 30]

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

291 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
184 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of embira around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

115 We managed to obtain four different word lists: Cocozu,
124 Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite. The two lengthier ones--Anunze and Cocozu--were obtained with us much exactitude and certainty as possible (and, I believe, as much as necessary) thanks to Nuleke and Krikricêknerá. These two Indians had been devoted friends of Lt. [Plates p. 261.] Pyrineus de Souza since the days when he had managed the post at Campos Novos.

[Fig. 48]

Nuleke is so fond of Lt. Pyrineus that when we returned in 1912 he did not hesitate to cross the borders of his territory, leaving the land none of his people had abandoned in centuries, to follow the muleteers to Tapirapuã in search of his friend.

He was the first to place himself trustfully into Brazilian hands.

These two Indians lived at Campos Novos like adopted children of the household. At night they both slept under Pyrineus' hammock. They already spoke a few words of our language.

[Fig. 49]

The Indian Damasceno (Urinenoá), already mentioned above, was of great help with the Cocozu language. He was the most intelligent boy we could find. One Tagnani shared this honor, and we were sorry to part with him. He understood the slightest gesture, and carried out to perfection our every request. It was he who consented to simulate an arrow attack which I asked for by means of signs and which is now recorded on a film belonging to the [National] Museum and shown at the National Library in 1913.

[262] Each word on the lists was verified more than once in the presence of the object or phenomenon it describes.

We were more interested in the quality than in the quantity of words.

This does not mean that we believe no corrections are possible; it is sufficient to compare two lexicons compiled by capable persons among the same Indians, on separate occasions, to see how differently certain terms may be rendered.

194 The Nambicuara language contains the following vowels: a, ê, i, ô, o, u, ü, with the same values as they would have in Portuguese; the sound of ü is intermediate between German ü and French eu.

/212 cont./

278 184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 126 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] [117] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[114] [62] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

[492]
291
302
516

Plate III

A

B

C

D

(See captions on next page.)

115
278
291
516

8:Vellard--15 D.E-5 (1939) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

8:Vellard--15a D.E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Plate III

278 Preparation of curare by the Nhambikwara Indians
(right bank of the Juruena)

A. Stalk of Strychnos sp., the root of which is used to prepare curare.

[115] B. The Nhambikwara Julio digging up a root of iriwa (Strychnos sp.)

C. The Nhambikwara Julio carries back some roots of Strychnos sp.

D. Root of Strychnos sp.

1:Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAMBIKWARA INDIANS

by
Claude Lévi-Strauss

[Translated from the French by Eileen Sittler]

[Courtesy of State University of Iowa]

Originally published under the title
"La Vie Familiale et Sociale des Indiens Nambikwara"

Paris: Société des Américanistes, 1948

[title page]

1:Levi-Strauss--1 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAMBIKWARA INDIANS

by

C. Lévi-Strauss

INTRODUCTION

101 The name of the Nambikwara appears in ethnological literature from the eighteenth century on; but it seems useless here for us to [114] compile references reduced to a more or less distorted citation of the tribal name and to the approximate indication of the territory occupied by the group. In fact, with the exception of the name, which seems to be a surname of Tupi (1) origin, the Nambikwara remained

1. Cf. below, page 129, footnote 1.

practically unknown until the time of their discovery in 1907, by General (then Colonel) Candidio Mariano da Silva Rondon. From this date on, we are directly or indirectly indebted to the Rondon Commission for all the information available concerning them.

000 It is known that in 1907 Colonel Rondon was given a commission by the Brazilian government to explore the territories which extend approximately 1, 500 kilometers from the village of Diamantino to the Madeira River. This was to precede the construction of a strategic telegraph line connecting the federal capital with the frontier outposts of the northwest. In the course of a first expedition begun in 1907, Rondon succeeded in reaching the Juruena, principal source of the Tapajoz, unknown up to that time. This discovery took place the twentieth of October. A second expedition, begun in 1908, permitted the opening of a land route toward the Madeira. This was the first objective of the mission entrusted to General Rondon which 177 was realized on December 25, 1909. It was during these two expeditions that contact was established for the first time with the Nambikwara.

The laying of the telegraph line continued through the Indian territories from 1909 to about 1915. During this period and since, there have been regular, although intermittent, relations between the Indians and the members of the telegraph commission—construction

177 officers, soldiers /2/ and workmen. These contacts have continued since the completion of the work. They are always intermittent and are made especially by the stations whose service is assured by the Paressi Indians educated in care of the Commission.

114 Leaving aside several books and articles of anecdotal character written by certain collaborators of General Rondon, we are limited to the following works as the only sources of information concerning the Nambikwara Indians. First, the Rapport ethnologique, by General Rondon himself, and printed in Rio de Janeiro as one of the numerous official publications of the Commission under No. 2, 1911. Next must be cited the lectures of the same author which followed the Roosevelt-Rondon expedition to the Rio da Duvida (Portuguese edition: Missão Rondon, Rio de Janeiro, 1916; English edition: Lectures delivered by General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, etc., Commissão Rondon, Publication No. 43). Recourse should also be made to an article by a young officer of the staff of General Rondon, Antonio Pyreneus de Souza ("Notas sobre os costumes dos Indios Nambikwaras," Revista do Museu Paulista, Vol. 12, 1920) and to the information scattered in the diverse reports of the Commission, published during and after the exploratory work, of which the most useful is doubtless that of Carnier (Rapport géologique et ethnologique, No. 23, Annexe 5). Some information will be found in the book of Theodore Roosevelt (Through the Brazilian Wilderness, Works, Vol. 6) and a short vocabulary in Max Schmidt ("Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungsreise in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift fûr Ethnologie, Vol. 40, 1929).

In 1912, the Director of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, Dr. Edgar Roquette Pinto, was authorized to join the Rondon Commission in the field to receive, examine, and report to the Museum the ethnographic collections made since the beginning of the work. This trip must have given Dr. Roquette Pinto the occasion to write and publish several articles and a book. Certainly the most important of the former is his communication to the International Congress of Americanists held in London in 1912 (Os Indios Nambikwara do Brasil Central); then, his communication to the Pan-American Congress at Washington (1917) under the title, Os Indios da Serra do Norte. The book, Rondonia (last edition: Cia Editora Nacional, Sao-Paulo, 1935) is almost entirely dedicated to the Nambikwara and represents our best source of information.

114 However, all the works mentioned in the preceding paragraphs contain various linguistic data—generally limited to mediocre vocabularies—and a description of material culture, carefully undertaken in Rondonia. Nowhere do they treat of family life and social organization. Under these circumstances it may be surprising that the Nambikwara seem to have been completely forgotten after the publication of the work of Roquette Pinto. It was natural that our own expedition, begun exactly
121 26 years and two months after /3/ the beginning of Roquette Pinto's trip, should be dedicated to filling in—even partially—the gaps of preceding research. We have sought more extensive and precise linguistic information; paid more attention to the "dynamic" aspect of the material culture, considering less the finished products than the processes of their fabrication; and above all, we have dedicated ourselves mainly to the study of family and social organization, the description of which is the object of the present work.

114 It is superfluous to stress that an exhaustive study of the life and society of the Nambikwara will not be found here. We were only able to share the life of the Indians during the nomadic period, and that alone would be enough to limit the extent of our research. A trip undertaken during the sedentary period would no doubt furnish some important information, and would permit correcting the general perspective. We hope to be able to undertake this some day. As Roquette Pinto wrote at the beginning of Rondonia: "Lentas hão de ser sempre as construcções cientificas en tal terreno". [*Scientific building in such country must always be slow."] (1) His book, however, must always

1. Prefacio da Segunda Edição, p. 13.

be merited with having called attention to one of the most interesting cultures of indigenous Brazil and having been the first to produce a lively and charming picture of it.

131 The territory occupied by the Nambikwara Indians extends from the
133 Papagaio River in the east to a zone in the northwest ending approximately at the junction of the Commemoração de Floriano and Barão de Melgaço Rivers, both branches of the Machado River or Gi-Parana. This point marks, at the same time, the end of the plateau which occupies nearly the entire central and western parts of the state of Mato Grosso. The southern boundary is placed at the middle course of the Guaporé River, and, farther to the west, it follows the entire course of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The location of the northern

131 boundary is unknown. The upper course of the Roosevelt River (former-
133 ly: da Duvida) is doubtless inhabited by Nambikwara groups, but these cannot extend far toward the west for the intervening region between the Roosevelt River and the upper Gi-Parana is occupied by tribes of the Tupi tongue. It seems probable to us that the northern frontier of the Nambikwara territories, between the Roosevelt and Juruena Rivers, approximately follows the eleventh parallel. Thus, the boundaries of the region could be delimited in the following way: in the east, between the eleventh and thirteenth parallels, the course of the Juruena and of the Papagaio; in the southeast, a conventional line going from the eleventh parallel and 58°4' to the fifteenth parallel and 60°, this last point corresponding almost to the location of the town of Villa-Bella; in the south, the course of the Guaporé beyond Villa-Bella to the sources of the Corumbiara River and the neighboring region, and, from there, the course of the /4/ Commemoração de Floriano River to the beginning of the Machado River (about 12°7' parallel and 60°9'); in the west, a conventional line extending from the last point to the intersection of the Roosevelt River with the eleventh parallel; finally, in the north, the eleventh parallel from the Roosevelt River to the Juruena. Thus the greatest length of this area is about 400 to 450 kilometers from north to south and the width, from east to west, reaches 300 kilometers.

Considered in its entirety, the area constitutes the northern and western zone of the vast plateau which occupies the greatest part of the state of Mato Grosso, and whose southern extremity rises above the countryside of Cuiaba from the imposing site of a great rocky wall, the "Chapada." This northern and western zone is also the most inhospitable region of Mato Grosso; maybe even—with the pampas of the northeast—of all of Brazil.

133 The geological structure of these lands is imperfectly known. They are formed of red sandstone with clayey layers and date from various periods—Devonian in the east (the "Chapada" proper), Cretaceous in the zone which particularly interests us ("Planalto dos Parecis" and the so-called "Serra do Norte"). The layer of sandstone rises abruptly above the crystalline rocks which occupy the upper valley of the Cuiaba River. The transition is more progressive toward the eastern extremity of the plateau of the Parecis since, several kilometers to the west of Diamantino, one passes, almost without perceiving it, the

[133] dividing line of waters which separates the basin of the Paraguay, a tributary of the La Plata River, and the sources of the Ariños River, itself a tributary of the Amazon.

In its general aspect, the region is a sort of vast undulating plateau, falling slowly in the direction of the basin of the Amazon, with the highest points in the center and in the south (about 800 meters) and the lowest (about 350 meters) toward the north and west. Nevertheless, the traveler leaving from the south is greeted by an impressive spectacle when, after having traveled through 1,200 kilometers of high desolate land, he reaches the northwest border of the plateau, compared to the lowlands the difference in altitude is small, 100 meters at the most, but the rise is abrupt. Behind him, he leaves an interminable and sterile brush, while immediately at his feet begins, with the valley of the Gi-Parana, the no less interminable Amazon forest. This remarkable geographic frontier is also the western limit of Nambikwara territories.

Farther to the center and to the north, the aspect is different; running waters have worn ditches across the plateau which become larger in the direction of the Amazon basin. These depressions bring about differences in altitude up to 150 meters. One notices them especially in the region which extends from the Roosevelt River to the Doze de Otubro River, and they give this region a falsely mountainous aspect from which the fallacious expression "Serra do Norte" probably originates.

[134] [132] Geological constitution conspires with climatic conditions to [5] give the plateau its desolate physiognomy. The sand, product of the decomposition of the sandstone, provides a sterile soil, and the irregular distribution of rain explains the prairie-like aspect, so characteristic of the whole region. Except for a little rain—very rare—which falls sometimes in July or August, the "chuvas de caju," one might say that the period from April to September is completely arid. On the contrary, precipitation is violent and almost daily from October to March. There are storms when the rain lasts sometimes one, two or even three consecutive days. During the rainy season the temperature rises; 42 to 44 degrees[1] during the day, cooler at night, with a sudden and brief shower at dawn. But abrupt variations of temperature rather characterize the dry season, probably because of intense nocturnal radiation. It is not rare, at this season, to go from a daytime maximum of 40 degrees to a nocturnal minimum of 8 or 10 degrees. The Indians, who live completely nude, sleep on the ground, and know nothing of the use of coverings either of cloth or fur, suffer cruelly from this circumstance.

[291] [313]

[1] [i.e. degrees Centigrade.— Analyst]

137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls—for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
131 Nambikwara correspond—roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest—to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paresi and the Irantxe Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

a density of constant population for the whole territory, one might admit a total figure of 10,000 inhabitants at the time of discovery, corresponding to 2,000 or 3,000 today, and probably even less. Our itinerary had been drawn up with the main purpose of putting us in contact with the greatest possible number of Indians. After five months of traveling across their territory, we had only encountered 200; that was the actual mean of a single Nambikwara band twenty years ago. Today the nomad band consists of from 4 or 5 to 30 or 40 members. This demographic decrease is explained by the introduction of diseases of other races after the first penetration of the territory in 1907. The few numerical data which it was possible for us to collect will dispense with all commentary. Fifteen years ago, the known fraction of the Sabané group numbered more than 1,000 individuals; when the group visited the telegraph station of Campos Novos in 1928, there were counted 127 men plus women and children. In November of 1928 however, an epidemic of grippe broke out, when the group was camping at a place known to the telegraph employees by the name of Espirro. The illness rapidly evolved toward a form of pulmonary oedema, and 300 Indians died in 48 hours. The whole group disbanded, fleeing the malady and leaving behind the sick and dying. Of the 1,000 Sabané formerly known, only 19 men survived along with their wives and children. Besides the epidemic it should be added, to explain these astounding figures, that the Sabané were at war several years ago with certain eastern neighbors (group a2) (1).

1. See the classification of the Nambikwara group, below, p. 10 f.

But a large group of dialect b2, installed not far from Tres Buritis, was completely liquidated by the grippe in 1927 except six or seven persons of whom only (2) three were still living in 1938. The Tarundé

2. See below, p. 51.

group, [7] formerly one of the most important, still had 12 men (besides women and children) in 1926; of these 12 men, 4 only were living in 1939.

A southern group of dialect b1 (Kabiṣi) seems to have resisted better; undoubtedly because their contacts with the people of the Line are rare. From 1929 to 1934, no Kabiṣi had been seen along the telegraph line. The Indians perhaps circulated more to the south

101 where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned,
161 must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabişi. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and

[163] 1. See below, p. 52.

owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

* * *

114 All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of
101 the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast,
197 the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camararé Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunzé, who occupy the basin of the Doze de Otubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uaintaçu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Doze de Otubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Taulté, Saluma, Tarunté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 20 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

101 Tamainde, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
114 comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
197 the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -ʔore, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiaté, and the name Tamainde was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b1) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

121 What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
[28] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

197 This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjutu, -kedutsu -kiʔitu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Doze de Otubro River and the Camararé River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

197 sub-group b1 with the verbal suffix -dige or -dage, and a sub-group b2, in all points identical to the preceding except the verbal suffix of the form ½[10] -ŝore. The region of the dialect b1 extends from the right bank of the Guaporé in the south to the lower course of the Tenente Marques and Iké Rivers in the north, and from the basin of the Doze de Otubro River in the east, to a region terminating above the right bank of the Roosevelt River to the west. One hears dialect b2 from the upper basin and the middle basin of the Roosevelt River to the juncture of the Barão de Malgaço and Commemoração de Floriano Rivers.

In these semantic and morphological characters, dialect c departs clearly from the preceding. We have not progressed far enough in studying it linguistically to decide whether or not it is correct to include it in the Nambikwara family. It is spoken in a region situated to the north and northeast of the region of dialect a2.

We shall now attempt to establish a correlation between our classification and the previous outlines.

101
197

1. Group a.

Sub-group a1.

From the vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto at the end of Rondonia, and from geographic indications which he furnished, one can conclude that his Kokozu (which form his group in the southeast) certainly corresponds to our sub-group a 1. Nevertheless, we have not been able to find the term Kokozu (P. de Souza: Cocozu) again. The ending -u indicates dialect a 1; but the term koko belongs to the Paresi language and to the dialects of group c, with the same meaning "maternal uncle." It is completely unknown in the system of parentage of group a. According to our information, group a 1 would be called:

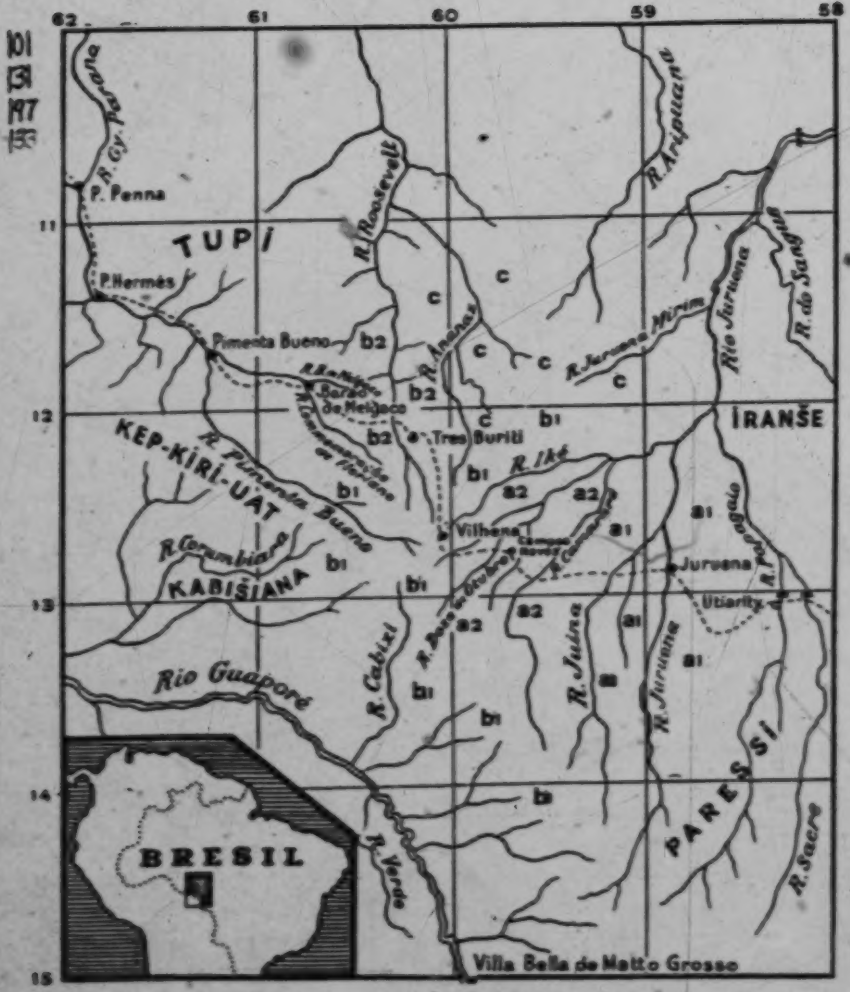
1. ualíĵere by group b 1;
2. ualiriri"te by group c;

and it is divided into numerous bands who call themselves, or who give these names to one another:

3. oaklétosu (right bank of the Juruena);
4. halótesu (left bank of the Juina);
5. kiaaru (surname: "the liars"; upper-Juruena);
6. kuri"tsu (left bank of the Juruena).

½ [Map No.1 follows here. - Analyst]

1:Lévi-Strauss 10(A) E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17



Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

101 Group a 1 is in contact with the Iranxe Indians, whom they call:
197 7. iratsu (at the juncture of the Clavary and do Sangue Rivers).

[11] Sub-group a2.

These are the Anunzu, Anunzé, or the southeast group of Roquette Pinto (P. de Souza: Anonzé). The brief vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto following his own vocabularies also belongs to this group. We have never found the term Anunzé nor the other forms, but only the names,

8. soalesu (a 1/2);
9. kakateli (b 1);
10. munukoti (c).

II. Group b.

Sub-group b1.

Our sub-group b 1 includes the Uaintaçu, Uaindzé (Rondon: Uainedezi), Kabixi, Tagnani (Rondon: Tagnani), Tauité (Rondon: Tauité), Tarute, Taschuité (Rondon: Tachivuité) of Roquette Pinto, that is his two groups, southwest and northwest. We have never found the term Tagnani, nor, as a name of a band, the terms tauitte, tarute, tasuitte, which signify respectively, in the system of parentage of group b, "my child," "my brother-in-law," "my relative to the third degree." The Paressi apply the name Kabisi to group b. For the term Uaintaçu, we have found an equivalent:

11. oalindesu (a 1),

which designates group b. On the other hand, we have collected the following appellations:

12. nikedetosu (a 1; to the west of the Camararé River);
13. tarunde (b 1; basin of the Doze de Outubro River);
14. maintande (b 1, --Kabisi [Paressi] Mama-Inde [Rondon]; sources of the Doze River and right bank of the Guaporé);(1)

1. It seems that the southern frontier of the maimande group is rather on the course of the tributaries of the right bank of the Guaporé River. The Guaporé strictly speaking is inhabited by river tribes, distinct from the Nambikwara in tongue and culture. But these tribes

101
197

know and fear the Indians called Kabiṣi, this as far away as the São Miguel River (Haseman, "Some notes on the Pawumwa Indians of South America," American Anthropologist, 1912, p. 333). To add to the obscurity which still covers the problem of the southern frontiers of the Nambikwara, the Paressi of the south, who live to the east of the sources of the Juruena, are also known by the name of Kabiṣi (Max Schmidt, "Reisen in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1912, Vol. 44, pp. 146-176). Today they have intermingled or disappeared.

[12] 15. mamaindeti (c; identical to the preceding, and, by extension, to the whole group b 1);
16. itaimolo (c; toward the south).

Sub-group b 2.

This dialect had never been pointed out, except by the short vocabulary published by Max Schmidt and attributed to a Tamainde group. We have collected the following names:

17. toainde (b 1; left bank of the Barão de Malgaço River);
18. loiola (c; same region);
19. naselate (b 1; between the Tenente Margues and Roosevelt Rivers.
20. lakonde (b 1; right bank of the Roosevelt River);
21. sovainte (c; same region);
22. navaite (b2 [Rondon: Navaite]; Roosevelt River);
23. taiate (b2; Roosevelt River).

III. Group c.

This group seems not to have been studied. Only Rondon mentions, without geographic or dialectic information, a group Sabane and a group Taia. This last term belongs to the system of parentage of group c with the meaning "elder brother (or sister)"; we have never found it as a name of a band. On the other hand, group c calls itself by the name:

24. sabane (c),

and is called by other groups:

25. toantesu (a 1/2;
26. tamainde (b 1/2).

IV. Names of Other Nambikwara Groups.

101 For the terms Malutundu, Ualutnudu, Ua-lut-ndu (Roquette
197 Pinto), Malotundu (Rondon), we have an equivalent:

27. malõnde (b 1),

which, nevertheless, has been given to us with the general sense of "Indian" (maãlone, b 1 = "it is an Indian") as opposed to "Brazilian" (keiaógere, b 1 = "the dressed").

We have not been able to collect any equivalent for the following terms cited [13] by Roquette Pinto and Rondon to designate Nambikwara groups: Taiopa (Roquette Pinto), Teiobé (Rondon), Tayopa (P. de Souza) (1), Xaodikokas (Roquette Pinto), Xaodes (Rondon), Xaodys

> 1. There is a term of parentage iópa which belongs to dialect c with the sense of "brother-in-law," but the possessive t or ta comes from dialect b.

(P. de Souza), Néné (Rondon), Minis (Rondon), Payates (Relatorios de Commissão Rondon, passim). The authors mentioned do not furnish any precise information concerning the dialect and the geographic situation of these groups.

V. Names of Other Tribes

Roquette Pinto cites the term Saluma as belonging to his northwest group. We have documented it under the forms:

28. solõnde (b 1);
29. solóma (c);

to designate a northern tribe strange to the Nambikwara. As von den Steinen cites the name Suruma, given, he says, by the Paressi to the Munduruku, this interpretation seems more reasonable. Group c calls the Paressi,

30. jamãte ĩkaraka (c)

and recognizes at least the existence of three other northern tribes,

31. ikãtinaui (c);
32. kauãli (c);
33. jerãkolõnte (c).

Sub-group b 1 at times mentions a tribe living around the Barão de Malgaço River,

34. ikãnjere (b 1).

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
181
291
301

> 2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
[313] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
[101] Paresi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaikoakoré, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the 'grated' pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
221 411 184 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[169] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[173] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

• • • •

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

513 [516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting [306] on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nut- [515] shells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 824 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [856] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

animated only by the crackling of a log, the light step of a provider, the howls of the dogs or the cries of an infant.

LIST OF PHONOLOGICAL SYMBOLS (1)

1. Cf. below, p. 37, n. 1.

ə	mute e
ã	nasal a
ẽ	nasal e
õ	nasal o
i	asyllabic i
u	asyllabic u
š	palatal fricative unvoiced sibilant
ž	palatal fricative voiced sibilant
č	palatal affricate unvoiced sibilant
γ	voiced velar fricative
ʔ	weak glottal stop
h	strong glottal stop
ˈ	accented syllable

1: Lévi-Strauss--19 E-6 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

PART I

FAMILY LIFE

KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 Whether the social unit under consideration be the temporary village or the nomadic band, the kinship system of the Nambikwara can as a whole be described as follows.

For any subject, male or female, all the members of his generation are divided into four large groups, that is two male groups [18] and two female groups. If the subject under consideration is a man, all the men of his generation will be divided into brothers and husbands of sisters (or brothers-in-law); while the women are divided into sisters and wives. In the same way, if the subject is a woman, all her female companions will be designated as sisters or as wives of brothers (sisters-in-law); and her male companions will share the names of brothers or husbands. Thus a man calls wife a number of women considerably larger than the number of his true wives, even if he is polygamous. And the woman, even though she is always monogamous, calls probably half of the men of her generation by the name of husband. In the same way brothers and sisters are far more numerous than actual brothers and sisters, that is, blood relatives. These latter are distributed into two sub-groups, the older brothers and the younger brothers in one, the older sisters and the younger sisters in the other. The term used to designate younger (blood) brothers and younger (blood) sisters also serves to designate "brothers" and "sisters" who are not blood relations, whatever their age may be compared to the subject under consideration.

A subject, male or female, calls his blood father father and all the latter's brothers; he calls his own mother mother and all her sisters. Reciprocally, all his "fathers" and all his "mothers" call him by the name of child, son, or daughter.

A single term is likewise used to designate the father of the father (or of the mother), the wife's father, and the mother's brother, while one and the same term serves to designate the mother of the father (or of the mother), the wife's mother, and the father's sister. But, contrary to the preceding case, there exists no reciprocal term. The father (or the mother) of my father and of my mother call me by a term connotating parents to the third generation, while my spouse's father and my mother's brother, on one hand (regularly identified), the mother of my spouse and my father's sister, on the other hand

601 (regularly identified), call me by a name meaning nephew and son-in-law, niece and daughter-in-law at the same time. Thus spouse's parents and my parents's parents identified when I name them, distinguish themselves when they answer me, since they use different terms as regards me.

Passing from the direct line to the collateral line, a generation is lost, since the same term is used to designate the parents of the spouse or the parents' parents. A grand-nephew is thus theoretically separated from his great-uncles by four levels of kinship, while he is only three degrees away in kinship from his grand-parents, who nevertheless identify themselves with his great-uncles, for the brother of the mother or the sister of the father are identified with the father and the mother of the spouse, as the scheme opposite indicates.

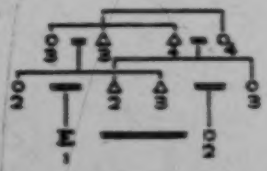


Fig. 1.

[19] Great-uncles (or aunts) thus use a new term to designate their grand-nephews (or nieces), connotating relatives to the fourth degree, while their descendants employ, to call them, the term already used in the direct line, but not yet in the collateral line, serving to designate relatives to the second degree. This last term serves thus, in direct line, to designate the third generation in line of descent, and the third ascending generation in collateral line, equivalent in descending line to the fourth degree. These remarks lead to the conclusion that the Nambikwara make no distinction between generations and degrees of kinship. A difference of one generation is to them equal to a removal of one degree.

That suggested, and within the same generation, all the individuals whom I call husband (or wife) are the sons (or daughters) of the "brothers" (blood or not) of my mother, and of the sisters (blood or not) of my father, that is, of the brothers of my mother (who are at the same time the "brothers-in-law" of my father), or of the sisters of my father (who are at the same time the "sisters-in-law" of my mother). And all the individuals whom I call brothers or sisters are the children of my father's brothers or my mother's sisters, that is, of the "wives" of my father (who are at the same time my "mothers"), or of the "husbands" of my mother (who are at the same time my

601 "mothers"), or of the "husbands" of my mother (who are at the same time my "fathers"). It is seen then that a given individual calls all his parallel cousins "brothers and sisters," and his parallel uncles and aunts "fathers and mothers", while he calls his cross-cousins husbands or wives, and his cross-aunts and uncles "father-in-law and mother-in-law" (identified with grandfather and grandmother, thus, more exactly: parents to the second degree). The confusion between gen-
601 erations and degrees thus makes equally possible the marriage of the
582 brother of the mother or of the father, to the daughter of the sister or of the brother, or of the sister of the father with the son of the brother, since, in these two cases, the parents-in-law will be the grandparents, called thus, by the term of parents to the second degree. These marriages, which we shall call "oblique," since they unite individuals belonging to two consecutive generations, are actually practiced.

601 Below is to be found the list of terms of relationship, as they have just been analyzed in their respective relations (Dialect A 1/2).

1. ahuĭnosu (a 1); ahuĭne (a2)..... father, brother of the father, husband of the mother's sister.
2. aʔkenosu (a 1); aʔketosu (a2)... mother, sister of the mother, wife of the father's brother.
3. uettu, uezu ..... child.
4. aʔkiraru..... son.
5. aʔkineru..... daughter.
6. akenanosu ..... older brother.
7. (t)oanosu ..... older sister.
[20]8. alonsu ..... younger brother, son of brother of the father, son of sister of the mother.
9. arindesu ..... younger sister, daughter of brother of the father, daughter of sister of mother.
10. asukosu ..... sister's husband, cross-cousin (masc.) (man speaking).
11. aseetasu ..... brother's wife, cross-cousin (fem.) (woman speaking).
12. asintu ..... sister's daughter (m. s.), brother's daughter (w. s.), son's wife.
13. asineeru ..... sister's son (m. s.), brother's son (w. s.), daughter's husband.

601

14. asoũnosu ..... father of the father or of the mother, brother of mother, father of spouse.

15. aʔeinosu ..... mother of the father or mother, sister of father, mother of spouse.

16. asuĩttu ..... son (or daughter) of the son (or of the daughter), brother (or sister) of the father (or mother) of the father (or of the mother).

17. asuẽlisu ..... son (or daughter) of the son (or of the daughter) of the brother (w. s.) or of the sister (m. s.).

18. asiẽsu (a 1); (tã) dosu (a2).. wife, daughter of the brother of the mother, daughter of the sister of the father.

19. ouẽnsaesu (a 1); (tã)nosu (a2).. husband, son of the brother of the mother, son of the sister of the father.

The following scheme shows their utilization in this theoretic group:

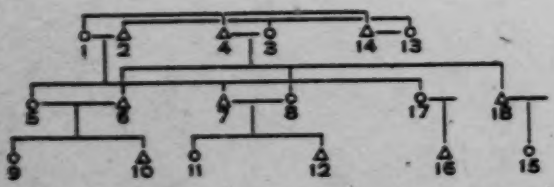


Fig. 2.

601 As concerns a male subject E 10:

	1- 3.	a2éinosu	
	2- 4.	asoúnosu	rec. : asuittu
	13-14.	asuíttu	rec. : asuélisu
	5-17.	a2kénosu	rec. : a2kiraru
	6-18.	ahuínosu	rec. : a2kiraru
[21]	7.	asoúnosu	rec. : asineéru
	8.	a2éinosu	rec. : asineéru
	9.	aríndesu or (t)oánosu	rec. : akenánosu or alónsu
	11.	asiésu	rec. : ouénsaesu
	12.	asúkosu	rec. : asúkosu (if the subject chosen is e 9 woman, E12 will be ouénsaesu and e 11 aseétasu, rec. : aseétasu)
	15.	aríndesu	rec. : alónsu
	16.	alónsu	rec. : aríndesu

If one does not keep account of the reciprocal use of the terms, normally univocal, alónsu and aríndesu in the case of parallel cousins, this nomenclature only includes univocal terms, with the exception of two: asúkosu and aseétasu, and each sex has at its disposition only one of these two reciprocal terms; in other words, a man has only brothers-in-law, while a woman has only sisters-in-law. It will be seen below that as concerns the first term (asúkosu), it implies particular relations between the men who use it.

The extreme simplicity of the system of course leads to some difficulties of nomenclature when one desires to distinguish degrees of parentage confounded by the system. In the same way its extreme symmetry risks bringing about contradictions when "oblique" marriages bring transfers between generations. To the classificatory nomenclature analyzed above is superimposed—or added—a descriptive nomenclature, which permits, in case of difficulty, placing the individual in the generation with more precision, or according to the degree of kinship which he holds with respect to the subject. This descriptive
[551] nomenclature is not currently used, and above all, it never intervenes in naming. But it is consulted each time there is some doubt, and in some cases more frequent usage can be pointed out.

The first difficulty might be produced concerning the distinction of the real husband or wife, compared to the theoretical husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical

husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical "fathers" or "mothers," or of true sons or daughters as compared to theoretical "sons" and "daughters." In most cases, the discrimination seems totally superfluous to the Indians, since it is so well accented by the differences of behavior. Sometimes also it seems useless because of the inverse of the preceding, the theoretical wife can become a real wife (for example in case of polygamy, or of remarriage), the theoretical father or mother, or the theoretical son or daughter, can play the role of true father or mother, or of true son or daughter, through the mechanism of adoption. This functions automatically, in the case of the father's death, the child then being taken in and raised by its father's brother. In this case his father's brother, whom he has always called father, becomes for him a real father even though by substitution, and the wife of his father's brother, who is most often his mother's sister, and whom he has consequently always called mother, is from then on treated by him as such, especially if his own mother is dead or has remarried. However, sometimes the Indians wish to sharpen the theoretical character of the name. Then they add to the classifying term a descriptive term, whose approximate meaning is that of "relative" in the most general sense, as,

[601] [606] [768] [22]

20. (akit) ajdnisu,

used in the substantive form above, or in the participial form ajdnere; or in the exclamatory form, in conversation, ajdneram.

Thus we have found the following appelations,

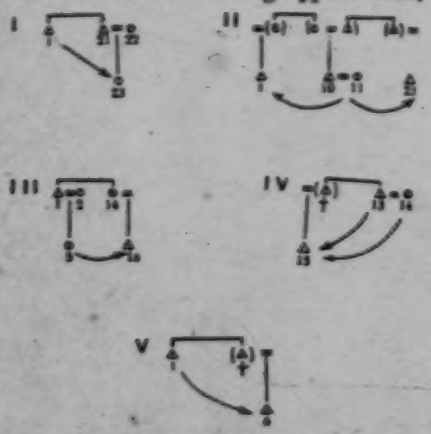


Fig. 3

I. aʔkinetu ajdneram. --II. (t)oyensaesu ajdnisu. III. oyensaesu ajdnisu (among children). IV. tayettu aʔkiraru ajdneram. --V. akineram (aʔkirara ajdneram).

601 A second difficulty comes up in the designation of parallel cousins. It has been seen above that the same name is used for them which designates the younger sister or the younger brother, whatever their age may be. This [23] usage suggests that the adequate translation of the terms alõnsu, akenõnosu, arĩ'ndesu, (t)oõnosu could be, rather than "elder" and "younger," big brother, big sister, little brother, little sister, with the same ambiguity that exists in our language between the real sense of the adjective and its figurative sense. Be that as it may, one often comes up against a contradictory situation, not only objectively (which does not shock Indian logic, as will be seen in the case of "mothers" younger than their "sons"), but also literally. This is what happens when for example, a woman calls a female cousin arĩ'ndesu who is quite obviously her elder. Then one has recourse to two supplementary terms, sometimes added to classifying terms, but also sometimes replacing them, even when it is a question of designating blood brothers or sisters. These are:

21. toã-nosu : "elder" (to designate a man);

22. toãtadosu : "elder" (to designate a woman).

These terms serve to sharpen the respective position, regarding the generation, for those who are:

23. arĩnẽdesu, or

24. alonẽenedẽsu,

that is, "one as regards the other of the arĩ'ndesu," or "the alõnsu," which is not permissible in certain instances; while two women can be without difficulty:

25. asetẽenãdesu

or two men:

26. asukoũnẽdesu,

that is, "the one for the other," asẽẽtasu or asũkosu. Thus we have found women who call their parallel cousins arĩ'ndesu toãtadosu, meaning, "my older little sister."

601 Other difficulties appear in the case of oblique marriages. When
582 the mother's brother marries the sister's daughter, the woman's grandparents are at the same time the husband's parents. When the husband marries one or several daughters of his wife's sister, his own parents are simultaneously the parents-in-law and the great-uncles of his wives. Thence the frequent necessity to differentiate more precisely than the classifying terms permit between mother's and the father's sisters, on one side (that is the potential parents-in-law), and the fathers and mothers of the father and mother (that is the eventual
601 parents-in-law of one of the spouses). The [24] following terms, then,

601 are found which complete (or substitute for) the classifying terms aʔéɟnosu, asoúnosu, ahuínosu, aʔkénosu:

27. arindagresu : "mother's mother";
28. oɥensáerosu : "mother's father";
29. aseétagresu : "father's mother";
30. alúdnarusu : "father's father";
31. aʔéɟndagresu : "sister of the mother's mother."

The etymology of the terms verifies the principal of marriage of cross-cousins. In fact, if one has:

Fig. 4.

it is established that:

arindagresu (or arindakerosu, "little old sister"), is the sister of my father's father;

oɥensáerosu (from oɥénsaesu, "husband") is the husband of my mother's mother;

aseetágresu (or aseetákerosu, "old sister-in-law") is the sister-in-law of my mother's mother;

alúdnarusu (from alónsu, "brother") is the brother of my mother's mother.

Concerning uncles and aunts, their name is sharpened by descriptive terms:

32. akáɟntagresu, atákarusu: "mother's sister";
33. akãterosu : "mother's brother";
34. aɥádnosu : "father's sister."

No descriptive term has been found for the father's brother, normally
[768] called father (ahuinosu); perhaps this lack is to be explained by his position as father in case of the blood father's death.

On the other hand, the following descriptive terms have been collected in the course of attempts at geneological reconstructions, but it was not possible to determine for certain the levels or degrees of parentage to which they refer. It is possible that they are employed jointly with certain of the preceding terms:

601 35. tarũtarosu : "old brother-in-law" (tarũte [b 1/2] equals asũkosu [a 1/2]);

36. tuĩtarosu : "old husband" (uĩte [b 1/2] equals oyensaesu [a 1/2]);

37. ianerosu : ?

38. asoũkerosu : "old grandfather" or "father-in-law";

[25] [764] 39. takaʔkenosu cited with the commentary : "When the takaʔkenosu dies, the alonsu cut their hair, but not the akenãnosu."

Finally, two terms of relationship express the relations coming from "oblique" marriages and from the division of generations into "elders" and "younger":

40. ajũnkedisu;

41. (t)ãdirikisu.

A man calls the akenancsu of his mother ajũnkedisu (while the term asoũnosu is generally—but not always—reserved for the alonsu); one and the other are, of course, the asũkosu of his father. The same individual is then called "father-in-law" (asoũnosu) or "husband" (oyensaesu) by the sister of the subject considered, or, if she is married, ajũnkedisu also, the husband then calling him "father" (ahuĩnosu). One sees then that the ajũnkedisu is a man whose daughter or wife I (masculine subject) marry, and whose son my sister marries, if she does not marry the man himself. Thus it is explained that the ajũnkedisu is asũkosu or asoũnosu, to my brother; asũkosu or asinerũ, to my father; akenãnosu or asinerũ, to my mother; oyensaesu or asoũnosu, to my sister; ahuĩnosu, to my wife.

On the other hand, a man calls a woman (t)ãdirikisu who can be arĩndesu or asintu of his father, aserũsu or asĩntu of his mother, aserũsu or akenosu of his sister, aekenosu of his wife. She is then a woman whom I marry or whose daughter I marry. A woman, in her turn, calls another woman (t)ãdirikisu who is akendesu of her husband, that is, a woman whose brother or son she marries.

601 582 One sees that these two names bestow two privileges, or opens a double right: that of the marriage of the mother's brother (and, theoretically, of the father's brother) with his niece; a right belonging essentially to the elder brother; and of the marriage of the sister's son (brother's son) with his aunt. This rule, or rather this possibility is explained on the one hand by the tendency of the Nambikwara towards polygamy, on the other hand, by the scarcity (moreover consecutive) of women. We shall study examples in an instant.

601

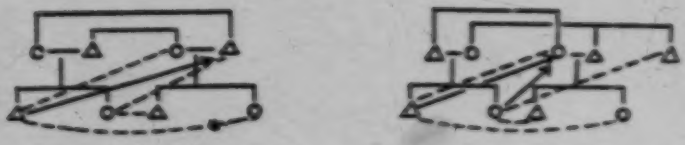


Fig. 5.
Left equals ajũnkedisu; right equals t∂dirikisu.

[26] In the nomenclature of the terms utilized for the description of relationships of parentage, we shall cite again:

42. as∂kesu (a 1/2) yettetere (b 1/2): "widower, widow."
43. koaade (b 1) : "orphan (masc.)";
44. koadare (b 1) : "orphan (fem.)".

• • • •

As we have just seen, the terms ajũnkedisu and (t)∂dirikisu appear as tentatives for the solutions of ambiguous situations coming from an oblique marriage. These are only partially successful, since my parents always have the possibility of interpreting, in two different ways, their relationship of parentage concerning my ajũnkedisu or my (t)∂dirikisu. Most often, these ambiguities are left without solution, or else one of the two following phenomena happens: each member of the family interprets his relation to the doubtful relative in the way easiest for him, without worrying about the fact that the different names in use might appear grossly contradictory; or else the relative—or the bloc of relatives—in doubt are shifted by one generation or by one degree of proximity as a means of rationalizing the structure. These difficulties appear especially in the case of polygamous unions. These are generally realized in the form of an encroachment of one or several women belonging to the younger (génération inférieure) generation than the one into which they should have—sometimes already have—married normally. Here is a striking illustration, where the complexity of relationships to the younger generation follows an oblique marriage to the older generation.

601

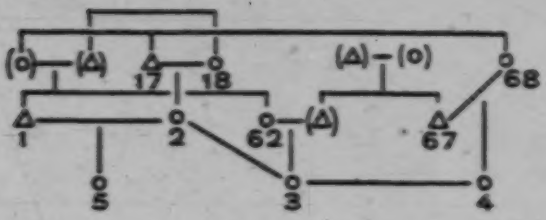


Fig. 6.

This is what happens: A1 married his cross-cousin a2, by whom he has a little daughter a5. Later on, he married two young women: one (a3) whose father is dead; the other, a4, whose father was the brother of the father of a3 and was called "husband" by a2 who also called the mother of a4 "sister-in-law." This established, a4, and a3 are, for A1 and a2, "daughters" or "daughters-in-law." Since A1 married them, they have become, by promotion:

For a2, "little sisters" (arĩndesu);

[27] For a5 (for whom they should normally have been sisters or sisters-in-law), "mothers" or "mother's sisters";

For A1, wives.

And while his wife a2 continues to give to the parents-in-law of her husband the old name of husband (ouensaesu) and of sister-in-law (aseetasu), he now calls them parents-in-law, that is asoũnosu and aẓẽnosu.

Another case presents the following combination:

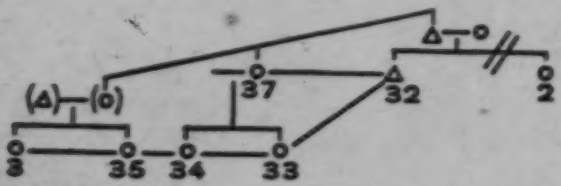


Fig. 7

601
582 A man marries a woman and subsequently her four "daughters" (probably two blood daughters from the preceding marriage, and two parallel nieces). In this case, a2 calls the older wife a2ejnosu, and the four young ones aseetasu, from which one can conclude that A32 has married at the same time his (t)adirikisu and the latter's daughters.

Finally, in this third case:

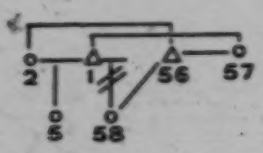


Fig. 8.

Normally, a2 calls a57 aseetasu (wife of her brother), but she disregards the fact that a58 is in the same situation, and keeps for her the name which she gave her before her marriage to A56, of tayettu (my child, daughter of her husband). Her own daughter a5 normally calls a57 a2ejnosu (wife of the mother's brother), and a58 tosnosu (older sister), however, she could marry and call the son of her "mother-in-law" husband as well as the son of her "sister."

Thus the Indians treat abnormal situations resulting from polygamous unions in two ways. Either they admit the creation of a new situation and bless it by revising the names (the newly-married wives are promoted to the class of "mothers," and their parents to the class of [28] "parents of the third degree"; the women are then separated in nomenclature from their former brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law and husbands, who become sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law); or else the former names are simply preserved, the practical knowledge of the situation supplanting the impropriety of the language.

601 But these uncertainties, which appear in the case of verbal contradictions, are completely absent in the presence of real contradictions. These latter are admitted as normal consequences of the system, or more exactly, they are not considered as contradictions. Thus:

601

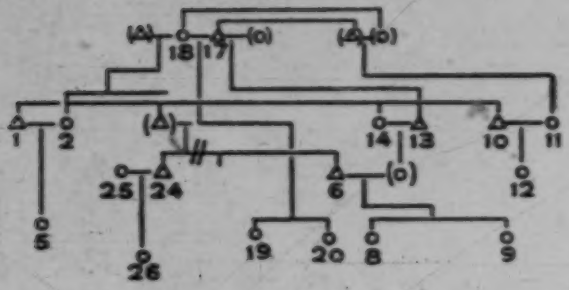


Fig. 9

A17, a man of about 55 years, married a18 (about 50 years) and has by her two daughters, a19 (about 12 years) and a20 (about 6 years). a18 has from a former marriage, a daughter a2 (about 30 years) married to A1 (about 35 years); the latter has taken a son A24 from an older dead brother; this son, himself married and the father of a baby, is about 26 years old. A17 and a18 are then "asoúnosu" and "aéʔinosu". The daughter a2 of a18 is a "aʔkénosu," mother of a daughter of 8 or 9 years, a5. Under these conditions, the two little girls a19 and a20 are likewise "mothers," and they are called "aʔkénosu" by:

a5 : their contemporary [feminine];
A6 : their elder [masculine] (about 25 years);
a12 : their elder [feminine] (about 22 years);
A24 : their elder [masculine] (about 26 years);

and consequently they are called "grandmother" by:

a8 : their contemporary [feminine] (about 6 years);
a9 : their junior [feminine] (about 3 years);

the daughters of A6; and, in fact, a2, who is a "mother," normally calls them "little sisters."

601 184 [29] The system of parentage of the central, southern, and western groups (dialects b 1 and b2) does not present any fundamental difference as concerns the preceding. The degrees of parentage distinguished are less numerous; on the contrary, one finds quite a great variety of terms used to designate a set degree. The fact that the informants use several terms to qualify their situation as concerns a certain subject suggests that these terms are often synonyms, even though their etymological sense is not always perfectly clear.

601 184 Grandparents are most often singled out among themselves, and distinguished from the parents of the spouse, which does not happen in system a (1 or 2); also, the son (or daughter) of the brother (or the of the sister) of the father (or of the mother) are sometimes designated by different terms. The groups studied are not dense enough to be able to make a base for a theory of the system in force. Solutions of replacement intervene frequently, and the preferential forms of marriage found are not adequate for generalizations, due to an insufficient number of cases. But the preceding considerations suggest that preferential unions, choosing also among certain categories of cross-cousins, could formerly have been in force. [582]

Finally, the names for brothers (and sisters), elder and younger, are more changeable than in system a (1 or 2); and one sees appear a new term designating the brother or the sister of the other sex. This disorganization of vocabulary can be interpreted as resulting from the influence of the northern system (dialect c), where we shall see later on that it tends more and more to assimilate the system of groups b. [177]

Here is the vocabulary of parentage used, with references to group a (1/2): [Note: m.s. = man speaking; w.s. = woman speaking; m.w.s. = man or woman speaking.]

Dialect a 1/2	Dialect b 1/2	
ahuĩnosu	1. (ta)miĩnde	(my) father, father's brother.
	2. eĩnde	father (equals man).
	3. uãĩre	father (used to designate absent father, or father of a third person, or the father's brother.
	4. (ta)miĩnlaore	father's brother (equals other father).
	5. (ta)mindũdnere	father (father's brother when he substitutes for dead father).
a2kenosu	6. (ta)nãde	(my) mother, mother's sister.
	7-8. (ta)nãdelaore, ndaore	mother (other mother; for the mother's sister and the mother of a third).

601
184

	9.	denaúdnere	mother (wife of the father's brother. cf.5)
[30] uettu	10.	uette	child.
	11.	namãde	small child, baby.
aʔkiʼraru	12.	nkiʼraende	son.
	13.	éingire	son (= little man).
	14.	nikilaúdnere	son (used by the father's brother to the brother's son).
aʔkiʼneru	15.	iʼnkeninde	daughter.
	16.	deéingire	daughter (= little woman).
	17.	inkãniúdnere	daughter (adopted).
(t)oánosu	18.	tõaãde	older sister.
	19.	kirúnde	older sister (?).
ariʼndesu	20.	(t)õaniuiniʼkere	younger sister.
	21.	nliʼnde	brother or sister of opposite sex.
akenánosu	22.	(t)õuatãde	older brother.
alónsu	23.	(t)akanaãde	younger brother.
asiʼesu	24.	(t)rére, ndeére	(my) spouse, wife.
ouénsaesu	25.	(t)uirare	(my) spouse, husband.
	26.	étende	husband (equals man).
	27.	uiráere	husband (when he is absent, or the husband of another).
asúkosu	28.	(t)árute	cross-cousin (masc.), sister's husband (m. s.).
aseétasu	29.	(ta)dédere	cross-cousin (fem.), brother's wife (w. s.).
asineéru	30.	(t)asirare	sister's son, daughter's husband (m. s.).
	31.	(t)asininde	brother's son, daughter's husband (w. s.).
	32.	(ta)uriʼnde	daughter's husband.
asiʼntu	33.	siiʼdare 34. uikiãde	brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.) son's wife.
asoúnosu	35.	ndukuiʼnde	
	36.	(ta)kúnde	mother's father, father of spouse.
	37.	soúnde 38. (ta)sónde	father of father or of the mother.

601
184

aʔeihosu	39.	hiʔinde	mother of spouse.
	40.	ʔirunde	mother of the father or of the mother.
asuiʔttu	41.	asuiʔte	son (daughter) of the son (or daughter), sister of father (brother of mother) of father or of mother.
asueʔisu	42.	asuiʔarore	children of the son or of the daughter of the brother (w. s.), children of the son or of daughter of the sister (m. s.).

[31] Descriptive terms:

43.	ueikuainde	44. (ta)uiudnere	child of a third person, adopted child.
45.	ioone		adolescent. (masc)
46.	tilone		adolescent. (fem.)

(For orphan, masculine or feminine, widower, widow, see above, p. 26.)

• • • •

We go now to the system of parentage of the northern group (dialect c):

1. uainko..... father.
2. hiʔmi..... father's brother.
3. nauko..... mother, mother's sister.
4. asiataba..... father's sister.
5. kooka..... mother's brother, father of the spouse, father of the father or of the mother.
6. ŝiiʔko..... wife of the mother's brother, mother of the spouse, mother of the father or of the mother.
7. taata..... son, sister's son (w. s.), son of a "wife" (m. s.).
8. taatero..... daughter, sister's daughter (w. s.), daughter of a "wife" (m. s.).
9. aiŝinu..... son or daughter of the sister (m. s.).
10. taamero..... son or daughter of the brother (w. s.).
11. iaia..... older brother or sister.
12. ŝabani..... younger brother or sister.
13. iatta..... wife, daughter of the father's sister, daughter of the mother's sister.

601
184

14.	tiimo.....	husband, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother.
15.	jopa.....	sister's husband, wife's brother (m. s.).
16.	ŝiuitta.....	brother's wife, husband's sister (w. s.).
17.	ŝiauitte.....	daughter's husband, (f. p.), daughter's husband, "wife's" husband (m. s.).
18.	ŝinaiŝo.....	brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.), when she is at the same time wife of the son (m. w. s.) or wife of the younger brother (m. s.).
19.	ŝiuŝi.....	daughter's children.
20.	ŝoeŝo.....	son's child, or of the daughter when the latter is married to an uncle.
21.	zoa.....	child (married to an uncle).

[197] [32] This vocabulary of relationships apparently does not offer any affinity linguistically with that of dialects a and b; and the structure of the system also seems different. Without doubt the fundamental principle—the marriage of cross-cousins—remains the same. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to refer to the list of relatives designated by the terms tiimo and iatta. Again one finds the division of members of the same generation into sisters and wives (m. s.), or brothers and husbands (w. s.) on one side, and on the other, sisters and wives of brothers (w. s.), or brothers and husbands of sisters (m. s.). But the distinction here is more confused, since it is accompanied by an absence of symmetry concerning the designation of the brothers and sisters of parents, and the children of the brothers and sisters of the subject. Instead of finding the first divided into fathers and mothers, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, and the second into children, and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, we have a more complicated terminology. The name of the father's sister (asjataba) differs from that of the wife of the mother's brother (ŝiiko), although they are habitually confused in a system of marriage among bilateral cross-cousins. There is also a special name for the father's brother. But, if this latter is a younger brother who has one of his nieces, he will be called brother-in-law (jopa) by his brother's son, his nephew. Even more delicate is the naming of nephews and nieces because the symmetry carried on by the other systems between the children of brother (of a brother) and the children of sister (of a sister) fades out giving way to a new symmetry, this time between the children of sister (of a sister), and the children of the wife (classificatory) of the brother, who are called by the same name. Moreover, the children

601 born respectively from a brother and from a sister receive different
184 names according to whether they are the sons or daughter of a brother (of a sister), or sons or daughter of a sister (of a brother). Finally, it is no longer normally possible to identify the son-in-law (ŝiaui'tte) and the daughter-in-law (ŝinaiŝo) with the nephew or the niece (cross-), and the ŝiuŝi, soeŝo (the same difference as the asui'ttu, asui'te, and asuelisu or asuiarore of the preceding systems) do not correspond exactly to relatives of the third generation, or to the third degree.

601 These contrasts are clarified when one studies the forms of mar-
184 riage actually practiced. Of eight marriages, five are "horizontal,"
582 that is uniting a husband and wife coming from the same classificatory generation, and three are "oblique," the husband coming from the generation of his wife's mother:

C1 = c2 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal);
C4 = c5 : husband's brother and wife's sister (horizontal);
C6 = c7 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C12 = c13 : mother's older brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C16 = c17 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C20 = c8 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C20 = c21 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C29 = c28 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal).

[33] In the absence of genealogical facts, one can even suppose that two of the marriages above, classed as "horizontal," are probably oblique, given the considerable difference in age between the husband and wife (C20 = c8, c21); such is often the case of children issued from "oblique" marriages. But even disregarding this possibility, the proportion of "oblique" relationships rises when one passes from marriages as such to the classificatory relationship of husband and wife. Thus C6, for example, calls "wife":

c2 : wife's sister;
c5 : sister of father's wife;
c7 : his own wife;
c8 : sister of father's wife;
c13: wife's sister;
c17: wife's sister;
c21: sister of father's wife;
c24: wife's sister;
c31: wife's sister;

there are actually three horizontal relationships and six oblique (directly or indirectly, through the already oblique position of the intermediary).

We have seen above that the "oblique" marriage is not unknown 601
in the eastern, central, southern and western groups. But it is not so 582
frequent there, and above all, the system of names does not take ac- 184
count of it. The problems resulting from this form of marriage are, then, resolved in two ways: either they preserve the names which have become contradictory, or they displace one or several individuals from the category of kinship to another. The method of the northern system is entirely different, for this is the system whose structure is accommodated to marriage between persons of different generations. (1) This new character is shown by a clearer distinction,

> 1. For the theoretical interpretation, it will be compared with the Miwok and Ao Naga systems, as we have analyzed them in another work. (Les structures élémentaires de la parenté, ch. 17 and 22.)

within each generation, between the "elder" and the "younger"; in place of four terms distinguishing the relative age and sex, there are only two, jaja and sabáni, which refer to age and apply indifferently to both sexes. Moreover, the term sabáni tends to have the general meaning of "young" or "little," and succeeds in specifying, from this point of view, whatever the kinship relationship is (2) implying

> 2. Cf. below, p. 37, text No. 1.

thus that the quality of sabáni is equivalent to displacement to another generation. And actually, even though the older brother and the younger brother can equally claim to marry their sister's daughter, the older brother, even when married to his niece, will continue to be called jaja by [34] his wife's mother. On the other hand, in the same situation the younger brother sometimes passes to the rank of sjauitte; he is no longer considered as a brother, but as a son-in-law. Moreover, if the term ŝjauitte normally means a "horizontal" son-in-law, that is a cross-nephew married to a daughter, it is significant that a man calls ŝjauitte his younger brother, who has married a niece, and even a "wife"; and that a woman designates a younger brother married to a daughter in the same way, as has just been seen. Nevertheless, a man calls his cross-cousins (fem.) and his sisters' daughters indiscriminately jatta (wife), while distinguishing the husbands of his "wives" as ŝjauitte (horizontal son-in-law), sabáni (or ŝjauitte, replacing sabáni) and jaja.

601 It might be considered that these differences as regards the other
184 systems are purely formal. They bring on, however, some important
582 consequences. The preferential marriage between mother's brother and sister's daughter must introduce asymmetry between the children of the brother and those of the sister, thus justifying the use of different names in the two cases. For the same reason, one sees a shift of a classificatory generation appear between a woman who has married an uncle, and that of her parallel cousins. Here is a striking example:

Fig. 10.

c23 calls C6 (in reality, sabani) ŝiauitte; thus her daughter c24 calls him tiimo (husband), since he is married to her sister, c7, and their brother C25 calls him iopa for the same reason. For c23, her granddaughters (and nieces at the same time) c8 and c9 are ŝiuŝi, called taatero by the sister of the mother c24, and aiŝinu by the brother of the mother C25. But if one looks at it from the point of view of c31, the essential fact is not, as in the preceding cases, that C6 has married a daughter or a sister (here, a niece or a parallel cousin), but that he is the mother's brother. Consequently, she calls him kooka (father-in-law), and she calls the wife of C6 ŝiiko (mother-in-law), and the children of the latter become her ŝiuitta (sisters-in-law).

A double conclusion can be drawn from this analysis. In the first place, it must be remembered that in systems a and b the term for "older brother or sister" also means parallel cousins. Now we have just established that in the system of group c the parallel cousin can actually be displaced to a younger generation, and that such is the case when the marriage is of the "oblique" type. It may, therefore, be that the oblique marriage has occupied a more important place in systems a and b than is the case today. The second point is that the kinship system of group b, with its use of a special term for the brother or sister of the opposite sex, and its distinction [35] between the parents of spouses and the grandparents, takes an intermediary position

601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system.
This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

[36] Eastern group/ dialect a1: oakletosu (a1); ualiere (b1); ualiririte (c).

621 [161] This group, comprising 23 persons divided into six families, was found in the region of the Papagaio River (Utiarity) upon the occasion of one of its excursions in the nomad period. As we learned later, it was part of quite an important Indian community localized in several villages or camp sites in an unexplored zone of the right bank of the Juruena River, where we went, traveled and lived with them. The dry season and the period of nomadism does not seem to have been the only reason for the isolation of the group; some differences re- [622] lating to command had seemingly provoked a break, grouping a certain number of individuals around an active and ambitious chief. We have, undoubtedly, been called on to play a semi-conscious role in this fight. We shall return to this point when we treat of command. However, the encounters of the group with other bands belonging to the same community have always been cordial. The meeting with a first band approximately restored the population of the winter vil- [161] lage; and the strength of a neighboring village, found later on, increased the number to 75 persons, the largest number of Indians that we saw united in eight months.

As will be seen by the geneological chart opposite, the restricted group is composed of four generations, the oldest reduced to two individuals, the following being composed of "husbands" and "wives," "brothers," "sisters," "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law." The third and the fourth, finally, constitute a complex mixture of children, sometimes at an early age, considered as "children" or "relatives," and of adults classed as "brothers," "sisters," "husbands," and "wives," and shifted to a generation younger than their normal one because of their situation as children of older brothers.

Before giving several quick pieces of information about each of the members of the group from the point of view of his situation in the kinship system and of his individual psychology, it is necessary to stop for a moment at the question of proper names.

• • • •

551 Proper names are never pronounced among the Nambikwara. A very strict prohibition forbids them and raises a nearly insoluble problem for the notation of genealogies, even though the taboo does not seem to be as rigorous for the dead as for the living. Nevertheless, one [37] never hears a proper name, and individuals call one another

551 either by simple exclamations:

hena (dialect a1): herõ (a2, b1, b2): "People!"; or by the kinship term

1. sabani ɔ - uainko (c): "Hey young one. —Father?"
2. ʃiditneite mandotiena takenaãde kuikunjena uirige takenãe kuimkumenẽ (b1) (1): "The manioc is burnt; my brother

126 1. It is necessary to define more exactly the manner in which these texts, and those which follow, have been obtained. We have not had the aid of any interpreter. At the time of our stay there was only one, a Nambikwara Indian educated far from his own people by the Jesuit fathers, and whom unfortunately, we could not employ. The Indians in contact with the posts of the telegraph line use, in their relations with the Paressi or Brazilian employees, a sort of "sabir", formed about forty words, one part Indian and the other Portuguese. This ingenious language, accompanied by numerous gestures, served as an introduction. At the end of about three months we had achieved a grossly empiric knowledge of Nambikwara itself, permitting us to make ourselves understood by the Indians, and more or less to follow a conversation. This result could not have been obtained without the tireless good will of the informants always ready to exchange words (Nambikwara for French or Portuguese) and to develop the obscure points by the use of an appropriate sign language. Working with these methods of chance we have both noted in passing fragments of conversation which were not addressed to us, and collected information by dictation. In both cases, the interpretation of the text was taken up again, afterwards, with the informants. It goes without saying that a meaning established in such a superficial way is not free from inaccuracies which sometimes may prove to be gross. We do not publish them for their literal meaning, often subject to caution, but rather because of the rough impression of indigenous life and atmosphere which they nevertheless aid to recreate. For the transcriptions, we are indebted to Mr. Paul L. Garvin for those which he established with the aid of our travel notes, and which he uses in his "Esquisse du système phonologique du Nambikwara-Tarunde," which appears in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, 1948.

[198]

551 scrapes it to eat it. Brother! Scrape!"

551 177 The Indians feel very strongly the inconvenience of the system, especially when they are in contact with the whites. Those among them who intermittently frequent the posts of the Rondon Line have very rapidly adopted the Brazilian names which they hear pronounced around them, and they are—or have been—baptized Julio, José Maria, Luiza, Iracema, etc., giving these surnames some strange distortions. Sometimes too, there are nicknames like Lebre (lièvre = rabbit), Assucar (sucre = sugar) or Cavaignac (the shape of beard worn by the famous general). Several Indians have preserved this last name, thus perpetuating in the backwoods the memory of the time when Rondon lived and flourished.

We could use these names to designate them in the course of this study, or also their real names insofar as we have been able, in certain cases, to restore them. But these Brazilian names are only carried by the small minority of Indians who are in contact with the posts of the Rondon Line; [38] and the authentic names are lacking to us in a great number of cases. At any rate, the process would not be true to reality. For the remarkable point is that, in daily life, one does not hear a single name pronounced. It thus seems to us more in 128 conformance with the indigenous atmosphere to refrain, in the course 551 of this work, from using names to designate individuals, and we shall content ourselves with symbols indicating the sex, the group, and the place in the group of the individual considered (for each group, respectively A, B, C; capital letter for a man, small letter for a woman, followed by a figure identifying the subject.)

551 124 Nevertheless, as has just been indicated, it has been possible for us, for group a1, to collect a complete list of names. This is how: one day when we were playing with a group of children, one of the little girls was struck by a playmate. She came immediately to take refuge near us, and began, in a very mysterious manner, to murmur something in our ears which we did not understand, and which we were obliged to have repeated for us several times, so that the adversary realized the trick, and, apparently furious, came in turn to reveal what appeared to be a solemn secret. After several hesitations and questions, the interpretation of the incident left no doubt. The first little girl had come, out of revenge, to give us the name of her enemy, and when the latter saw this, she told us the name of the other one, as a means of reprisal. From this moment on, it was very easy, if not very scrupulous, to arouse the children against one another, and to obtain from each of them the name of all the others. After this, a little complicity thus having been created, they gave us the

551/124 names of the adults without too much difficulty. When the latter found out our secret meetings, the children were harshly reprimanded, and the source of our information cut off. However, during a moment of great confidence one day, A1 gave us the names of her parents and great-grandparents, so that at the end of the account the list of proper names covers a total of five generations:

551/601
1. Mother of the mother of A1 ..... Arigudadusu.
2. Father of the father of A1 ..... Itritilisu, Irigudusu.
3. Mother of the father of A1 ..... Etuaugluglusu.
4. Father of the mother of A1 ..... Iglirikulusu.
5. Father of A1 ..... Arakudadusu.
6. Mother of A1 ..... Tuuuarusu.
7. A1 ..... (missing)
8. a2 ..... Guenderesu.
9. a3 ..... Uaiterekaneru.
10. a4 ..... Uaarakaneru.
11. Mother of a4 ..... Uaarasu.
12. Father of a4 ..... Nisuanirusu.
13. a5 ..... Guenderekineru.

[39]
14. A6 ..... Tairirsu.
15. a7 ..... Nariisu, Niãniãkinere.
16. a8 ..... Tajirikineru.
17. a9 ..... Tairikineru.
18. A10 ..... Nikloerekinedetu.
19. all ..... Seli?itirokasu.
20. a12 ..... Seli?itikineru.
21. A13 ..... Tareesakaresu.
22. a14 ..... Njoselese.
23. A15 ..... Nikãkitasu.
24. A16 ..... Njoseleselekiraru.
25. A17 ..... Kajãkaresu.
26. a18 ..... Sonaasakaresu.
27. a19 ..... Sonaasakaneru.
28. a20 ..... Sonaasakarikiritasu, Kjatorekineru.
29. A21 ..... Karlolequ.
30. a22 ..... Itatãnjedetu, Idonerekineru.
31. a23 ..... Kjedikitasu, Kuetitodesukineru, Karlokineru.

551 As seen by the list, two categories of names exist. The adults possess a name of their own. The children are named after their parents—son, or daughter, of so and so. The name used in this case is usually that of the mother (a5/a12 (but who is not a child), A16/a19/a20); but not always: a8 and a9, whose mother is dead, are both called after their father, daughters of Tairiʔsu. As concerns a23, who is a little baby, a wide divergence manifests itself among our informants (it must not be forgotten that they are children, and that their information is uncertain), and the name of Karlokineru, daughter of Karlokeʒu, her father, has been taken even though her mother is living. But, as will be seen farther on, during our stay A21, a22, and a23 are confused in the same borderline way. On the other hand, the fact that the names of Kiatorekineru and of Idonerekineru could be chosen for a20 and a22 suggests that they are not the daughters of a18, but parallel cousins of her daughters. If such is not the case, the two names may be part of a collection, or have been attributed wrongly to their supposed holders.

[553 881] Adolescents receive their names from the chief at the moment of puberty. The name giving is a point to which we shall return later on. The fact that certain adults are designated on our list by a technical term is undoubtedly explained by the fact that our informants did not know their true names. Nevertheless, it must be noticed that, in the two cases being discussed, a12 is a pregnant woman and a22 a woman who is nursing a child. Both are submitted to complex prohibitions. A special prohibition rests perhaps on the name of individuals placed in certain situations.

[40] Whatever the case may be, these are the only names which we have been able to obtain and, regarding the prohibition which covers them, in the course of this report, we will not use them more than they are used in the daily life of the Nambikwara Indians. We shall now give some information concerning the individuals composing the group studied.

601
621

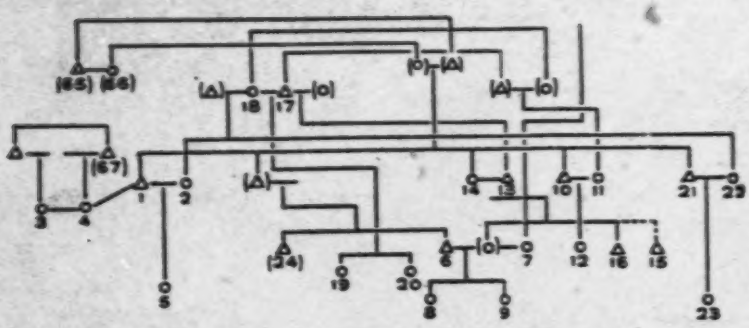


Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622
115
157 A1. --The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years, married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531
212

1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

531
212 Besides, they called the act of writing: ɨekariukediutu (a1), that is "make lines," which for them had an esthetic interest:

(3) Kihikaɣnere mũʔiene (b1).
It is nice to make lines.

[177] The drawings reproduced in Figure 19 thus constitute a cultural innovation inspired by our own drawings.

622 confers; also [41] he asked us for a note pad and a pencil, and we
115 are likewise equipped when we travel together. He does not com-
157 municate to me verbally the information that I ask of him, but traces on his paper some wavy lines and presents them to me as though I should read his response. But he himself is half duped by his comedy. Each time that his hand finishes a line, he examines it anxiously, as if the significance should miraculously spring forth, and each time, the same chagrined disillusion is painted on his face. But he doesn't give in. And it is silently understood between us that his scrawl possesses a meaning which I pretend to understand. Naturally, the verbal commentary follows almost immediately, and excuses me from having to demand some very necessary clarifications. When we discuss command, we shall return to certain aspects of this semi-mystification.

He is a valuable informant who understands the problems, perceives the difficulties, and is interested in the work; but his functions absorb him often, and he disappears for whole days on a hunting expedition, a survey of itinerary or a localization of ripe seed or fruit trees. On the other hand, his wives often call him to tender love games in which he lets himself be voluntarily involved.

In a general way, his attitude shows a logic, a continuity of purpose, very exceptional among the Nambikwara who are often unstable and temperamental. Placed in other conditions and with other means at his disposal, he might be a valuable organizer. And he is, after all, alone responsible for the destinies of his group, which he conducts with competence, although in a sometimes utopian spirit.

The father and the mother of A1 are dead. But his father's brother and mother's sister, whom he calls ahuĩnosu and aʔkenosu live in the same village (A65 and a66).

115 a2. --About 30 to 35 years. The eldest of the wives of A1, mother of a5, daughter of a18 and a now dead father. She is serious industrious, a little reserved in social relations. In the triple household

In the triple household
115 of A1, she plays the role of the guardian of the home, and she is al-
[595] ways seen occupied in some culinary or craft job. She reveals
157 little voluntarily, but when she decides to do it, her information is clear and precise. It is always to her that one has recourse to settle knotty cases, to complete a vocabulary of kinship, to respond to a systematic interrogation.

115 a3. --Vigorous girl of some twenty years, secondary wife of A1.
157 Her mother (a63), arindesu of A1, akenanosu of a2, is at present married to an asukosu of A1. Her father, dead, was a brother of the father of a4.

She is exuberant, always good-humored, ready to go with her husband on the hardest expeditions, capable of carrying heavy loads. She is a true "force of nature"; physically, she is not without [42] charm, she is smiling and full of good health. As an informant she is vague, practically useless.

a4. --About 17 or 18 years of age, the youngest of the wives of A1. Her father and her mother (A67 and a68) are living, asoinosu and a2einosu of A1, ouensaesu and aseetasu of a2. She is pretty, coquettish and provocative, does not give herself over to any appreciable activity, except on a trip when she becomes the active collaborator of her husband. She talks voluntarily, laughs a great deal, is very curious about our clothing, utensils, manner of eating and living. Totally inefficient as an informant.

a5. --Eight to 9 years. Daughter of A1 and a2. She has a very
[142] marked sub-nasal prognathism, and has, on the left cheek, a sort of small pimply hole, without doubt due to a tropical ulcer. She is a very calm and amiable child, sensitive to our advances, but who, when she is annoyed, shows sudden fits of anger or outbursts of somber humor during which she is unapproachable. The rest of the time she loves our company and collaborates willingly on the ethnographic work.

A6. --About 30 years: he is the son of an older vanished brother of A1; he calls his paternal uncle "father," the wife a2 of the latter, "mother," and the little a5 "sister." From a first marriage with the daughter of his father's sister (a14), now dead, he has two children (a8 and a9). He is at present remarried (to a7). Otherwise he is vain, satisfied with himself, not very intelligent, a very good father and very taken with his young wife with whom he is always found tenderly embraced. He is a verbose informant, but dull and without personality.

115 a7. --A pretty woman of some twenty years, perhaps less; young
157 wife of A6. Her parents are living and reside, she says, in the village. She is asintu of A1 and a2, arindesu of a3 and a4, asecʼtasu of a5. She is stupid, egotistical, interested only in herself. She considers herself very seductive, which appears to be (from the Indian point of view, of course) very exaggerated. She systematically refuses to show the slightest interest in the two daughters of her husband, conducts herself very amorously as concerns him.

115 a8 and a9--About six and two years, daughters of the first mar-
855 riage of A6 and daughters of the deceased daughter of a14. The two
157 children are practically left to themselves. Their stepmother does not bother with them; their father takes care of them when his manly tasks and his wife permit him the time. Their grandmother is their
[603] chief aid and it is to her that they run when they hurt themselves, are hungry, thirsty or afraid. But she herself is absorbed by the cares of her sons, of her stepson (A15) and of her husband. And very often the baby is neglected for entire days, covered with ashes and filth, unless some woman of the group, seized by pity or simply [43] disgusted, takes her and gives her a bath. Most often it is her big sister, precociously mature, who takes care of her, carries her, even though she is scarcely any bigger, feeds her and cleans her up. Both are charming children, gay and hungry for caresses like those who are habitually deprived of them. Their lot is a great worry for the
[181] community. Under this regime of a hard life constantly absorbed by the small tasks, each one of which is hard work, one can with difficulty accept other cares than one's own. And these neglected children are a perpetual source of irritation, of which they are often the victims, even when taken care of. Many times we wondered if we should not take charge of the youngest of the children. They would have given her to us gladly. uThe baby was so cute that we would have been tempted if the perspective of seeing ourselves having a quarrel on the return trip with the Service for the Protection of the Indians had not, very reasonably, dissuaded us.

115 A10. --About 40 years. He is alonsu of A1, ajunkedisu of a2,
157 ahuinosu of a5, married to a11. His parents are dead. He is amiable and grinning, he suffers from a hernia which he hides under a piece of cloth hanging from his waist. His activity is considerably decreased. He is little interested in our work and not very eager to understand our questions and give us information.

a11. --About 40 years. Wife of A10. She is a "sister" of a2, a "wife" of A1, a "mother" of a5. She is dark, eager and industrious,

115 and only reveals her happy nature on occasions of songs and dances where
157 she excels. One always sees her occupied by some craft work which she seems to prefer—shaping or polishing disks of shells, drilling them through or filing them, rubbing earrings or bracelets. She talks little, letting herself be completely absorbed by her work. She is a wife and mother, and a remarkable informant for all details of the material culture.

a12. --Daughter of the preceding two, approximately 22 years; she is the wife of A73 who abandoned her to live with two women a74 and a75. Because of this, she returned to the charge of her parents, the more so because she is pregnant. She is placid, smiling and apathetic. She is separated from collective life by her condition
[164] and by a painful eye infection which struck her first among the members of her group of which several were later attacked by the epidemic.

A13. --About 40 years of age. Son of A18, "brother," consequently, of a2, "brother-in-law" of A1, whose older sister a14 he married. Always joyful, active and docile, he is the confidence man of A1, his preferred messenger, the companion he chooses for all complicated undertakings. He is industrious, a [44] not affected in his attitudes, and, as an informant, compliant, very verbose and not always clear or comprehensive.

a14. --About 40 to 45 years. Wife of the preceding, blood sister of A1, mother of A16. She is influential, active, diligent, at first quite rude, but in reality pleasing and competent. She exercises real authority over the other women of the group by her spirit of initiative and her pep. She is the grandmother of a8 and of a9 whom she feeds and whom she cares for frequently. Not only is she a good informant, but she sometimes takes didactic initiative. She loves songs and dances.

[608] A15. --About 15 years. He is an orphan; his father was the brother of A13 who took him in. A gentle, tranquil, rather timid boy.

A16. --7 or 8 years; son of A13 and of a14, "husband" of a5. He is a lively and curious child; his mother rarely refuses him anything, and he tyrannizes her willingly. She is very proud of him and overlooks many of his whims. One day she came to ask us to teach him to read. The attempts are not very encouraging. He looks upon the lessons as a game and refuses to learn the letters as determined forms; for him they are interchangeable, and he attributes to them in turn all the sounds which he has in his vocabulary.

115 A17. --Between 50 and 55 years, he is the dean of the group; he
157 is conscious of this and gets a certain pride from having around him
602 only "sons" or "daughters," "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law,"

115 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He is physically robust,
157 amiable, happy and talkative; very much inclined toward erotic
602 jokes. He gives information willingly, with an extreme good will and a tireless volubility. But his explanations are not always clear, and it is necessary to let oneself be guided by his slightly incoherent fantasy.

115 a18.--About 45 years; wife of the preceding, mother of a2 and
157 a22. She is a serious woman, industrious, devoted to her husband and children. She laughs little, talks to herself, and is always busy with some task. Her bits of information are rare, but solid.

a19.--About 10 years. Daughter of the two preceding. She is a very pretty girl, still a child who yet scarcely shows the first signs of puberty. She has in the group a position as "mother," as does her little sister a20. She is a brutal and sometimes violent child, who adopted towards us an attitude confined to hostility. Her language is crude and she gets involved willingly in the most daring pranks. This attitude is at least partially explained, as will be seen farther on, by her age situation.

[45] a20.--Little girl of 5 or 6 years, sister of the preceding: her contemporaries and even some adults call her "mother." She is perfectly insufferable; pretentious, affected, continually greedy for presents or distractions.

A21, a22, a23.--It is difficult to characterize these three individuals who lived, during nearly the whole time of our visit, in an almost absolute state of silent segregation. The baby a23 is not yet weaned, and the state of couvade was to end at the end of our stay. We shall describe later on the operations which sanction return to communal life. A21, 35 to 40 years, is the brother of A1; a22, about 18 years, the sister of a2. A21 was to die by drowning during one of our absences. The baby is 12 to 18 months old.

621 As we have said before, the restricted group such as it has just been described, is temporarily united with other similar bands, or is temporarily swelled by other family groups. Thus to the 6 "fires"(1)

602 1. As the following analysis shows, the family group—that is the restricted group—of the Nambikwara is rather difficult to define. The empiric notion of the hearth seems to us the most clear and practical. It defines the grouping of the individuals who come together in the evening and sleep around the same fire. In group a1 (restricted) studied previously, there are

602 from this point of view, six fires, namely: I (1 to 5); II (6 to 9); III (10 to 12); IV (13 to 16); V (17 to 20); VI (21 to 23).

621 comprising the stable group are added intermittently:

Fire 7 (24 to 28). Five individuals, including: A24, "son" (of an elder brother) of A1 (20 to 25 years), husband of a25 (18 to 20 years), their baby a26 (about 2 years), the father A27 (about 50 years) of a25, and the brother A28 (about 12 years) of the latter.

Fire 8 (29 to 37). --Eight individuals including: A32, chief of the group comprised of fires 7, 8 and 9. About 40 years of age, asúkosu of A1; his five wives, a33, a34, a35, a36, "sisters" of each other (18 to 25 years), and their "mother" a37 (about 40 years), besides the 3 children of this latter, a30 and A31 (8 to 11 years) and a29 (about 2 years).

Fire 9 (39 to 41). --Four individuals, that is, two households, whose kinship relationships are obscure. A38 (about 50), "brother" of a2, and his wife a39 (about 45), "sister" of A1; and A40 (about 30), "brother" of A1, and his wife a41 (about 30), "sister" of a2, the two latter "father" and "mother" of a5.

Fire 10 (42 to 47). -- Six persons, including: A42 (about 30 years old), asúkosu of A1; his two wives, the one a43 (about 35 years old), "sister" of A1, and the other a44 (about 18 years old), "niece" of A1, and three children, A45 and A46 (9 to 12) and a47 (2 to 3 years).

[46] Fire 11 (48 to 50). --Three individuals: A48, "brother" of A1 and "husband" of a2 (about 35 years old), his wife a49 (about 35 years old), "wife" of A1 and "sister" of a2. They are consequently "father" and "mother" of a5, and their child a50 is her "sister" (3 to 4 years old).

Fire 12 (51 to 56). --Six persons: A51 (about 40 years old), "brother" of A1 and ajúkedisu of a2, his wife a52, "sister" of a2 (about 40), and four children, a53 (14 years old) and A54, a55 and A56 (6 to 10 years old).

Fire 13 (57 to 61). --Five persons: A57 (about 45), brother of A69, and asúkosu of A1, "older brother" of a2; his two wives, one a58, "sister" of A1, the other a59, his "daughter" (20 to 30 years old), and two children, A60 and A61 (3 and 7 years old), both "husbands" of a5.

Fire 14 (62 to 66). --Five persons: A62 (about 42 years old), asúkosu of a1 and akenánosu of a2, his wife a63, "sister" of A1 and of a58, and mother of a3 (about 40 years old), their child a64 (about 5)

621 and two persons whom A1 calls "father" and "mother", A65 (about 50 years old) and a66 (about 50), who live in the home of their "daughter" a63.

Fire 15 (67 to 70). --Four persons form two households: A67 "husband" of a2 and called asoumosu by A1 because he is the father of his wife a4, and a68, aseetasu of a2, but called a?einosu by A1 because she is the mother of his other wife. And A69 (about 28 years old), "brother" of A42 and asukosu of A1, married to a70 (about 25), undetermined parentage.

Fire 16 (71 and 72). --A71 (about 30 years old), "brother" of A28 and his wife a72 (about 20 years old), "daughter" of A13 and a14.

Fire 17 (73 to 75). --A73 (about 30 years old), former husband of a12 whom he abandoned, and his two wives a74 and a75 (20 to 25 years old), "sisters" of a5.

• • • •

RULES OF RESIDENCE

591 621 The phenomena of spatial distribution do not seem to have special significance in the essentially nomadic groups. Nevertheless, we shall give the plan of distribution of the families in the nomadic camp (chart I), and in the winter village (chart II) for the restricted group, and the plan of distribution of the families or of the fires in semi-permanent camp for the most numerous combination (chart III). [47]

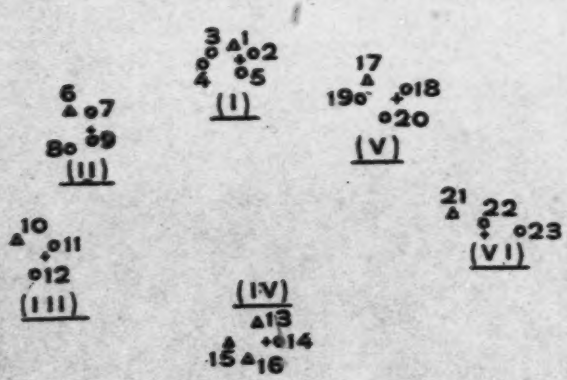


Fig. 12. --Placement of fires (+) and of family groups (△: man; O: woman) in the nomad encampment.

591
621

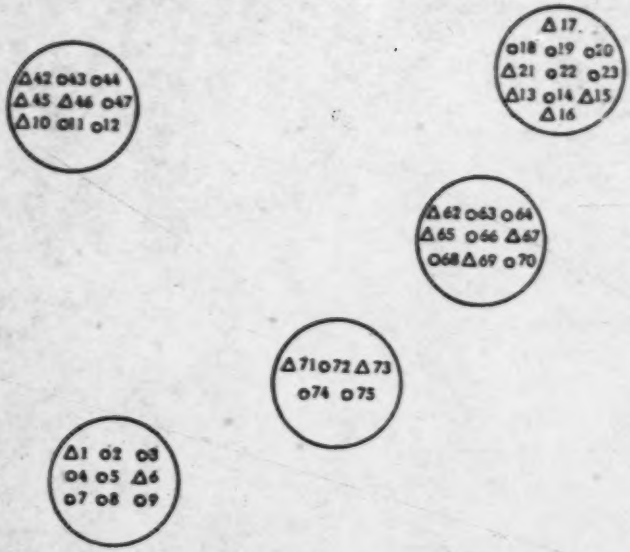


Fig. 13. --Grouping of families in the huts of the winter village.

The examination of these charts calls for several remarks.

(1) The nomadic camp generally obeys fixed rules for the distribution of individuals around the "fires," but not for the distribution of the "fires" in space. Fires 1 to 6 are not distributed in [48] the same way in the nomadic camp (I)[1] and in the general camp (III).[1] In fact, in the latter case, the families arrived one after the other, traveling in groups of two or three, or separately, and came to occupy the available sites. Nevertheless, when the restricted group travels in a single block, its camp is generally in conformance with the distribution given in chart I, which reproduces a camp maintained for one month.

(2) The distribution of the camp fires does not reproduce the distribution of families in the huts of the winter village. However, one will observe that the members of fires 1 and 2, who occupy one and the same hut, camp side by side in chart I, and around the same fire in chart III [49] (but, at this moment, A6 is absent and his family rejoins the fire of his "father"). In the same way, fires 4, 5, and 6, placed side by side in chart I, live together during the winter camping (chart II); but in this latter case, there is a complete separation at the time of the general meeting. It is true that at this moment, A21 has just died, his wife and his baby have rejoined the maternal

[1] [I refers to Fig. 12 and III refers to Fig. 14. — Analyst]

591
621

[361]

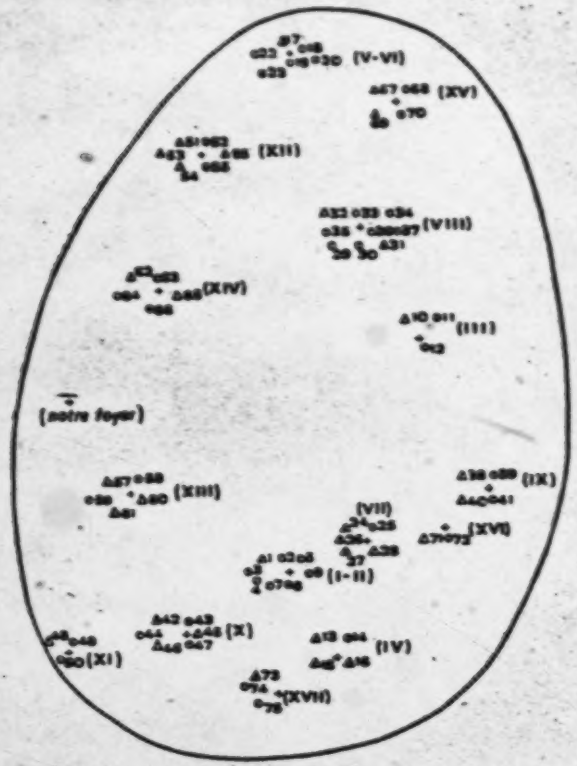


Fig. 14. --Distribution of Families in Temporary Residence.

fire, and the group of six persons has arrived late at the reunion, after an isolated trip. Fires 16 and 17, united at the winter camp (II), are completely isolated in camp (chart III); the same for fires 14 and 15 and for fires 3 and 10.

[24] (3) Since several families join around the same fire, it does not seem possible to deduce any rules of residence, which seems to confirm the impossibility of obtaining from the informants a clear answer to the question of whether the young couples establish themselves separately after marriage, or remain near the parents of the wife or the husband. In two cases, we see the daughters rejoin their parents fire: a12, abandoned by her husband, and a22 at the time of her widowhood. During the winter camp, the household of fire 4 resides with the parents of the husband; and household 6 with the wife's parents (fire 5 in the two cases). Likewise at this time, fire 2 is installed in the hut of the husband's "father." Finally, in two cases, one sees parents, unfit for the economic battle because of age or widowhood, installed at their daughter's fire, as A65 and a66, and

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarũnde, maimãde (b1); mamaĩndeti (c) oaĩndesu, nikɔdetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
131] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

We shall
621 comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its
[578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for
621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

115 Fire 1 (1 to 7). - The family of the chief of the band. The
157 chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent
622 Indians whom it was [illegible] privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent
601 in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnʔẽ njãnajne heni niho ãmdednjẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often
[177] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instrument.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40 years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years, b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18, sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son" also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1; he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster, they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1, thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
574 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

621 574 601 generation is composed of b26, wife of B25 (about 20 years); of the husband of b29, B28 (about 25); of the wife, b22, of B21 (same age); of his brother B24 (20 years), both children of a deceased sister of B18; and of a widower of about 40 years, B30, brother of B15 and of b2, who had been married to a sister of B1. The young generation is represented by only two children, b23, about 7 years, daughter of B21 and b22, and b31, about 10 years, daughter of B30, mother dead. For the whole picture of genealogical relationships, the reader should refer to Figure 15.

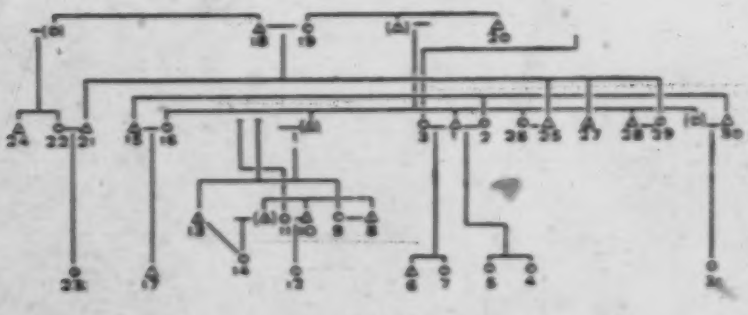


Fig. 15.

601 621

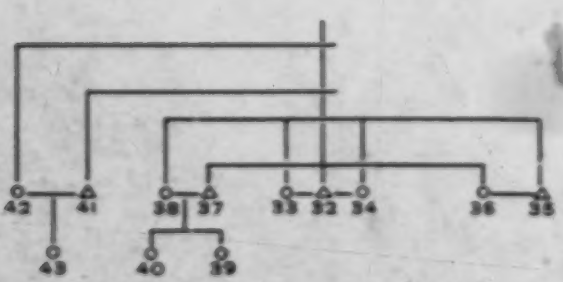


Fig. 16.

621 601 [53] Western group, dialect b2: tajate, lakõnde (b1/2); souaiñte (c).

We shall limit ourselves to giving the genealogical scheme of the composition of this little group (Figure 16), found, only for several days, toward the line of the division of the waters which separate the basins of the Roosevelt and the Gi-Parana (Tres Buritis). Its members seem to be the survivors of a formerly important group, the tajte.

Northern group, dialect c: sabãne (c); tamajnde (b1/2); toãtesu (a 1/2).

[N7] We have not been able to establish the genealogical composition of this group for reasons of linquistic difficulties (dialect c does not seem to spring from the same family as the others) and because of the consecutive impossibilities which we encountered in determining the true position in the system of individuals designated by the same term. We shall thus content ourselves with an analysis by households.

Fire 1 (1 to 3). --C1, about 30 years, and his wife c2, 25 years; he, "brother" of C6, she, "daughter" of c23; their son, C3, is about 10 years old.

Fire 2 (4 and 5). --C4, 40 years, is the younger brother of C20 and of c23; his wife c5, 25 to 30 years, is called "wife" by C6, "older sister" by c21, and "daughter" by c23.

Fire 3 (6 to 10). --We have already analyzed (1) the kinship

1. Pp. 33 to 35.

situation of C6, of his wife c7 (both are 30), and of their children c8 and c9 (6 to 8 years); the younger brother of the wife, C10, about 10 years, lives with them.

Fire 4 (11 to 14). --C11 is 50 odd years old; he is called "elder brother" by C6, C4, C15, C20, and c23; his wife c12, about 35 years, is "daughter" of c23; the young brother of the latter, C14, about 17 years, unmarried, lives with them as well as their daughter of 7 years, c13.

Fire 5 (15 to 18). --C15, about 30 years, is called "younger brother" by C20 and c23; his wife c16 is "daughter" of c23; she has a young brother C17, about 12 years, and a baby of some 20 months, c18.

601 621 [754] Fire 6 (19 to 22). --The chief, or rather, it seems, the shaman of group c, is 30 to 40 years old, "brother" of c23. His dispositions are friendly and mysterious. We shall encounter him farther on (2). He

2. P. 103.

has two wives, c19 and [54] c21, very pretty girls of 17 or 18 years, "sisters" of the dead husband of c23. Here we have, then, a good example of sororal polygyny. The second woman has a little boy of 3 years, C22.

Fire 7 (23 to 25). --The woman, c23, is over 40; she is a widow and seems to enjoy great consideration. Her numerous "brothers" provide for her as well as her children, and like C20, she is apt to receive supernatural revelations (1). She has a son, C25, about 14

1. Cf. p. 101.

years old, and a daughter, c24, about 10. Concerning them, refer to page 34.

Fire 8 (26 and 27). --A young couple of about 18, whose parents must be dead and whom the elders of the group call "grandchildren."

Fire 9 (28 to 30). --C28, about 25 years, is a "son" of C6; his wife, c29 is older than he (over 40); she is called "daughter" by c19 and c21, although they are by far younger than she; her daughter c30 is about 2 years old.

Fire 10 (31 to 33). --c32, about 40 years old, is a younger sister of c23; she has two daughters: the eldest, c31, about 17, is married; the younger, c33, still a baby. The husband and her son-in-law are absent; they are said to be on a trip together. The group sees to the needs of the two women.

[574] It is suitable to add a visitor to this list, C34, about 30 years old. He is the brother of c12 and, during his stay, he receives the hospitality of household number 4.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

Husbands and Wives

593 To understand well the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another, it is indispensable to keep in mind the fundamental character

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnosu, al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[261] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (eʔeru, al, eʔtʔonde, bl, ʔola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (koraiʔsu, al, kutonde, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (katãterisu, al, nagãde, bl, taliʔme, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookesu, al, lokoninde, bl), or uaguassu (aradikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, al, tagese,
[252] bl, taaki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

593 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark
182 prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection
462 against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms
[342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or
[415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as con-
831 cerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest
462 is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara
562 have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to
[517] signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
[83] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folklore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tagare uirige, b1), a typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

5. uĩtnoŝunatukhne joʔotnuŝutnãdniani deneŝunatukhne. (b1)
The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, a1), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect a1, they give words an ending —ŝu instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedjutu or —kedjuzu.

198 It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity.
562 When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

462 But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they
[484] valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal
[482 or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with
481] the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step; [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page[1] a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the
[482] other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senasi'kititu, al),

[1] [See p. 66. - Analyst]

462 [462] like the women, but from the shoulder (adiuisi'kititu, al), and frequently lightening the load by dragging the strap in the left hand, which they explain by saying that they need to watch out for possible game. And they naturally do not neglect collecting and gleaning whenever the occasion is presented or necessity is felt. In like manner, the women normally aid their husbands (especially the polygamous wives) in their work in the gardens. Both sexes cut down wood, the men for constructing huts or shelters and for making bows, arrows, spears and clubs, etc., and the women, more often, for the fire wood. Above all, and when she is not occupied by her own work, the woman aids her husband in all the tasks that are his. She holds his implements, gives them to him when he asks for them, supports the end of the arrow or the wood of the bow while he repairs or polishes them, or begins to twist the cord while he finishes the wooden part. She does the retouching and finishes the work. This frequent and always harmonious collaboration gives the impression that the sexual division of labor is much less strict among the Nambikwara than it is commonly, and sometimes one might even think it non-existent. This is not so; but the rule is constantly made flexible or masked by the unity of the couple.

601 602 As we have shown in studying the kinship system all the classificatory contemporaries of an individual belonging to a different sex are divided by him into husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters. We have found no term which designates the actual spouse, and allows one to distinguish him in conversation from the classifying spouse. A man calls his wife or wives, and his cross-cousins (fem.) indiscriminately asiesu, as the woman designates her husband and her cross-cousins (masc.) by the same term ouensaesu. But, of course, behavior is very different in the two cases. It has just been seen to what extent relationships are close and active between true husband and wife. As regards his potential wives, a man does not adopt any particular attitude, and the relationships do not seem to be either [59] [Table: Sexual Division of Labor] more or less intimate than those which he carries on with his sisters (the same remark is true as regards the relationship of a woman with her potential husbands and her brothers). In these two cases, the relationships are characterized by [60] great reserve, the individuals involved do not pay much attention to one another and rarely address one another except for definite reasons. But it is a question here of a mass attitude, conditioned by usage, rather than of an over-all picture of conscious and stylized reactions. The Indians do not seem to perceive

[Text continues on p. 67]

462

	MAN	WOMAN
Portaging	(+)	+
Agriculture	+	(+)
Hunting and fishing with bow	+	
Collection of wild honey	+	
Collection and harvest of grains, fruits, roots, eggs, small animals, hunting with digging stick	(+)	+
Cutting up of small game	(+)	+
Preparation of manioc (harvest, pressing and cooking)		+
Preparation of drinks		+
Fire — Production	+	
Fire — Transportation		+
Cutting down wood	+	+
Construction of huts	+	
Construction of the shelters	+	+
Utensils: axes, knives, spears, graters, burins, drills	+	

	MAN	WOMAN
Weaving	+	
Rope making	+	
Weaving and basket making; straw work	+	
Ceramics		+
Preparation of gourds		+
Mortars		+
Recipients of leaves or of bark	+	
Beads, necklaces, bracelets, earrings		+
Finery of feathers and of furs	+	
Musical Instruments	+	
Balls	+	
Vegetable dyes		+
Preparation of poisons and of blowguns	+	
Collection of medicinal plants	+	+
Weapons	+	

1:Levi-Strauss--60 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[593] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[858] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

595
601 2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiẽsu a?ouerelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nukẽnaĩtere, which could be a feminine of nukẽnaĩore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

595
601 sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
262] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridnaʔikititu, a1).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover, her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2 and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of "little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the husband's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous). They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a more or less subordinate society. We have found households comprised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five (A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is proportional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly distinguish (thus: tolütige, b1, to cough, and tolütiore, b2, to sneeze; kasite, sneeze, and kasi'pe, c, spit. tarnïkititu, a1, to expel flatus or to defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution, ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

514
515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.

514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation.(1). Following this, they are only subject to

1. Cf. below, p. 109.

certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. iauoodage edede edede edede kano kano kano kano kano kanabo huiire tamindige. (b1).
The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

841
147
171 2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen which women are indisposed. But the above remarks seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edẽdé edẽdé edẽdé signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 [201] The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tau̯étte, tau̯étte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 833 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated u̯iíˈnedi̯utu and, in the central and southern dialects, tamiˈndige, tuu̯íˈrare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahu̯iˈnosu (nosu = man, al), tamiˈnde, u̯áíˈre. On the other hand, in the northern

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruia, juũreli, while "father" is uaĩnko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ŝikiŝikiĩŝi, whose
197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds uinikuŝiĩŝu (a1), iekejakãtige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ainĵore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninĩĵore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: uetnẽdige, b1; from uẽtte, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tyaãde takenaãde tamĩndige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[684] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

834 nights" kanaroʔetẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are
842 particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains
834 were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of
[833] total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife
[856] [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (touriʔiri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

[71] 1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome:
[847] the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

831 The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to
832 love can be summed up in their formula tamĩndige mõndage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden
[833] meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament.
[147] In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order
833 than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkɔlékenore, b1—to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uataʔãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 163 847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.

[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them:

855 8. u̯érisekihĭndage numĭ sekəlai̯ene élamnihĭr̥ə(b1)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ĭtte ŝédeŝedédnege tóodaγige ká ká ká u̯udérige (b1)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯éttu (a1), tau̯étte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikátu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
853 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãsere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgesere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

10. uftsotnaniena naũdnerajena indõtenajena ũnʔeere (b1) the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

854 11. kalaɟodné daẽ ɟoʔdnoherẽ (b1)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nõm tebũ nihiɥi (b1)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855 593 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hõdnɟẽ odengenãhɟen ʂuadaʔien tanãhnãdaɟe. (b1)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862] 855 593 During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same [842] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. miɟ'nde taɥirétnore ikɔlaagetire (b1)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

[734] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them. Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[842] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children. Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

> 1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

> 15. u̯ãitento dohonenŝiram kãnaram hẽpatnẽ atãtene u̯ejdenkjathattene u̯aĩndnle. (b1)
> Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man! Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

595 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of
571 polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called "mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a state of companionship with them, especially with the girls, which also extends to all the children of the group. We have already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke together, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games, such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. Another example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, without ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close, appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys might have in our society. They rarely imply service or attention. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers: "Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives, take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves, timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, beside their mothers.

[70] Considering now the relationships of children among themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of play. In certain groups (central and south), the children manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights or contests which they do together, and lead an existence modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gathering wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting expeditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know what an important role the women have in the economic life of the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it. Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and we make the remark:

16. uainuftte ufkarage
    She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

uefkuatnore uainuetuikade?ena tãiuniene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

857 iōndage ŝutēnturu kaj̯āno kaj̯ān kaj̯ān hōte kaj̯ānde ŝutēntere kuaj̯kəno (b1).
When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[868] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilōdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ŝutēntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaŏre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the first skeleton of the hut, are called indeléaore; likewise, the
[534] double (kalŏde) or triple (lutəndjone) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakōtj̯ane tākənaātj̯ane (b1).
Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[192] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

857 nuts for her sister a20 and eats them with her. When they are
182 satisfied, they give the rest to a8, who cracks them, in turn, for her little sister.

857 The relationships between children giving each other the names husband and wife are more obscure, and we have not succeeded in forming a clear concept of them. We have pointed out a slight taboo exists concerning the expression of this kinship relationship. However, generally, the young "husbands" or "wives" do not manifest any special behavior toward one another, either positive or negative. Nevertheless, we have encountered indisputable cases where the young potential spouses conduct themselves as true spouses. In the evening they leave the family fire and carry burning pieces of wood to light their fire in a corner of the camp. The witnesses pay scarcely any attention to this action. For example, someone will make the remark:

18. u̯ĩtnau̯ri u̯ĩrai̯re ti̯ãahete u̯ĩrai̯ena norẽteu̯ii etlĩtere (bl).
The children are taking fire to make a fire, they blow to make flames.

[72] and the young "husband" says to his potential wife:

19. tadoõtaku̯i niku̯itũterau̯i etʔere aituruu̯i u̯atadahaki (bl)
Bend down! Stir the fire, carry! Look (for more). Put it there!

857 After this, they install themselves near their fire and give
864 themselves over, insofar as it is within their means, to all the erotic acts that they have seen their elders practice. The incident is greeted by the adults with indifference, or, at the most, with amused smiles: u̯ãtnõ taminusere, "there are the children having little sexual relations," they say in passing. We have only verified these practices in a haphazard way among the young children (5 to 7 years). They seem to be absent among those nearer puberty, but, in the latter case, a lacuna appears in our observations, due to the lack of subjects for comparison.

857 As regards strangers, the attitude of children is quite variable.
609 Certain ones manifest fear and hostility for a long time:

20. tau̯ẽtte ʔiina ja̯ʔirina unjena (bl)
My child is frightened, he is ashamed, he doesn't move.

sometimes explained by a surprising external detail:

herãkəlou̯i iʔĩ̂ena (bl)
he is afraid of glasses.

Others (or the same ones after several days or weeks of acclimatization) are curious, friendly, eventually mystifying. Thus,

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nɛ̃iuɥenãghee̅ nɛ̃uɥeeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehéna ɥɪ̃tte ɥɪ̃kərage, "the woman caresses the baby," or ɥãjnɥétte ɥɪ̃kərage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [in. From the children.--Analyst]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. i̯akhūninde ĩteru u̯irokūnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: u̯oṣĩ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hōte u̯ā̯inde miramirai̯na hōte u̯airĩdni̯ena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣariṣena tākɜlahẽ tākela āɣoriṣẽ kā̃dai̯ena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

603 611 On the other hand, grandparents behave toward their descendants so as to show the permanence of the filial line. a14 takes special care of her granddaughters (daughter's daughters), orphaned by the mother, a8 and a9. She feeds them, bathes them, and the baby spends her days near her, and often the nights. When the group travels, she is the one who carries her when she can no longer walk. But above all, when a piece of game has been brought in by a hunter, one sees in the choice of beneficiaries, outlined in the heart of the group, the limits of a unit greater than the conjugal family, and whose reality appears only rarely in daily circumstances.

224 602 Thus, when a boa sucuri (irĩtasu, a1: Eunectes murinus) has been brought in one day by A17, he gives the tripe to his daughter a19, who passes it on to her sister a22; the latter divides it between a12 and a5 (her "daughters") and reserves a portion for herself; at the same time A17 cuts the body into portions which he gives to A13, A1, A21, and of which he keeps part. Here, the division is almost coextensive with the restricted group. But, in more serious circumstances (1), the division of

1. P. 106 sq., cessation of menses (état de marge).

an irara (inihĩnuklesu, a1; Mustela sp.) by A21 gives rise to the following distributions:

A quarter to a18 (wife's mother);
A quarter to a2 (wife's elder sister);
A quarter to a14 (brother's wife);
A foot to a19 (wife's younger sister);
A half-head to A17 (wife's mother's husband).

[75] He consumes the rest with his wife and baby, and the beneficiaries divide their share with spouse and children. Thus in the heart of the group there is outlined an even more restricted unit:

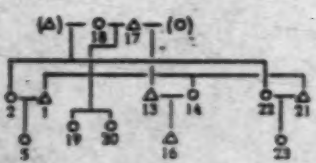


Fig. 17.

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
OR
COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseétasu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (asúkosu, a1; tarúte, b1), or more exactly (since the name asúkosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582] and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (b1) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutehãdige tamĩndige (b1)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhasi?ete. (b1)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kairobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"—which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarûte—can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted
621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern
182
184

1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or-
[91] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
[197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarûte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jôpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

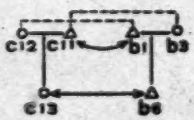


Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

621 instead that all the Sabané men were for them tarûte, or that all
605 the Tarundé men were jôpa. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group: it is called "Sabané" or "Tarundé." It is thus in the function of the relationship of tarûte or jôpa (asûkosu, al) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution; one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its correlaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
[582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of

1. See p. 39.

marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited

N
601 up to the present time. We do not pretend to found a dualistic theory of organization (2) on these limited observations whose

2. This point has been developed before; cf. "Dual organization etc.," loc. cit.

character remains anecdotal. However, we are indeed in the presence of one of those cases where "the fundamental traits of the clan organization are found, in a certain measure, to be preformed in tribes destitute of clan (3)." It would suffice, to

3. R. H. Lowie, "Family and Sib," American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 28-40.

satisfy the exigencies of dualistic organization, that the new group should settle down, and maintain the memory of its ambiguous origin by continuing to avoid confusing the two sets of fires.

Finally, this system manifests, under a new aspect, this
N preponderance of men which we have called attention to as
[648] regards inter-individual relationships. It is through the men that alliances of groups are decided, as also eventually, their wars.

* * * *

000 The preceding remarks have perhaps another interest: that of suggesting an interpretation of observations of a sociological
N character which one finds scattered in the ancient literature
T relating to South America.
601
171 One should first note some striking analogies between certain traits of the Nambikwara kinship system and those which can be attributed to the family organization of the ancient Tupi of the Brazilian shore. It will be seen later that, on the metaphysical plan, there are not only themes common to the two cultures, but that such religious terms of the Nambikwara vocabulary have an evident Tupi origin. Each time that we are to describe the small incidents of the daily life of the Nambikwara, the temptation is almost irresistible [80] to quote Jean de Léry and Yves d'Evreux, for it is so true that the same words of these old authors can literally be applied to one culture, later by four centuries. But it is in the kinship system that the resemblances are the clearest: the two cultures invoke

N
T
601
171 the three same fundamental principles: distinction of the brothers and sisters of the parents into parallel uncles and aunts called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross-uncles and aunts called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law"; preferential marriage between cross-cousins, with the concomitant assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; finally avuncular marriage, which seems to have been the rule among the ancient Tupi, in the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. (1)

1. There should be added the distinction of brothers and sisters into "elder" and "younger."

The first principle springs directly—and the other two indirectly—from an important text of Anchieta which we shall quote here:

"But in speaking of relationships they never use this word etê (true) because since they call the brothers of their fathers 'father,' and the sons of their brothers 'son,' and the sons of the uncles, brothers of the fathers, 'brother,' in order to declare who is their true father or son, they say xeruba xemonhangara, my father 'who begot me' and in the case of the son, xeraira xeremimonhanga, my son 'whom I begot'; and thus never did I hear the Indian call his wife xeremireco etê, but rather simply xeremireco or xeraicig, 'mother of my children'; nor did I ever hear a woman call her husband xemenete, 'true husband,' but rather simply xemena or xemembira ruba, 'father of my children'; which terms they use for men with whom they are living as well as for their recognized husbands; and if the husband ever calls one of his wives xeremireco etê, he means 'my most esteemed or dearest wife,' who often is the last one he has taken." (2)

2. "Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil," Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. VIII, 1846, I (2nd Series), pp. 254-262; p. 259.

This text offers a supplementary interest. It shows that the Tupi, like the Nambikwara, were not stopped by the problem of the distinction between real parents and classificatory parents. In the two cases, the need of special terms was not felt, and one is limited to referring, when necessary, to physiological considerations. (3)

4. Cf. before, p . [sic]

TN 601 171 The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

TN 601 582 171 The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins among the Tupi, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico etê, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces—and very attractive women they are—do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [81] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Taragoaj, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden. The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

TN found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others. With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection [842] between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the [842] father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

TN
601 receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children
171 are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born
[542] of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and
582 just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraib of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers, and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85; Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

T
N
601 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the
171 women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their
582 sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortès Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

T
N
595 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the
171 Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; —Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; —P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandtschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63 , 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

T
N
607 All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between
171 the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

T N 607 171 customs of the country, which is to have Chetouasaps or hosts or godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this hospitality or godfathership is very strict among them: for they actually consider you their children while you live with them, they go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks

4. Voyage dans le nord du Brésil. Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

of the "French who were lodged by godfathership in these villages."(5)

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

T 582 The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is

6. Loc. cit. II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also, Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

to be noted that these words Atourassap and Coton-assap differ, for the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named." The "Coton-assap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding, privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner, who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a N theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.

T 607 171 [83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi. All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way. The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services N of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists [838] among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

N
T
607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
N
[838] which make up for the absence of an available sister.
T
N
171 We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
582 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
607 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
601 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarúte or jópa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouasap (Yves d'Evreux) or coton-assap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

N
171
601

1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

171
601

two types of solidarity, the one, mechanical and expressed by the term brother, and the other, organic, expressed by the term brother-in-law. We have alluded to this above, p. 71.

114
601

One might object that the old authors might have interpreted doubtful observations in the light of European facts. As we shall propose [84] the name of compérage to designate an institution which we believe to be authentically Indian, it will be useful to stop for a moment at this aspect of the problem.

Without doubt the facts analyzed above, and the European institution of compérage [compaternity]offer striking analogies. At the beginning, the godfather and the godmother were connected with one another, and both of them to the parents of the child, by the mystic bonds of sponsorship. But the relationship soon became secularized in all the small rural communities, or, more exactly, everywhere where the family grouping takes precedence over the extended social group. The relationship is then employed to establish an artificial kinship line, or even, as happens among the Nambikwara to translate in kinship terms a simple phenomenon of spatial contiguity. (1) The strangers, the newcomers, are adopted

1. This derivation is well brought to light by etymology: in English, god-sib becomes gossip.

thanks to the reciprocal usage of the appellations of godfather and godmother which they receive from—and return to—their contemporaries. On the other hand, the stranger usually assimilates himself by taking a wife in his new community, and the terms godfather and brother-in-law become synonyms so rapidly that the men allied by marriage only call one another by the first. In the villages of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the godfather or "compadre" is an actual or potential brother-in-law. That in certain regions of Central or South America the analogy between the Indian and European institutions has aided the first to establish and modernize itself is not doubtful. Thus, in Mexico, the primitive institution of the moste, that is, obligation, for the heads of families to exchange presents periodically now functions in the framework of the relations of "compadres," the Spanish term offering a convenient translation of the ancient Otomi. (2)

2. Jacques Soustelle, La famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique central, Paris, Institut D'Ethnologie, 1937.

114 But the formal analogy of the two institutions should not disguise
601 their truly opposite characters. In the Latin-Mediterranean society the bond, formerly mystic and now social, of compérage, can be
[7] transformed by marriage into an actual kinship line. Among the ancient Tupi, and among the Nambikwara, it is, on the contrary, the concrete kinship which furnished its model to a type of bond utilized to establish wider relationships.

That having been posed, there are two reasons why our authors could not have elaborated a pseudo-Indian institution after a European model. In the first place, men as familiar with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry, could not have likened a relationship whose first consequence, and the probable object, was to permit new types of marriage, to the relationship between godfather, godmother and relatives who observed very severe enforcement [85] of the prohibitions of marriage, especially since the thirteenth century. At the time when they were writing, the question had actuality, since it was set down in the program of the Council of Trent, where the ancient rules had to be a little softened. But we have a more decisive argument. From the arrival of the first missionaries, the two institutions, European and Indian, must have evolved side by side, especially among the baptized Indians. But neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted Christian sponsorship in terms of Indian compaternity. On the contrary, and more logically since the newly introduced institution carried restrictions regarding marriage, they treated it as a modality of the relationship of paternity. They diltened the godfather to a classificatory father: "Thus, they (the children who come to receive baptism) regarded their godfathers as their real fathers and called them Cherou, meaning "my father," the French called them Cheaire, which means "my son," and the little girls Cheagire, "my daughter"... (1)

1. Yves d'Evreux, 1. c., II, 1, p. 234.

607 We believe we have assembled enough information concerning the fundamental character of the relationship between brothers-in-law in the South American society so that the nucleus of an original institution of compaternity can be seen in it which appears still living among the Nambikwara. The documents here presented suggest (2)

2. An English version of these observations has been published under the title: "The social use of kinship

607 terms among brazilian indians," American Anthropologist Vol. 45, No. 3, 1943. In an interesting article dedicated to the Tupi system ("Notas sobre a interpretacão sociologica de alguns designativos de parentesco do Tupi-Guarani," Etnografia e lingua Tupi-Guarani, No. 9, São Paulo, 1946), J. Philipson reproaches me for having limited the relationship of compaternity to South America, and he invokes the example of numerous tribes of North America. That is to attribute too much ignorance to me: it is indeed certain that there exist, in the entire world, innumerable cases of special relationships between brothers-in-law, both cordial and hostile. But by including pell-mell all of these examples, one would fall back into errors of the old comparative sociology. By the term "compaternity" I have wished to identify a precise complex institution, where there come together in correlation a particular kinship system, well defined rules of marriage, and certain traditional psychological attitudes. It is possible, and even reasonable, that one could find this uniformity in other regions of the world. But none of the examples mentioned by Philipson reveal this clearly.

its vast distribution in indigenous America of former times.

Part II

SOCIAL LIFE

128 It is obviously impossible, when one studies the existence of small nomadic bands all of whose members are related among themselves or from one band to the other, by a kinship relationship, to trace a clear line of separation between family life and social life. Many traits which come from the latter have been pointed out in the preceding pages. We shall not examine them in this chapter, more than certain aspects of the social life which concern the collective whole, either in its own existence or in its relations with neighboring groups.

622 Each band recognizes the leadership of a chief (joheru, a1/2; uilikāde, b1/2; uelikāpara, c). He commands the group, or more exactly the group of adult men who are his "companions" (nukanājore, b1/2). These see to it that the orders are carried out by their wives, who are rarely consulted. The women conform to the decisions of the men, but they do not, in the collective plane, execute them directly. They take part in this only inside their family group, within the limits of sexual division of labor such as we have previously described it. The tasks of the chief are diverse. The principal and most permanent consist of the administration of the group. It is the chief who decides the seasonal occupations at the beginning of the nomadic period.

27. uilikākamaniene ājtnaseneje (b1)
the chief commands: everybody on their way!

the moment and place where they will camp for the rains, the gardening work and choice of plantations, the construction of huts, the itineraries of trips and times of stopping, hunting expeditions, gathering or collecting trips, the conduct to be observed as regards neighboring groups. His role is generally summed up by the formula:

28. uilikā nādana éenate (b1)
the chief walks ahead. (1)

1. Thus, the philosophy of power does not seem to have been modified among the Brazilian Indians since the far-away day when, upon the occasion of an encounter made at Rouen, Montaigne made this statement: "Concerning what I asked him as to the fruits which he received from the superiority which he enjoyed among his people (for he was a Capitan and we sailors named him King), he told me that it was to be the first to march to war..." (Essais, éd. de la Pléiade, Paris, 1939, Ch. 31 "Des Cannibales").

He also goes away much more frequently than his companions, for [xi] one or more days, accompanied by one or two of his polygamous wives who assist him in his enterprises, (2) with the purpose of

2. See above, p. 60 f.

622 discovering grains or fruits, [87] groves of piquy (a type of fir), of
623 caju (Anacardium sylvestre), the heads of streams frequented by small game, where to lead his group, always searching for means of subsistence. His role is also that of maintaining internal discipline and of opposing the bad intentions of recalcitrants:

29. odnanjenuatanje hutanto igalagatjene (b1)
Lazy one, I order you, that is enough, to work!

The only sanction at his disposition is that of obtaining the agreement of his companions to expell one who has become guilty of a fault (1) or who shows himself to be rebellious to collective life.

1. Cf. below, p. 111.

But that is only possible in the case where a single member of the group shows lack of discipline. The chief should show a continual talent which is more closely related to electoral politics than to the exercise of power, to maintain his group, and if possible, to enlarge it by new adherents. The nomadic band in fact represents a fragile
622 621 unit. If the authority of the chief becomes too demanding, if he monopolizes too great a number of women, if he is not capable in periods of need of resolving the food problems, discontent is created, individuals or families break away, and go to attach themselves to a related band whose affairs seem to be better conducted—better nourished thanks to the discovery of a hunting or collecting site, or richer because of barter with neighboring groups, or more powerful after victorious wars. The chief then finds himself at the head of a too restricted group, incapable of facing daily difficulties, or whose women are exposed to being carried off by stronger neighbors, and he is obliged to renounce his command in order to join a more happy faction with his faithful followers; the Nambikwara society is thus in a state of perpetual flux. Groups form, are broken up, grow and disappear and, in several months' time sometimes the composition, number and division of bands become unrecognizable. All of these transformations are accompanied by intrigues and conflicts, by rises and falls, the whole being produced at an extremely rapid rhythm.

622 In exchange for the authority which they recognize in him, his companions are very demanding in regard to their chief; and if a decision made by him places the group in some difficulty, he is left alone to find means of surmounting it. We remember a trip undertaken by mutual consent, rendered more difficult than had been thought by the necessity of discovering a new itinerary along which our mules

622 and oxen for carrying could pass. The provisions of manioc proved to be insufficient and one morning the little band found itself without anything to eat. Our own attempts to kill some animal were in vain, and the worst [88] bad humor began to reign, the chief of the group being obviously held responsible for an affair which we, he and I, had contrived. In place of undertaking a hunting or collecting expedition, each one decided to go to sleep in the shade of shelters, and they left the chief alone to find the solution to the problem. He disappeared, accompanied by one of his wives (his first wife a2,
[222 415] contrary to usual procedure; but a3 and a4 shared the general irritation) and toward evening both were seen reappearing, their heavy baskets filled with grasshoppers which they had spent the entire day
[262] catching. Although grasshopper pie is not a particularly esteemed dish, everyone ate with good appetite and found his good humor again. They took up the journey again the next morning.

But other things than these exceptional relief measures are expected of the chief. He must sing and dance willingly and well, and be capable of animating the collective life. He must organize the work in the most reasonable way in order to eliminate useless fatigue and effort. Thus on the eve of a departure, B1 recites for us his order of march:

30. mãdorige mãdohadhudne hajtehãdige nãnjehnile
ɥietnonãnahara jãnehara kanahanĩndeere hinkanaha
iinãamnjẽ ãkeena iinãmnjẽ ihikoro ihikoro. (b1)
When it is hot, one is tired, one is hungry, the children walk badly; when one marches at dawn, one marches well, at dawn, one should march, change routes, march; on the way! on the way!

He must also win over his companions by numerous gifts. According to B1, who gives in willingly to the servitude of power, generosity plays a fundamental role in determining the degree of popularity which the new chief will enjoy, and the companions indulge in all sorts of speculations:

31. ɥilikã abeni ajnire tunun2entutnɥilikã agnhãhare
tunũrjani (b-1)
The chief is leaving; the one who will come will give me a great deal.--"Chief! Be generous! Give to me!"

The presents thus anticipated consist of food or objects which the chief will have made himself with the assistance of his polygamous wives, or that he will have procured by good exchanges with neighboring bands, or which might come from war booty. Often, it seems,

622 he is incapable of satisfying increasing demands, and must refuse firmly:

32. *hinde hota agnere hota* (b1)
The giving is finished! Being generous is finished!

[89] or must even pose the question of confidence:

33. duhiri (gi) dnjẽ tununadjẽ tununlentine haknerejane (b1)
Go away! Giving is done with! Let another be generous (in my place)!

622 However it evidently depends on his ability and moderation whether
648 or not these refusals keep the demands of his companions within reasonable limits or provoke discontent and resulting ruptures. Under these conditions, the relationships which the chief succeeds in cementing with the outside world—other Nambikwara bands and neighboring tribes—have extreme importance. The chief has traveled widely. Within the limits of his territory, he has visited tribes different from his own and which his companions know only through his commentaries. We ourselves have had the impression of being used for political purposes: we have told above what the reactions of A1 were as regards writing. (1) He wished on this basis to attempt a vast operation, and

1. See above, p. 40 f.

he united several related bands under the pretext of meeting us, begging us without explanation to postpone the exchange of objects with the Indians. This enigmatic attitude lasted till the day when, assembling all his guests in a circle, he exhibited a piece of paper covered with wavy lines, and made a pretense of reading to each individual the nature and importance of the present which I was supposed to give to each one. All that with my complicity, obviously stupefied and immediately acquired. The Indians were even more impressed. The plan, such as we were able to understand it, consisted of fortifying his power by presenting himself as the sponsor and protector of the white visitor, whose secrets he was reputed to know at the same time. But the card of civilization thus played is assuredly vain. Six months later, we found A1 at the head of a severely reduced group and without illusion as to the failure of his vast projects. He watched us leave with real sadness, as though he were losing, with us, the last vestige of his prestige.

622 The charges of leadership being presented under such unattractive colors, one might ask what makes an individual accept them. It was not possible for us to determine exactly what the modalities are to be

622 named chief. One single point is clear: his functions are not hereditary. When the acting chief falls ill or becomes too old to carry on his charge, he points out from among the members of the group the one who will be his successor, doubtless influenced in his choice by collective opinion. He makes the decision public by the formula: hẽ yilikãde (b1): "this one will be chief," and thus the continuity of power is assured:

34. yilikaa dõrerige tiahi'liki'herage nlayre yilikãde (b1)
When the chief dies, another chief comes in his place.

[90] But it happens that the person in question caring little for the heavy responsibilities which await him, declines the honor which has just been done him:

35. ũtnjane ũntyilikã i'likãdnere (b1)
I do not wish to take the place of the chief.

and it is necessary to proceed to a new choice. What are then the motives which might determine the acceptance? Sexual preoccupations certainly play a role. If the newly elected is young, in place of going through a long period of celibacy or of being forced to marry an old woman, he will find himself in the privileged position of having several companions. If he is already married, he can add to his wife the youngest and prettiest among the available women of the group, or among those who will be conquered in war, and eventually obtain those whom he would desire and who would be already married.

C20, having lost his wives through illness or for some other reason, found himself a bachelor. He then took his young wife (c21) [50] from another husband, under the pretext that the latter was "too young to have a wife." Undoubtedly his liking of responsibility must equally be taken into consideration, his sense of leadership, ambition, and his desire for a fuller existence than that of normal life. The only two chiefs with whom we had any real personal contacts (A1 and B1) were both individuals of particularly lively spirit and, in giving to the term the sense which it might possess in these societies, more cultivated than their companions. (1)

1. The Indian theory of command has been the object of a more detailed study: C. Lévi-Strauss, Chief and chieftainship among a primitive tribe: The Nambikwara of Northwestern Matto Grosso. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1944.

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 526 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [84] al whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

648 Also, the attitude of two bands who know that they are neighbors
609 is very significant. They fear the clash of contact, and at the same time they desire it. In fact, they cannot meet one another accidentally, for for several weeks they watch the vertical smoke from the campfire which rises, perfectly discernable at some twenty kilometers, into the middle of the clear sky of the cold season. It is one of the most impressive spectacles of the Nambikwara territories when towards evening this smoke suddenly fills a horizon which one had thought deserted. Is the band which approaches friend or foe? They do not know, and they discuss at length their course of conduct. For days or weeks they avoid one another by maintaining a reasonable distance between the fires, then one day, according to whether the contact appears inevitable, desirable, or necessary, the women and children scatter in the bush and the men leave to face the unknown. We attended one of these "encounters" (nakohatige, b1). A long conversation is entered upon (deinihotige, b1) between the two bands reduced to their masculine elements, or more exactly, the leaders undertake, in turn, a sort of prolonged monologue, composed of exclamations, uttered one after another, in a tone at the same time plaintive and tearful, where the voice rises and trails off in nasal fashion at the end of each word. The group animated by warlike intentions exposes its grief. The peaceful protest their good intentions. It was not possible for us to reconstruct the word for word translation of this discourse. However, we give here the Indian text, insofar as we have been [92] able to get it, and its approximate translation, for the purpose of showing the construction and specific tone:

[537] 36. One group begins: niaroéndigẽ ninökuẽ. -"We are very irritated! you are our enemies!" And, after a series of exclamations of this type, the other replies: iá orauẽ touadeẽ nuhaigiʔin nukmaetiẽ nukmainí nukenitenohiʔn moladeringuiʔn nagatainiot endiguẽ. -- "We are not irritated! We are your brothers! We are friends! Your friends! True friends! We can understand one another." (b1)

After having exchanged these peaceful protestations, the groups reform and a common encampment is organized, each group preserving its individuality and gathering together its fires, and sometimes songs and dances are organized in the course of which each group disparages its own exhibition to the profit of that of the other group:

648 37. tamaiʼn ãjtne munãitjere munãijenãitiore njaniʼ (bl)
609 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
201 *In one case which we witnessed*, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tõhé tõhé kãhé kãhé muninitti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take—commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

648 that their southern neighbors make particularly nice necklaces. Also
439 the meeting of the two groups, when it can take place in a peaceful
[93] manner, has as a consequence a series of reciprocal presents. The always impending conflict gives way to a market. This has some very remarkable characteristics in the sense that if one regards the presents only as presents, they do not bring any thanks nor proof of satisfaction. And if one considers them exchanges, they are effected without any bargaining, attempts to set the value of the article, depreciation, or manifestation of disagreement between the parties. Truthfully, they take pains not to admit that there are exchanges going on. Each goes about his usual occupations, and the objects or products go from one to the other, without the one who gives making note of the gesture by which he hands over his present, and without the one who receives paying any attention to his new wealth. In this way are exchanged husked cotton and balls of thread; blocks of wax or resin; urucu paste; shells, earrings, bracelets and necklaces; tobacco and seeds; feathers and sticks of bamboo destined for making arrow points; skeins of palm fibers, porcupine quills; whole pots or broken pottery; gourds. This mysterious circulation of merchandise goes on without haste for a half day or a whole day, after which the groups separate, and each one takes inventory of what he has received, and remembers what he has given. Thus, as regards the equity of the transactions, the Nambikwara trust entirely, the generosity of the partner. The idea that one might estimate, discuss or bargain, demand or take back is entirely foreign to them. We had promised an Indian a hunting sword as the price of transporting a message to a neighboring group. The commission was done, but upon the return of the messenger we had neglected, occupied by other cares, to give him immediately the agreed upon recompense, thinking that he himself would come to get it. He did nothing, and the next day we could not find him. He had left, very irritated his companions told us, and we did not [94] see him again. We were forced to entrust the present to another Indian. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that when the exchanges are finished, one of the groups departs discontented with its lot and, while taking inventory of its acquisitions and recalling its own presents, accumulates bitterness for weeks or
721 months, which become greater and greater and more aggressive.
It seems that wars very often have no other origin. Naturally other
[82] causes exist, such as a murder or carrying off women, depending on whether one desires to take the initiative, or whether one wishes to avenge a preceding attack; but it does not seem that a band feels

collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ʒednãẽ ɰõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ɰalaurîsenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
202] from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nãnde (b1). To analyze it, we should first say a few words con-
cerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparacão do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or
stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

278
[415]

p. 239 and Fig. 34), but seems not to know their usage nor the nature of their content.

usually tied in bundles of two or three or more, and thus all the Indians possess a provision of poison from which they rarely become separated. We were not able to find out anything concerning the preparation of these drugs, but it seems that different varieties exist, used either by men or women. Notably, the poisons whose small doses are contained in the feather quills would be [96] according to an informant, women's poisons, and also much more to be feared. The "tube poisons" (as compared with the arrow poison which is only employed for hunting, and never for war) play an important role in inter-individual relationships. They are the usual instrument for amorous or commercial vengeance. To define these poisons, there are special terms according to dialects. Thus the arrow poison has a special name: inaru (a1); dadnesu (a2); tiire, nãnde (b1); dirare (b2); iriua (c). But all of the arrow poisons and tube poisons are called by a more general term, belonging to dialect b1, but which is understood and used by all the groups: nãnde, which one might be wrongly tempted to translate as poison. It must be noted, however, from now on that in the case of tube poisons, the term nãnde means the tube and its contents simultaneously.

789 However besides these "true" poisons which we shall call scientific, there are other substances whose supposed action is of a purely magical character. Certain tubes contain, not a powder meant to be mixed with food, but fragments of resin of the tree called "barrigudo" or
[824] "barrigudeira" in Portuguese (Bombax ventriculosa) and sahãrudiitaãru (a1/2), iridare (b1), jakiua (c) in Nambikwara. These fragments are used for certain "magic projections" which are carried out in the following way: a fragment of resin is placed between the lower edge of the palm of the left hand, held horizontally, and the tip of the index of the right hand held vertically (position called iuuehãre [a1]). By exercising strong pressure of the finger on the edge of the other hand, the index trips and throws the small projectile as far as several meters (asataãkedjuzu [a1], adãmdige [b1], ndãmdige [b2]). It is believed that the person reached by a fragment thrown in this way will become like the trunk of the barrigudo tree, narrow at the base and at the top and bloated in the center. He will fall ill, his stomach will begin to inflate, and finally he will die. This method of throwing is also often used for teasing, especially children, and to bombard an adversary with small fruit, with pieces of dirt,

789 or pebbles. The victim receives the attack of which he is the object with indifference, nervousness or anger according to the occasion and the moment, but there is no doubt that even in its profane use as a game, the magic operation has a specific residue, as in the game of "showing one's teeth" ("montrer les cornes") among our children. However the "magical projection" constitutes a modality of action very different from administering a poison of known effectiveness through the blood or the mouth, and the Indians are completely aware of this. They would never mix some tube poison in food of a companion as a joke, knowing very well what the result would be; whereas they have no qualms about entering upon demonstrations of magical projection in the midst of a large assembly, and these demonstrations sometimes end in play with everyone taking part. [97] Here the physiological result is not considered as implied by the very nature of the substance or by the specific effectiveness of the gesture. It is awaited as the result of a whole which is at the same time physical, psychological and motor. It requires evil intention simultaneously with the union of a number of essential or accessory circumstances, all of ritual character, however. Nevertheless the resin, the tube and the operation itself are also called nãnde.

Finally, an anecdote will bring to light a third aspect of the same notion. We had brought along some of those big balloons of multicolored silk paper which are filled with warm air while holding a small torch at their base, and which are let go by the hundreds in Brazil on the occasion of the fête of Saint-Jean. And one night we had the unlucky idea to offer a spectacle to the Indians. A first balloon which caught fire on the ground gave rise to a lively hilarity as if the public had had the slightest notion of what should have happened. In contrast, the second succeeded too well. It rose rapidly, mounted so high that its flame was confounded with the stars, wandered above us for a long time and finally disappeared. But the gaiety of the beginning had given way to completely different sentiments in the crowd. The men regarded us with attention and hostility, and the women, heads hidden in their arms and clinging together, were completely terrified. The word nãnde was repeated constantly. The next morning, a delegation of men came to confer with us, demanding to inspect the whole supply of balloons in order to see "if some nãnde couldn't be found." This examination was done very thoroughly, and then, thanks to the remarkably positive spirit of the Nambikwara (despite what has just been said), a demonstration of the rising power

789 of warm air, aided by small fragments of paper put over a fire, was at least accepted, is not understood. And as usual when it is a question of excusing an incident (which could have had very unhappy [562] consequences), they put all the blame on the women, "who do not understand anything," "were afraid" and feared a thousand calamities. (1)

1. Later, A1 asked for some balloons to give a demonstration himself before the combined groups assembled by him. But, less forgetful than he, we obstinately refused.

Two conclusions are gleaned from these facts. The first is [192] that the term of nãnde covers much more than the strict meaning of the word "poison," and that it includes all types of actions of exceptional and likewise menacing character, as well as the products or objects likely to determine this action. All nãnde objects and operations have a common character, expressed by the term kakore. This means the dangerous products or substances, and, at the same time, those of a menacing or dangerous nature which certain living beings may possess by specific or only temporary right. Thus poison, the snake, the poisonous spider, the jaguar, are kakore; but the same is true of an enemy tribe, or an Indian (even if he is a [98] relative or friend) when he projects revenge or is found in a state of violent anger. The second conclusion is that the poisons, whatever may be the positive and utilitarian character of their preparation, are not thought of scientifically as substances provoking physiological disorders, but as vehicles or receptacles of that mysterious force which turns the usual order of phenomena upside down. Nevertheless, nãnde is not conceived of in the abstract form of a power. It resides in, and cannot be separated from, certain apparently recognizable material aspects. When the Indians examined our balloons of silk paper, they sought something there which would be the concrete sign of their magical and malevolent nature; and while they proceeded with their inspection, we wondered anxiously what could be the specific characteristics (happily absent) of the product or the nãnde object. If it is true that the sense of the term nãnde is more complex than that of the word poison, it is no less necessary to recognize that poison carries the better example and the more perfect illustration of the Indian conception. It is a clearly identified substance, and recognizable by its outward characteristics to which its evil effects necessarily correspond.

789 Poison is thus nãnde par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a curare reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory [121 174] and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of curare, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the strychnos.

Besides the notion of nãnde we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the atãsu (al). Atãsu signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: atãsu, "it is the animal." Atãsu also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, atãsu is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the atãsu if one does not defend oneself 789 411 in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick [épieu] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form [286 531] and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated with black and white bark weaving (javelin: hĩ'dosu [al], keṣũṣere

789 [b1], makalé [c1]. This instrument is used in three circumstances:
411 in war; to conjure up (or to attract?) rain by manipulating it according to an approved ritual as if one were tracing signs in the air while brandishing it; finally to kill the atásu, by throwing it in the direction of the apparition, using as intermediary a tooth of the jaguar; the throwing stick is placed obliquely in the left hand, the point turned in the direction of the atásu, and the tooth, manipulated by the right hand, acts as a hook for projection. The atásu appears only at night. It may borrow the form of the jaguar or of other animals who are then filled with murderous intentions. When the atásu is caught in his terrestrial form at the point of the javelin, a great flow of blood is produced. The "supernatural" animal is never eaten. They abandon its body to the carrion.

789 In the second case, one is faced with a real theory of death.
761 The sick person who sees the atásu appear knows that he is condemned, and the animal actually carries him off on the spot or returns to get him a little later. The current version of the death of A21, drowned in a river in July 1938, was that the atásu carried him to the bottom of the waters. The atásu would live in the water. An informant described it as having "a large mouth and lots of collars."

789 The southern, central and northern groups bear witness to a
771 more elaborate religious thought. Among these peoples, the preceding
761 notions are crowned by a third, which does not appear as clearly in the eastern groups although it is probably present, that of the wind and thunder, hypostasized in the forms of a semi-personal power named amõ. (1) In these groups, this is substituted for the atásu in the theory

1. The Tupi origin of this term is evident. One can compare Montoya, "amaː cloud of waters; Nogueira, "amaː cloud; Coudreau (Bibliothèque Linguistique Americaine, XV, 1892), "amane (Oyampi)": rain; Goncalves Diaz, "amanaː (chuva) rain; Kissenberth (Baessler Archiv, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), "amana, aman, amaː (Tapirapé): rain; Nimuendaju (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI, 1914), "amaː (Lingua Géral): (chuva) rain.

of death, and it is possible to communicate with it through revelations and visions.

THEORY OF DEATH

761 775 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dũrige uetnatũrina ẽdnadure lukuĩndige ndakuĩndige monãnkiadukuĩndige denõ dũrige monãure lĩttige amonotlĩttige toyodũrige uitẽndige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent. [224 281 714] On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its remains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loukuĩndige inkõra uĩrige lotõtãrige ikuitãdige uĩrige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atãsu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atãsu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 171 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

776
171

and Nimuendaju, "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. Also, the atãsu in question in the preceding paragraph, curiously evoke the yurupari, or ananga, ancient Tupi genies of the bush against which they defend themselves with a flaming torch which thus plays the same role as the magic javelin (cf. Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 61). Finally, the atãsu itself often appears in the form of the jaguar; and in the eastern groups at least, it plays the role of the Messenger of Death which the central, southern, and northern groups give over to the jaguar. There is thus in the vocabulary, a close connection between the stars, the jaguar and the atãsu, already noted by Claude d'Abbeville (cited by Métraux, l. c., p. 49) among the Tupinamba: these identified the jaguar with the stars. Like the "celestial" jaguar (Montoya), the "man-eating" (Nimuendaju), the jaguar of the Nambikwara presents a remarkable ambivalence: it is sacred, and at the same time, they kill it. Finally, comparative linguistics confirms the connection. The term which means jaguar in dialect a1, inaãru is associated with the name of the jaguar among the central and southern Tupi: yaouare (Emerillon, Coudreau); saoruhu (Guajajara, Nimuendaju); jaoarohu (Tapirapé, Kissenberth).

[101] COMMUNICATION WITH A SUPERNATURAL WORLD: SHAMANISM.

787

It is considered possible to receive visions of far-distant things and revelations of future happenings. These supernatural communications are usually produced upon the occasion of tempests and storms. They are sudden and unforeseen. Every adult male is apt to [262] receive them, for in this case too, the women (except, it seems, the oldest) are excluded from the spiritual life:

42. iaŝidãdni deñõ tamũmatatjani nahoe ejãni ekuãjeni kanahãdau uatli ajkuaauatli'kentete (b1)
Invisible to women the men see it [the thunder]: "Far away I see, close by I see, tomorrow it will arrive, very near it will arrive."
(It is a question here of a warning vision of messengers come from another tribe).

787 These visions are attributed to the thunder which sends them to men under its semi-personal form amõ̃.

771 Thus the Nambikwara conceive of three types of supernatural
756 forces: first the power which is abstract, but placed in objects or substances, the nãnde; next the spirits acting in the form of supernatural or seminatural animals, atãsu or jaguar. Finally the thunder, with which under certain conditions, it is possible to entertain personal relations. Each individual can, in a certain measure, establish contact with these forces, however it is the shamans who have the specialized function of intermediary between the human group and the supernatural world. The information which we shall give on this point will be very summary, for it was impossible to obtain from our informants a coherent treatment of the question of shamanism. None of the groups encountered had a shaman with the exception of a single one (group c) where the powers of the chief and the sorcerer were found [102] concentrated in a single individual (C20). Our best informant, B1, chief of the allied group, was categorical concerning the fact that C20 combined the two qualities of uelikabala (chief, c) and of ndãre (thunder, c) although he was only uilikãde, temporal chief. The sorcerer would then be simultaneously the man who identifies himself with thunder, and who communicates with it in the personal form called amõ̃. Likewise, in the eastern groups (a1 restricted and enlarged, and a2), it was not possible to uncover the presence of a sorcerer or of an individual with such powers. This fact could be interpreted in three different ways: that the sorcerers were held apart; or that they dissimulated their nature; that the institution of the sorcerer is, in fact, absent in certain groups; or that, in these same groups, the functions of the sorcerer are exercised by the chief, and that, in inverse fashion to what is produced in group c, it is the spiritual functions which are in second place with regard to the temporal. It is this hypothesis which we consider the most reasonable. In group a1; A1 makes the arrow poison and treats sick persons by suction, functions which in group c come within the province of C20 considered as shaman, rather than chief of the group.

756 Whatever the fact may be, and as we have just said, it is the sorcerer who makes the poisons, and it is he who proceeds to the magical treatment of the sick, clearly different from the positive
278 therapeutics likewise practiced. The Nambikwara are familiar with
757 quite a large number of medicinal plants and treat certain illnesses with their help. Thus they care for purulent ophthalmia by an

278 injection of pao preto (ikátu nɪ̃ʂerám, a1), put in the eye with the
757 aid of a funnel of leaves from whose lower extremity the liquid falls drop by drop. But other maladies, considered the result of
755 poisoning (or of a charm; in both cases: nánde) are exclusively within
756 the domain of the sorcerer. He makes the "arrows of thunder" (ndaórede, b1) in all points similar to those used for hunting except that their dimensions are much more restricted. The treatment consists of three operations: throwing the arrows around the sick person to carry away the spirits; sucking the body to force out the cause of the illness; this cause is thrown far away when it has been captured:

43. ãdige underãdige kadirɪ̯énka úngeraɪ̯ge tenúndige (b1)
throw, throw far away the little thorns sucked with the mouth, throw away [the evil]. (1)

1. The informant made it known that by "little thorns" he meant to designate the "arrows of thunder" which are only several centimeters in length. One notes the same assimilation in other regions of South America.
[71] Thus, the informant of Karsten in the Chaco (R. Karsten, "Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco," Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cites as the cause of the malady and the way of combatting it, an "arrow" or "splinter").

[103] Afterwards the sick person is usually cured and can take up his work again:

44. enéndige deéndige enénə deɪ̯dnige (b1)
To be sick is finished [one can] continue.

756 However, the sorcerer can establish much closer relationships with the supernatural powers. During our stay in his group, C20 disappeared, or more exactly did not return to camp at the usual hour. The other men, having gone hunting, had not seen him the whole day. Night fell and toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, the most profound consternation reigned in the camp and particularly around the fire of the man who had disappeared, whose two wives and child held themselves embraced while mourning in advance the death of their husband and father. At this moment we decided to look around, accompanied by a few Indians. We had only to walk 200 meters to discover C20, crouched on the ground and shivering in the darkness. He was completely naked, that is, divested of his

He was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[301] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (amã), [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananás River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarundé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
[578] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

756 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of
279 naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

• • • • • •

622 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman,
756 plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations.
796 The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

796 The seasonal celebrations take place at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and probably mark the opening and closing of agricultural labor. They consist of festivals with dancing, singing and music. Several days in advance, hunting expeditions go in
[226] search of small game, and they also go in for large fishing expeditions. In fact, fish seems to play a role of the first rank in the ritualistic
796 activities. (1) Other Indians leave, sometimes for far-off places in
534

1. See below, p. 109.

[824] order to find thick bamboo in the forests which border the rivers or which occupy the valleys, from which they cut pieces to make the flageolets for the ritual. These are about 70 centimeters long and pierced by four holes besides the one for blowing. An air passage is effected at the upper end in the mouthpiece of wax which closes the opening. They are only used upon occasion of these ceremonies and are played in unison in groups of three, one of them, engraved with a white longitudinal line, being named jomóte uilikãde, (chief flageolet), and played by the chief. A resonator made from a bamboo trunk furnished at the lower end with a hollowed-out gourd usually accompanies them (dutende, b1). The flageolets are called "male" and the resonators "female." Quite curiously, these flageolets are called jomóte (b1/2) and jamaká (c), by the central, northern and southern groups, that is from the same term (jamaká) by which the Paressi name the same instrument, while the eastern groups, who are the only immediate neighbors of the Paressi, employ a completely different term: kajgetásu (a 1/2). The Indians describe these festivals thus:

796 45. ukuérige ájdnige iuarhajdne ungerage (háidene) ájnsurgerage
to hide to blow to play [the flageolet] to make merry fishing.

nahundage tátige niuattahárige káde káde káde ká ajtendige
to carry to roast to make chicha moon moon moon this moon to dance

jukuohájndige mihádage komjégerage
and another time to play [the following month] more rain everything is dry

[105] mlãdage tutehajhajkuirige
the rain is finished let [the flutes?] be carried away

hájntendige halehájdnige denõ horátige ejetéende
to make the field feast the women are hidden they do not see it

796

alãgena hãjtige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. uĩtnore uĩtnja imãgore.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

uenaãtje jatjaeninĩnena ednaso jãjneni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[688] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
789 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (arãtasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; juauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
[192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (ahãru, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

534 (aratasu-aharu), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[192]

[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kukedetu ukedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called du2uru (a1/2) du2unde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: talittige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dosu saikedutu 2akedatelusu alosu usiinkediutu inketu iakesaitutu ire ire iagekediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inketu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

846 784 1. She wears no decoration or ornament;

[107] 2. She does not touch food, neither to harvest it, to gather it, to prepare it nor to cook it;

3. She speaks to no one and no one says a word to her;

4. She avoids groups and when curiosity draws her toward our circle, she attends the distribution and exchange of gifts from a distance and in silence. If someone gives her or her husband a present (for example some beads), it is immediately given to the baby;

5. Every day she receives her food from her mother (a18), who gives it to her without speaking, and occupies herself with certain cares of the baby such as delousing it;

6. She does not bathe in the river, but washes herself with the water which she herself goes to draw in a gourd;

7. She goes away with her husband, sometimes for whole days, and, upon departure, follows him at a distance without saying a word; on these occasions, she takes the baby along;

A21 behaves similarly:

1. He does not go with the masculine group when they go hunting or gardening;

2. He rarely goes away, and then with his wife. The rest of the time he spends stretched out without taking part in any creative activity; they say he is ill (inkatu);

[142] 3. In the degree to which he and his wife perform the most indispensable activities, there is no division of labor between them. Either one buries the baby's excrement, or places in the coals the manioc received by a22 and a18 which constitutes their sole nourishment. Both are extremely thin, and appear very weak; their hair has not been cut or washed for a long time.

Toward June 20, 1938, this behavior was modified. For three consecutive days A21 and a22 disappeared for the whole day, doubtless to hunt, for, after several fruitless trips, they return (June 23 at 15 o'clock) with the following small game:

a. An irara (Mustela sp.);

b. Three bats;

c. Two lizards and their eggs.

846 252 The irara and the bats have already been put over the flame to burn off the hair. a22 begins immediately--and for the first time--to clean and crush a small quantity of manioc and she quickly puts a cake under the coals. At the same time she puts the broken lizard eggs there, and [108] takes them out barely cooked; she divides

846 252 them between herself and the baby. For the first time, she exchanges some words with her neighbors while laughing.

846 252 224 In the meantime, A21 has cleaned the irara. He gives the stomach, the large intestine, the small intestine to a2 (wife's sister); she, aided by her daughter a5, cleans the intestines, puts them on to cook and begins to eat them with a5 and a3.

A21 cuts the tail of the irara, cooks it rapidly, and eats it with his wife and baby.

The three bats have been given to a2 (wife's sister) and a14 (sister), who divides her lot with her son A16 and her son-in-law A15. a22 cooks the lizards and the organs (liver, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys of the irara). She gives the whole thing to her husband, who gives a piece of liver to the baby and divides the rest with his wife.

All of these operations are carried out very rapidly in a sort of hurry, and are finished at the end of a half-hour. At 30 minutes past 15 o'clock, a22 lights a different fire from the one that each household uses, and places the irara there. She then goes to take her first bath in the river, and brings back some water in a gourd to wash the baby. Toward 16:15 the cooked irara is taken from the fire by A21. At this moment everyone has returned to camp and has taken his habitual place. A21 and a22, seated near the new fire, occupy a central position. A21 cuts the irara into five pieces and divides it among the members of the family, as was said previously. (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 74 f.

From that time on, A21 and a22 take up normal activity and are no longer distinguished from their companions.

846 Thus the period of abstinence is characterized by relative isolation of the couple in question, which is at the same time under a certain number of taboos (social contacts, baths, preparation of food, dress, eating of certain foods). It ends at the moment when the child takes its first meal not consisting solely of milk (in this [224 case the lizard eggs and the irara liver. This meal is part of a hunting 162] feast offered to the group by the parents who up to now were under the taboo. However, the atmosphere in which these operations are carried out merits attention. No solemnity surrounds them, and the parties concerned perform them with the same routine and nonchalance which characterizes daily activities. It is not a question then of a ceremony with the psychological implications which this term carries, but of a collection of acts which must be done, and are done, with a minimum of attention accorded to their exceptional character.

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikiṅdurige, bl); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being oyẽnsaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednjẽn durẽnje (bl)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ãjrige ajṣũngnerage denano inṣ̂ira ãjkira ãjknira tããta halonoo tatlĩkta ãjndage hntimbãta yĩrige imãgara imãgara (bl)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

831

1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, id., IX, 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc.cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [553] the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal 304 septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. uetnoādige iocnādige uilikade uelikādeli'kinere nukeajore judotige juroienie nikamā juroiotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

• • • • •

[581] Duremõdednige (b1), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monoduinuere, b1) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tauorotige, b1). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiiere, b1), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjotige, b1) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjotige, b1) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

[171]

> 1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: ".... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
836 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara.

836 who seem to be susceptible to violent passions. We knew an Indian who fled with a Paressi Indian girl during our stay, and lived with her for several months hidden in the bush and fleeing the husband who was in hot pursuit after them. Here is the way an informant (B15) tells of a former adventure. He reconstructs a dialogue with the beloved woman:

51. ajndarinjẽ — otendnjẽ — ajdotẽha ajdakanjajni sutnadajẽ ajrhajtasiĩndige tamintednjẽ (b1)
Do you want to make love?--I do not wish to.--You are worth nothing! I want to make love or I will kill you! Let us go make love.

Very anxiously the woman responds:

higekanhiẽ uairirẽ uaĩridednjẽ etjẽdahẽ dungerajeni (b1)
Do it quickly, my husband will be angry, he will beat me.

684 There is no social sanction against adultery; but the wronged
626 husband can avenge himself in a fearful manner and in circumstances of this type poison, used either against the wife or against the lover, plays its role. In order to avoid such incidents, the companions intervene between the adversaries and counsel the seducer to disappear for a while:

52. ijehetnjẽ ajkuakatednjãni ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde kajãdodni uajknareniani (b1)
Go away.--I am going far away.--When this moon is ended and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, then, in that one, you may return.

We knew an Indian (C11) whose wife disappeared one day, having left with a member of his group. He thought first of revenge, but his companions intervened, and it was finally decided that the lover should keep the wife and would give him a dog as compensation. Several months later, the lover died (we were not able to find out whether the death was normal or accidental), and the woman returned to her husband, who said he was very happy to have acquired the dog
[562] also. This story should not be interpreted in the sense of an equivalence, conceived by the Indian spirit, between a woman and a dog. We have insisted too much on the fundamental role of the woman in Nambikwara
[152] life to have to return to that here. But in groups where trade [112] exists in such a primitive form (1) exchanges of goods have as a

1. Cf. p. 93 f.

684 conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations
626 incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing
[182] equivalences of value.

764 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern
184 groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriuaerekititu, a1) in a circular ditch (sinitãkurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in
[768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. aurегande aŝunikere kadukarage iauorige ende ende ende inare inaretaire sinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aotenikere, b1) in a prone position (iotarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[765] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doŝore durige aotede autadatige audotahãmdige audotaãmde odenehejre odunhinde niaotumnie narainidande narajdurige airedugejottige den den den nagiaode aire dugiotige tiatugiotige (b1)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead
[428 has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring
425] land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝiba linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝiba dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝiba. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

193 their suffixes in Ŝibŝa: —nak (Bribri), "excretion, secretion, resin"
197 and -dio, -rio (Bribri), "secretion, damp." (3)
811

3. There would be, naturally, a large number of detailed observations to present. In the different languages, the logical categories partially overlap; thus, the Nambikwara category -kere corresponds partially to the Bribri -kal, and at the same time to -Xkuo. The suffix -kere expresses resistance largely, and the suffix -kate, which we have connected with it, form.

The phonetic analogies which occasionally appear between the classifying suffixes of the Nambikwara and the Ŝibŝa do not seem to us of great importance. On the other hand, morphological analogy, and above all the division of things and beings into classes which are not imposed on the mind [114] by any internal necessity, do not seem to us to be logically the result of a pure phenomenon of convergence. We see there, on the contrary, sufficient reason to affirm a linguistic affinity between the Ŝibŝa and Nambikwara groups. (1)

1. In his book Durch Central-Brasilien, Von den Steinen had already suggested the constitution of a linguistic area extending from Colombia to northern Bolivia by a chart of the northern and western distribution of the word sisi (sun, fire). The term sisi can be approximated in Nambikwara: siisu (a1), siise (b1): round hut, circle.

[192]

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Type, family, group	-ẑnde -ẑnde -ẑnde		-ĭiak	-ŭah	
Hair, fur, feathers	-uette	-ulia	-kŏ, -kŏ -tsa	-nok -so	-lisa -ko-a
To cut, to pierce, hole	-l'ro	-sik			-kali -ka

continued

193
197
811
192

Logical Category	Nambik-wara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wood, stretched	-kere -kate	-kat	-kãr	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretched	-ẽere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, grain, rounded object	-kəniⁿde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That which hangs, is added, decorates, trembles	-gəre	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-diˀo -riˀo -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Season, weather, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kã -kõ	-shco	
Bark, leather, skin, clothing, what accompanies	-ore	-ʉuk	-Xkŭŏ	-cuota -cuo	-tẽn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kãs	-tśkaˀ	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ring finger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

802 a special term ba is found, to designate a duo or a pair.

NAMES OF NUMBERS

Numbers	Dialects a 1/2.	Dialect b 1.	Dialect b 2.	Dialect c.
One.....	kənáge	nágəna, kanákero	naju̯kənada-i̯ŝaore	amé̯ro
Two.....	searu	nabaám, baãdo	baãŝore	balé̯ne
Three.....	nuneseare-kənage	nabágəna	uái̯nŝore	balaámero
Four.....	desanu	nabau̯õda	uai̯dnái̯ŝore	
Five.....	dasaré̯nere	nmba-nmba-nagena	niku̯ái̯nŝore	
Six.....	anere		u̯ái̯dna-ái̯ŝore	
Seven.....	toái̯denere			
Eight.....	uakesau̯nú̯nere			
Many.....	sáklaere	u̯ái̯gnine ku̯ái̯ntege	dei̯ndari̯ŝore	álele

[116] In the a 1/2 vocabulary, the terms indicated for "four" to "eight" probably represent less the names of the number than the descriptive terms of the operation which consists of adding a new unit to a whole. In the b2 vocabulary, the original word employed for "three" is apparently connected with the same origin as that of dialect b1 signifying plurality. The terms used for "four," "five" and "six" are probably descriptive of the manipulation.

[521] In conversation, the exclamatory forms are used, for example in discussions among men upon their return from hunting:

55. nãgənaarenjani baánenjani baánegərenjani bãde-bãdenjani báabáakənaánjani. (b1)
"I killed one myself--two, myself--three, myself--four, myself--five, myself."

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193 197 171]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ŝibŝa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) uãi ʔanjena taĩkednjena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahéndesu	ahéndesu	deʔénde	pãte
Black	ŝundne	atuũdisu	uãre, dédne	tapũte

continued

822
192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehedné-kenesu	ahe'én-dutu	e'édne	ṣereṣeráinte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehéndutu	aehʔéndutu	eʔédne	ṣeráinte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asuisuéndisu	ṣiṣuí'dna	tapũte, tikualẽnte
Ultramarine blue	---	asuisuéndutu	ṣiṣuí'dna	tapũte, tikualẽnte
Veronese green	ṣidiṣí'de	asetesedeén-dutu	ṣedeṣedédne	pasí'nte
Emerald green	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-éndutu	ṣedeṣe-dedne	pasinte, kualénte
Strontian yellow	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-éndutu	ṣedeṣe-dedne	natopeṣeráinte, kualénte
Yellow ocher	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-éndutu	húndne	ṣeráinte
Burnt sienna	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-éndutu	húndne	natopeṣeráinte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitásu, atásu (supernatural animal) or iuinitu atásu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgəre (classifying: -gəre, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãgəniuí'kəre, -niuí'kəre being a diminutive) and "planets" (tãgərare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otianí'kisu, uterí'tisu (a 1/2), ṣúnde (b 1/2), iota (c); the moon í'ru, irékisu (a 1/2), héinde, héitənde (b 1/2), hií'ta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: arãditatinoa (a1), eiedámniene (b1) ipáikolota (c);

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgiaiʔí'noa (a1), euemirakende (b1), ipáikolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mihí'rage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (kómirige,

805 bl) lasting seven months. The time is counted in moons and in nights, and the term moon or night is mentioned as many times as is necessary to arrive at the total of months (lunar), or of days, that one desires to mention. This enumeration gives a savory color to the language (cf. quotations 6 and 52): "hétende, hétende . . ." or kanádao, kanádao . ., etc. A source of confusion often comes from the fact that the Indian uses the term Ka (abbreviated from kanadero), "a single one," implying the period of time involved; one finds oneself thus faced with the enumeration "Ká, Ká, Ká . . ." etc., without knowing whether it is a question of nights,or of one (moon) one (moon), etc.

They distinguish "today" (ɥéjdnekɥare, bl) from "tomorrow" (kánadaórekɥare, bl), from "yesterday" (kútnore, bl), and from "the day after tomorrow" (kənaʔálaore, bl, = "still another night").

The day is divided into six phases (dialect bl);

The dawn: líttene, "it comes up" (the sun), naãninde, "it mounts";

9 o'clock: níkəlaena, "it brightens";

Noon: nakakátiore, "the bad hour";

15 o'clock: niʂedítige, "it turns";

17 o'clock: kãdeʔígiena, "it falls";

Twilight: kanalútere, "night comes."

823 The Nambikwara recognize four directions of space, two of which correspond to the axis of the apparent movement of the sun and two to the direction of the rivers, in effect approximately perpendicular to the preceding:

The north: jokənore, "toward bottom";

The south: úkenore, "toward the top";

The west: ʂuingátere, "the sun goes down";

The east: ʂunlirítere, "the sun comes up" (bl).

57. ndaorerilikãkate nejená nejlikẽ (bl)

There is no other one, it is enough!

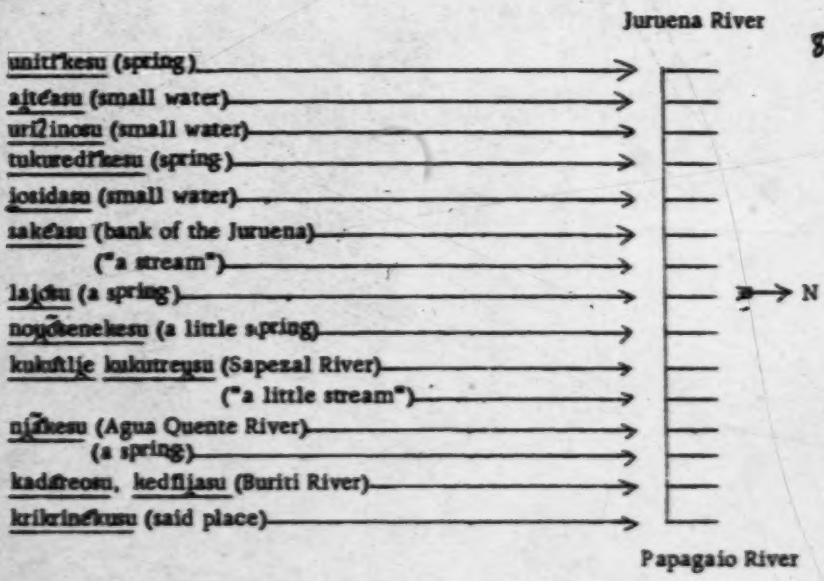
Territories are known and marked at distances extending 200 or 300 kilometers. Places, sources and courses of water have names, and the Indians (or at least some) are able to trace on the sand summary maps of travel with information as to the principal landmarks. Here is how A1 marks the stages of the trip of his group from the Papagaio River to the tributary of the right bank of the Juruena River where his village is located:

823

Juruena River

unitī'kesu (spring)
ajtéasu (small water)
uriʔinosu (small water)
tukuredī'kesu (spring)
josidasu (small water)
sakéasu (bank of the Juruena)
("a stream")
lajosu (a spring) → N
noyõsenekesu (a little spring)
kukutlje kukutreusu (Sapezal River)
("a little stream")
njãkesu (Agua Quente River)
(a spring)
kadáreosu, kedīljasu (Buriti River)
krikrinékusu (said place)

Papagaio River



TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read above (p. 50) a remark of B1 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as legacies of the "ancestors": 173 [183 829]

58. irotnore ikãtage uī'ttige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already given. (1) Here is the text used by adults: 773 539

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narúdne kãuihire
narukánihire naukauī'ʃaure
nahútende kãng-rage naukãdo uī'ʃere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

773
539 dẽinhe nẽ̃kena kanayapẽndige
only an old woman escaped one day (?)
nẽndige ẽ̃dende kẽninde
to cry [she climbs on a buriti palm] buriti coco
iotũrige tanẽ̃amdage ĩẽ̃u ĩẽ̃u ĩẽ̃u
she throws [in the water] to wait to wait to wait [the water]
dehẽ̃ndige untahãrige nihunĩ̃ndige tarahĩ̃narige ũ̃tte
to dry to sleep the morning to be born to deliver child
talĩ̃ttige tothãndige ikãtotẽndige ikã̃ idõdige
to fall [from the stomach] to grow very quickly
to grow very quickly to grow
ndayre tamĩ̃ndige bãdige ũtaytu
[with its] mother to copulate two twins to be born
nĩ̃ndage ẽintalĩ̃kero
of the marriage [and] having fallen again
ẽoni dẽ̃inhaẽnenũ̃nkero
of a man and woman married again
ẽetnarotunkero tãtalĩ̃kero nẽiin
of a child large again who falls again the brothers
kĩ̃tunkero deẽnla ẽ̃ĩna
to marry again another village
tamĩnũ̃kero bãkẽenaa
[having made] having copulated again two twins
dyenũ̃kero dẽlaynĩ̃ĩ̃rĩkero ainĩnũ̃nkero
again being born to make another village again to
inhabit again
ẽẽheni nẽ̃nakero bãtẽininukero nẽidnẽa
to make children again two children to make again the brothers
tunumẽ̃kero ẽ̃nikẽe tãmĩnu tãmĩnu
to marry again other men to beget to beget
dẽ̃ndla ẽ̃ĩna ẽõore tamĩ̃nẽ̃ayre tamĩnẽ̃otige
another village to build to beget to beget
ẽ̃ndige dẽinũ̃kero ẽĩnũ̃kero
to make love to have children again another village again
akyẽ̃ndige akyẽ̃kero dejdlaẽni ẽ̃ĩnta
going away going away in other villages
[121] heẽ̃kenũ̃kero hãẽ̃ẽ̃ niriẽandĩ ẽiẽ̃ẽ̃ hẽnẽnẽarẽ̃ẽ̃
others still far away to inhabit (?) all distant very distant
nẽẽntindnõẽ̃ ẽ̃ũtnaẽddnẽani nẽẽehẽ̃ẽ̃
very distant to inhabit who do not know how to speak
others distant (?)

773
539

nágatatnjáani ukúnajonetátjena ukuajenthni
who do not know how to understand others who live so distant
[that it is necessary]
kanéngore kanéngore kanéngore
that a moon end that a moon end that a moon end
uatlítnjãni (b1)
in order that they arrive.

The whole story can be summed up as follows: alone of all the 773
humans, one old woman succeeded in escaping the Flood by hanging to the top of a buriti palm. By letting some nuts fall from the palm into the water, she was able to measure the decline of the water, and when the ground was dry, she came down and was delivered of a son. Through an incestuous union with her son, she then gave birth to twins of different sex, and from their incestuous union was born a new generation of twins. Thus, the whole of humanity would be descended from a series of marriages between twins, each giving birth to a new couple. As men multiplied, new villages were founded, always further away. So much so that today men live at such distances from one another that they do not speak the same language, do not understand one another, and must travel for whole months in order to visit.

This version offers several points in common with others collected in distant regions of South America. It is doubtless necessary to interpret the throwing of the palm nuts in the light of the "magical projection" 773
which has been studied above. (1) The throwing of small nuts certainly 171

1. Cf. p. 96.

possesses a magic significance. The same episode is found in several versions of the legend of the Flood, (2) and its magical value is formally attested

2. Cf. for example the Tupi version collected by Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 45.

for the Ṣipaia by Nimuendaju. (3) In older versions, the old woman (since

3. To kill the sun by throwing upon it small nuts of the palm tree anaja, thus introducing night upon the earth ("Sagen der Tembe Indianern," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 47, 1915, p. 296).

In older versions, the old women (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the 171 [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or grains in South American folklore. [538]

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of expression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships: 157 157 571

60. tai undejretnjē ta ejkirednjē pāj jiren undetnjē tatjene pāj iritjani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep, I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. iejtlana amnentjē hikənariəna iātjene amdenjē kənahādaŋ ledetnjē. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it; tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanajōnjani nātin nalirjani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 157 521

63. tenūkuē tenūkuē utanātiri (bl). 157
To me! To me! Throw! 521

However the artisan at work also makes his wife, child,neighbor participate in the execution of the work on whose vicissitudes he comments gaily:

64. itiouī taninjē diuīn...ātni...kādaha...munjalina...
kādjanene...nooua...taluunlē...nōhin...iahena...
mūhjena. (bl)
Hold it [the cord] so that I can twist it...let it
go! It fell!...There!...It is difficult!....It is
done!....Does it suit you?..It is ugly!...No, it
is pretty!

The last formula is ritual, it is the one they use at the end of [208]
chants and dances; the protagonists excuse themselves: "it is ugly"; and the audience responds: "No, it is pretty!"

[123] This politeness is not always without malice, and compliments 157
sometimes hide attempts at mockery. We cited above the formula used by 521
a group to depreciate their dances in comparison to those of their companions 576
they have just met; (1) but a few hours earlier, disdaining a present of beads

1. Cf. p. 92.

which I offered and which were not much appreciated because of their color, they advised me:

65. mpātin majmājndē tunuhī'nde (bl)
Keep them to give to the Maimandē.

One day we were sold poison tubes (by group a2) described as so 439
dangerous that we should abstain from ever opening them under pain of im- 739
mediate death. They proved to be empty, which testifies to great 157
ingenuity if the mystery was improvised on our account. In any case, it throws a curious light on the relationships between neighboring groups.

1:Lévi-Strauss--142 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Fig. 19
Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by A1 while explaining his genealogy (c. p. 40, fn. 1).

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances [157] 797 177 648 sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the preceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in the course of [124] these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupted, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp.

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighboring group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (ajdotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later.

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability.

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North

American Indians. As example of the first aspect we shall mention: the 157
public and "scientific" preparation of the curare; the development of certain therapeutics such as the treatment of ophthalmia by instillation; the flexibility of the sexual division of labor; sexual life in general; the atmosphere of the rites of abstinence; the rational attitude as regards alimentary taboos. Several remarks on this point will make clear the indigenous psychology. The white worms (anadhu, a1) which are frequently found 157
in the nuts of the bacaiuva palm have been indicated as being inedible. Subsequently we verified that they were eaten in secret by the children. Thus a8 finds them while cracking nuts and gives them to her little sister a9; and furtively she too eats a worm. Her action is noticed by a3 and a4 who cover her with sarcasm. However one day when food is scarce, A1 eats a plate of worms which his young wife a4 has gathered for him, and sadly remarks that, due to lack of meat, he is reduced to this poor fare. The same observation is made about the hawk. Above we showed what constitutes the metaphysical basis of the alimentary taboo concerning the jaguar. However, the current interpretation is entirely different:

66. ujatededni? uili?e (b1).

I don't eat any of it, it smells bad!

In the face of new situations, the Indians generally react without 157
mysticism. Thus, A1 before the problem of writing: (1) on the other hand, 177

1. P. 40 f. and p. 89.

the Nambikwara show total indifference toward photography, even when they have understood its purpose. We have never found [126] Indians who tolerated the participation of the camera in the slightest details of their intimate life with such complete indifference.

However, the passage to irrational positions is made with the same 157
brusqueness which characterizes the two attitudes, almost simultaneous, of an infant hilarity before the still unusual sight of an inflated balloon which burns, and of an appeal to evil magic when a second balloon succeeded in rising. (1) Never does the tender indulgence with which the men surround

157
562

1. P. 97.

their companions (2) allow one to suspect the actual metaphysical curse

2. P. 56 f.

with which the women are burdened in the Nambikwara culture, excluded under pain of death from collective ceremonies, deaf and blind to the voice

of the Beyond, and condemned to nothingness after death like non-initiated 157
babies. We have described the tender companionship which presides in the 562
relationships between the sexes, and the general harmony which reigns within the groups. But when these are altered, it is to give way to the most extreme solutions, poisoning and murder. It is quite reasonable for the informants to underline spontaneously the role of forgetfulness in funeral rites. (3).

3. P. 112.

For there is a striking contrast between the joyous irony with which one answers someone who is ignorant enough to inquire about a relative deceased for quite awhile: "ilutu, ilutu" (a1), "to the sand! in the sand!," and the horrible apparition of the atasu which is evoked with ritual sobbing.

Nambikwara rites do not seem to be symbolic in any way. The 746
skeleton-like state of A21 and a22 at the end of the period of abstinence 157
testifies to that, and although ceremonies are rare, they are carried far. 781
The informants speak of periods of three months for the isolation of the young girl entering puberty, and of a bath in the river lasting a whole night as a preliminary to marriage. However much behavior is supple and without complication in daily life, likewise intrusions of the supernatural (in visions and revelations, the séances of shamanism, war dances, etc.) are manifested by the transition to an atmosphere of tragedy. No South American group, to our knowledge, expresses in such a sincere and spontaneous way (for one never feels the theatrical atmosphere of Tupi or chaqueno shamanism) such violent and opposed sentiments, whose individual expression seems inseparable from a social stylization which never betrays them.

* * * * *

It is far from us to wish to assign an exclusively economic cause to 157
this dualism. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to consider that the psychological 182
dualism goes on an equal footing with the organization of social existence around [127] two opposite poles, on the one hand the sedentary life, agricultural, based on the dual masculine activity of the construction of huts and of gardening; on the other hand, the nomadic period, during which subsistence is principally assured by feminine collecting and gathering, the one representing alimentary security and well-being, the other chance and want. To these two ways of life, one followed in the winter, the other in the summer, the Nambikwara react in very different ways. They speak of the former with the melancholy which is attached to the conscious and resigned acceptance of the human condition, to the dull repetition of identical acts.

157
182

While they speak of the latter with the excitement, and the almost exalted tone, of discovery. Let us listen to an informant (B1) describe the double cycle of the year:

First the sedentary life:

67. nedəntãtage kanaadaɥ haɟndige ɥedəntánkero, ɥatliri'kero 221
Tomorrow go hunting come back again 539
ɥakɥi'nikerõ dánkero undákero 157
cook again go to bed again sleep again 182
naɟngi'kero aɟrelõkero aɟkənkero
day again go to the field again cultivate the field again
aɟngənkero áamkəro nunãkero ɥininúnkero
cultivate again leave again eat again
nangi'kero danunkero taõrige táɥ táɥ táɥ
another day cut wood cut cut cut
telunúkero [telõndige] mbári mbári mbári
finish again wait wait wait
ʂorúmkero ʂutnunátaɥe [ʂutnúkero] li'tnutɟet
burn again the cold comes [still the cold] plants
denúnkero ɥaɣaari'anunkero ɥaaninúnkero
to go again looking for some return again
iráakero kakɥáidnatɥe [kaɟkɥánde] hi'kərage kúkero
plant much dig again
ikəranukútige li'tnurankero
in order to plant dig plants cut again
telõndãmkero déɟnterituapúmkero aɥrhaɟkero
finish again live a long time again pull up the roots
etuɟi' etuɟi' etuɟi' hánkero
grate grate grate finish again
nlakərahinkero nkɥaɥlakərahi'nkero átlakero hi'nkero
gɥátaɥ hikənimuni (b1)
a new field again plant again

And now the great adventure of the nomadic period:

68. inkənahaɟre mi'rɥere i'rige
We leave at dawn; [the basket] is made it waits.
[128] ãgərage tɥatúrige tɥa tɥikini'nkero i'kəro
one packs; one fills the basket in the woods one travels one travels
nahoreda õkero nlaɟdi'nkero ntorai'nkero aɟnkero
one comes to the water one crosses the water one crosses on the way
aɟnkero alorekidi'rekəro alorairi'kəro
on the way! one takes the prairie one crosses the prairie

157
182
221
539

ajtuaginiˈkəro (in) ʃiˈhun lomãniˈnkəro ajkəro
in the forest one travels again the hill one goes down travel
ajkəro ajkəro ajritigəmãniˈnkəro mãgəlaniˈnkero
travel travel the hill one goes up the hill one crosses
kəlakəlatiniˈnkəro erəlorãniˈnkəro ajrikəro
at the crest one travels one goes down another hill, more walking!
ʃikit(a)tittaˈnərige hajtlikəro ʃikitakãlikəro
In the wet sand travel in the wet sand travel
ʃejnlikəro herhaninsinkəro nungeniˈnkero
one passes the hut of other people traveling meets others
uelikatnunde ʃiitliˈtte (bl)
one is united with others here are the huts.

As is seen, the two forms of existence not are only very strikingly opposed from the economic and sociological point of view. They constitute two poles around which accumulate complex ensembles of emotions, sentiments and memories. With the same tenderness with which they 157 182 caress their wives, the men evoke the type of life defined by the temporary shelter and the eternal basket, where the most incongruous means of subsistence are sparingly scraped, gathered together, caught each day, where one lives cruelly exposed to wind, cold and rain, and which leaves no more lasting trace than the souls of the women, dispersed by the wind and storms, on whose activity it essentially reposes. And almost like the reign of need is opposed to that of liberty, they conceive in a completely different aspect the sedentary life (whose specific and ancient character is still borne witness to the original species which they cultivate), but upon which the unchangeable chain of agricultural operations confers the same character of perpetuity as the reincarnated masculine souls, the durable house of winter time, and the cultivable land which will begin to live and to produce "when the death of its preceding cultivator shall be forgotten." (1) We do not think it possible to draw conclusions, from a work

1. Cf. quotation, p. 112.

having to do exclusively with several sociological and psychological aspects of the life of the Nambikwara, relative to the place one should assign them in the ensemble of South-American cultures. However, the preceding information suffices to show under what form the problem is posed. We are in [129] the presence of a culture which shows linguistic affinities with the Ŝibŝa, and which approaches the Tupi from the double point of view of family organization and religious beliefs, at the same time recalling

157

the Gé and the Botocudo in its material culture. (1) In other terms, it

101

1. We do not mention the Botocudo by chance. The term "Nambikwara" seems to be a surname of Tupi origin, with the sense of "large ears" (Nhambikwara). However, the Indians who use this name do not use the "bodoque" or any other ornament bringing on the same malformation. Yet it is possible that the name was originally applied to a tribe—or group of tribes—different from that which finally inherited it. In 1931, the telegraph post of Parecis, located 80 kilometers from Diamantino, was attacked and destroyed by some unknown Indians, who descended from an unexplored region somewhere between the Arinos River and the do Sangre River. Since that time, they have repeated their sorties at irregular intervals, so that it was necesary to change the trail going to Utiarity (on the Papagaio River)about 80 kilometers to the south of the telegraph line. The fires of Indian camps were clearly visible at the time of our passage to Parecis, in January 1939. Thanks to two severed heads, brought back a number of years ago by some garimpeiros (searchers of diamonds) who had a bone to pick with these Indians, it is known that the latter wear in the lobe of the ear and in the lower lip some large disks of light wood which recall those of the Suia and Botocudo. For this reason then, they are now called, by the diamond seekers and the gatherers of rubber of the region, by the name of Beiços de Pau, "Mouths of wood." The story is surprising, for people up to then were convinced that the Paresi had remained the sole occupants of these territories, and they themselves seemed completely ignorant of the presence of these dangerous neighbors. We have not found in literature any reference to the "Beiços de Pau" since the beginning of the 18th century; but at that time there is precise testimony: "Further on there is another tribe called Mahibarez... their language differs only slightly (from that of the Paresi), and they have ears with very long pierced lobes which in some of them hang to the shoulder, these being neighbors of the Paresi... and moreover they carry some short swords made from very strong wood. This people lives toward the northern part"

1:Lévi-Strauss--149 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

(Antonio Pires de Campos, "Breve noticia, etc.," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 25, 1862, p. 445). Cf. also C. Lévi-Strauss, "The name of the Nambikwara," American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, 1945. 101

is the problem of a syncretistic culture which one finds so frequently in South American ethnology. 157 152

When taken from the geographical point of view, the statement of the problem is easily reconstituted. One may ask one how best to interpret the presence of a nucleus of low cultures placed symmetrically, as regards the tributaries of the right bank of the Amazon, to that which occupied, and still occupies, eastern Brazil. Under the two wings of the "T" which sketches the distribution of far more evolved cultures of the Amazon valley, and the Madeira, with the long vertical zone which extends from the Xingu to the Tocantins, the low level *Gé* to the east, and the Nambikwara to the west, produce an equilibrium, like isolated islands. In the case of the Nambikwara, a supplementary problem is raised, that of the duality of their culture and their type of life. The latter can be explained either by taking as a basis the most elementary form of adaptation, and by assuming the borrowing of agricultural life from groups of a more evolved culture, or by leaving the higher form as an impoverishment determined by cultural isolation, or by the [130] suppression in particularly inhospitable regions which would have imposed secondary forms of adaptation. However, it is only by an appeal to all the available sources of information which should include, besides sociological studies, the study of the language and the material culture, and by comparison with the groups living in the same geographic atmosphere, that an attempt to interpret these problems can reasonably be undertaken. 121

1:Lévi-Strauss – (50 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION

History 1
The Country 3
Classification of Groups 7
The Type of Life 13

List of Phonological Symbols 17

PART I: FAMILY LIFE

Kinship System 17
Concrete Study of Groups
Eastern Group 36
Rules of Residence 46
Central and Southern Group 50
Western Group 53
Northern Group 53

Inter-individual Relationships:
Husbands and wives 54
Sexual Life 62
Parents and Children 66
The Grandparents 74
Collaterals and Relatives by Marriage 75
Notes on the Institution of "compaternity" 79

PART II: SOCIAL LIFE

Leadership 86
War and Commerce 90
Magic, Ritual and Religious Beliefs 95
Theory of Death 100

Communication with a Supernatural World:
Shamanism 101

From Birth to Death 106

SP17

1:Lévi-Strauss-67 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
General Psychology and Daily Life:	
The Categories	113
The Numbers	115
The Colors	116
The Seasons and Days	117
Oral Traditions	119
Psychological Attitudes	122
Conclusion	126

1: Lévi-Strauss E-S (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate I]

137
133

241
142
482
415

484
482
415

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) ~~1948~~ SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

415
361
342
291

411
361
415
231

484
415
231

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 81 ff.).

[End Plate III]

231
302
301
142

301
304
302
142

1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[432
411]
415

[231
342]
415
285

[231
222]
482
355

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
48
231]

[515
607
301]

[524
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

[End Plate VI]

291
302
301
516
[607]

Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]

The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

[End Plate VIII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 100 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

[For information pertaining to field methods of collecting information, see also category 115.]

[For information on compérage, which is also a type of artificial kin relationship including siblings-in-law, see category 607.]

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS. — FACULTÉ DES LETTRES

LA VIE FAMILIALE ET SOCIALE DES INDIENS NAMBIKWARA,

PAR

CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS

MAÎTRE DE CONFÉRENCES DES FACULTÉS

Thèse complémentaire
présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris.

SOCIÉTÉ DES AMÉRICANISTES
Musée de l'Homme
PALAIS DE CHAILLOT — PLACE DU TROCADÉRO, PARIS (16e)

1948

[title page]

I: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

LA VIE FAMILIALE ET SOCIALE DES INDIENS NAMBIKWARA.

Par C. LÉVI-STRAUSS.

(*Planches I-VII.*)

INTRODUCTION.

Le nom des Nambikwara apparaît dans la littérature ethnologique dès le XVIIIe siècle; mais il nous paraît inutile de compiler ici des références qui se réduisent à une citation plus ou moins déformée du nom tribal, et à l'indication approximative du territoire occupé par le groupe. En fait, et si l'on excepte leur nom qui semble être un sobriquet d'origine Tupi[1], les Nambikwara sont restés pratiquement inconnus jusqu'à l'époque de leur découverte officielle, en 1907, par le général (alors colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon. A partir de cette date, on est directement ou indirectement redevable à la Commission Rondon de toutes les informations disponibles sur leur compte.

On sait qu'en 1907, le colonel Rondon reçut du Gouvernement brésilien la mission d'explorer les territoires qui s'étendent, sur 1.500 kilomètres environ, de la bourgade de Diamantino jusqu'au Rio Madeira. Cette campagne devait précéder la construction d'une ligne télégraphique stratégique reliant la capitale fédérale aux postes-frontières du Nord-Ouest. Au cours d'une première expédition commencée en 1907, Rondon réussit à atteindre le Juruena, fleuve principal du Tapajos resté jusqu'alors inconnu. Cette découverte eut lieu le 20 octobre; une seconde expédition, commencée en 1908, permit l'ouverture d'une route de terre vers le Madeira. C'était le premier objectif de la mission confiée au général Rondon; sa réalisation ne prit que 25 décembre 1909. C'est au cours de ces deux expéditions qu'on entra fait, pour la première fois, établi avec les Nambikwara.

La pose de la ligne télégraphique se poursuivit à travers les territoires indigènes de 1909 à 1915 environ. Pendant cette période et depuis lors, il y eut des relations régulières, bien qu'intermittentes, entre les Indiens et les membres de la Commission télégraphique : officiers du génie, soldats

[1] Cf. plus loin, p. 129, n. 1.

Société des Américanistes, 1948. [p. 1]

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

et manœuvres. Ces contacts ont continué après l'achèvement des travaux. Ils se sont toutefois espacés, et se font surtout avec les stations dont le service est assuré par les Indiens Parecis, éduqués par les soins de la Commission.

Si on laisse de côté quelques livres et articles, de caractère anecdotique, écrits par tel ou tel collaborateur du général Rondon, on se trouve réduit, comme seules sources d'information sur les Indiens Nambikwara, aux ouvrages suivants. D'abord, le *Rapport* ethnologique dû au général Rondon lui-même, et imprimé à Rio de Janeiro comme une des nombreuses publications officielles de la Commission, sous le n° 2, 1911. Il faut citer, ensuite, les conférences du même auteur, qui suivirent l'expédition Roosevelt-Rondon au Rio da Duvida (édition en langue portugaise : *Missão Rondon*, Rio de Janeiro, 1916; édition en langue anglaise : *Lectures delivered by General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon*, etc., Commissão Rondon, publ., n° 43). On doit également avoir recours à un article d'un jeune officier de l'état-major du général Rondon, Antonio Pyrineus de Souza (*Notas sobre os costumes dos Indios Nambikwaras*, Revista do Museu Paulista, vol. 12, 1920) et aux informations éparses dans les divers rapports de la Commission, publiés pendant, et depuis, les travaux d'exploration, et dont le plus utile est sans doute celui de Cernicr (*Rapport géologique et ethnologique*, n° 23, annexe 5). On trouvera quelques indications dans le livre de Théodore Roosevelt (*Through the Brazilian wilderness*, Works, vol. 6) et un court vocabulaire chez Max Schmidt (*Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungsreise in Matto Grosso*, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 40, 1909).

En 1912, le Directeur du Musée national de Rio de Janeiro, le Dr Edgar Roquette Pinto, reçut mission de rejoindre la Commission Rondon sur le terrain, pour recevoir, examiner et rapporter au Musée, les collections ethnographiques rassemblées depuis le début des travaux. Ce voyage devait offrir au Dr Roquette Pinto l'occasion d'écrire et de publier plusieurs articles et un livre. Le plus important, parmi les premiers, est certainement sa communication au Congrès International des Américanistes tenu à Londres en 1912 (*Os Indios Nambikwara do Brasil Central*); ensuite, sa communication au Congrès Pan-Américain de Washington (1917) sous le titre *Os Indios da Serra de Norte*. Le livre, *Rondonia* (dernière édition : Cia Editora Nacional, Sao-Paulo, 1935) est presqu'entièrement consacré aux Nambikwara, et représente notre meilleure source d'information.

Toutefois, l'ensemble des travaux cités aux paragraphes précédents se ramènent à quelques données linguistiques — limitées généralement à de médiocres vocabulaires — et à une description de la culture matérielle, soigneusement entreprise dans *Rondonia*. Nulle part il n'est question de la vie familiale et de l'organisation sociale. Dans ces conditions, on peut s'étonner que, depuis la publication du travail de Roquette Pinto, les Nambikwara semblent être complètement tombés dans l'oubli; et il était naturel que notre propre expédition, commencée exactement vingt-six ans et deux mois après

le début du voyage de Roquette Pinto, se consacrât à combler — fut-ce partiellement — les lacunes des enquêtes précédentes. Nous avons cherché des informations linguistiques plus étendues et plus précises; prêté plus d'attention à l'aspect «dynamique» de la culture matérielle, en considérant moins les objets achevés que le processus de leur fabrication; et surtout, nous nous sommes largement consacrés à l'étude de l'organisation familiale et sociale, dont la description fait l'objet du présent travail.

Il est superflu de souligner qu'on ne trouvera pas ici une étude exhaustive de la vie et de la société Nambikwara. Nous n'avons pu partager l'existence des indigènes que pendant la période nomade, et cela seul suffirait à limiter la portée de notre enquête. Un voyage entrepris pendant la période sédentaire apporterait sans doute des informations capitales, et permettrait de rectifier la perspective d'ensemble. Nous espérons pouvoir l'entreprendre un jour. Comme Roquette Pinto l'écrit au début de *Rondonia* : «Lentas hão de ser sempre as construcções scientificas em tal terreno» [1]. A son livre, pourtant, reviendra toujours le mérite d'avoir appelé l'attention sur une des plus attachantes cultures du Brésil indigène et d'en avoir, le premier, brossé un vivant et charmant tableau.

* * *

Le territoire occupé par les Indiens Nambikwara s'étend du Rio Papagaio à l'Est jusqu'à une zone se terminant approximativement, au Nord-Ouest, au confluent des rios Commemoração de Floriano et Burity de Melgaço, tous deux formateurs du rio Machado ou Gi-Parana. Ce point marque, en même temps, la fin du plateau qui occupe presque toute la partie centrale et occidentale de l'État de Matto Grosso. La limite méridionale se place sur le cours moyen du rio Guaporé, et, plus à l'Ouest, suit le cours complet du rio Commemoração de Floriano. On ignore où se situe la frontière septentrionale; le cours supérieur du Rio Roosevelt (anciennement : da Duvida) est sans doute habité par des groupes Nambikwara, mais ceux-ci ne sauraient s'étendre loin vers l'Ouest, car la région intermédiaire entre le rio Roosevelt et le haut Gi-Parana est occupée par des tribus de langue Tupi. Il nous semble probable que la frontière septentrionale des territoires Nambikwara, entre le rio Roosevelt et le rio Juruena, suive approximativement le 11° parallèle. Ainsi, la région pourrait être délimitée de la façon suivante : *à l'Est*, entre le 11° et le 13° parallèle, le cours du Juruena et du Papagaio; *au Sud-Est*, une ligne conventionnelle allant du 11° parallèle et 58°, 4, au 15° parallèle et 60°, ce dernier point correspondant à peu près à l'emplacement de la ville de Villa-Bella; *au Sud*, le cours du Guaporé depuis Villa-Bella jusqu'aux sources du rio Corumbiara et la région avoisinante, et, de là, le cours du rio Commo-

[1] *Préface de Seguenda Edição*, p. 13.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

moração de Floriano jusqu'au début du Rio Machado (environ 11,7 parallèle et 60°, 9); *à l'Ouest*, une ligne conventionnelle s'étendant du dernier point à l'intersection du rio Roosevelt avec le 11° parallèle; enfin, *au Nord*, le 11° parallèle, du rio Roosevelt au Juruena. La plus grande longueur de cette aire est d'environ 600 à 650 kilomètres du Nord au Sud, et sa largeur, d'Est en Ouest, atteint 300 kilomètres.

Considérée dans son ensemble, elle constitue la zone septentrionale et occidentale du vaste plateau qui occupe la plus grande partie de l'État de Mato Grosso, et dont le rebord méridional surplombe la campagne de Cuiaba, sous l'aspect imposant d'une ardente muraille rocheuse, la « Chapada ». Cette zone septentrionale et occidentale est aussi la région la plus inhospitalière du Mato Grosso; peut-être même — avec les steppes du Nord-Est — du Brésil tout entier.

On connaît imparfaitement la structure géologique de ces terres; elles sont formées de grès rouge à couches argileuses, et datent de périodes diverses : Dévonien à l'Est (c'est la « Chapada » proprement dite), Crétacé dans la zone qui nous intéresse spécialement (« Planalto dos Parecis » et prétendue « Serra do Norte »). La couche gréseuse s'élève abruptement au-dessus des roches cristallines qui occupent la haute vallée du rio Cuiaba; la transition est plus progressive vers le rebord oriental du plateau des Parecis puisque, à quelques kilomètres à l'ouest de Diamantino, on passe, presque sans s'en apercevoir, la ligne de partage des eaux qui sépare le bassin du Paraguay, affluent du rio de la Plata, et les sources du Rio Aribos, lui-même tributaire de l'Amazone.

Dans son aspect général, la région figure une sorte de vaste plateau ondulé s'abaissant lentement dans la direction du bassin de l'Amazone, avec les plus hautes points au centre et au Sud (aux environs de 800 m.) et les plus bas (350 m. environ) vers le Nord et vers l'Ouest. Et cependant, le voyageur parti du Sud trouve un impressionnant spectacle quand, après avoir parcouru 1.200 kilomètres de hautes terres désolées, il atteint le rebord nord-ouest du plateau : par rapport aux basses terres, la différence d'altitude est très petite : 100 mètres au plus; mais elle est brusque. Derrière lui, il laisse une brousse interminable et stérile, tandis que, immédiatement à ses pieds, commence, avec la vallée du Gi-Parana, la non moins interminable forêt amazonienne. Cette remarque fait la frontière géographique est aussi la limite occidentale des territoires Nambikwara.

Plus au centre et plus au Nord, l'aspect est différent : les eaux coulent à travers le plateau des tranchées qui s'élargissent en direction du bassin amazonien; ces dépressions déterminent des différences d'altitude pouvant aller jusqu'à 150 mètres; on les remarque surtout dans la région qui s'étend du Rio Roosevelt au Rio Dous de Outubro, et elles lui donnent un faux aspect montagneux où on trouve peut-être l'origine de l'expression fallacieuse « Serra do Norte ».

La constitution géologique conspire avec les conditions climatiques pour

donner au plateau sa physionomie désolée. Les sables, produits de la décomposition du grès, offrent un sol stérile; et la distribution irrégulière des pluies achève d'expliquer l'aspect de savane, si caractéristique de la région toute entière. Si l'on excepte quelques pluies — d'ailleurs rares — qui tombent parfois en juillet et août, les «chuvas de caju», on peut dire que la période avril-septembre est complètement aride. Au contraire, les précipitations sont violentes et presque quotidiennes depuis octobre jusqu'à mars. Ce sont des averses où la pluie dure parfois une, deux ou même trois journées consécutives. Pendant la saison pluvieuse, la température s'élève : 42 à 44 degrés pendant la journée, plus frais la nuit, avec même une chute soudaine et brève à l'aube. Mais les brusques variations de température caractérisent plutôt la saison sèche, peut-être à cause de l'intense rayonnement nocturne. Il n'est pas rare, à ce moment, de passer d'un maximum diurne de 40 degrés à un minimum nocturne de 8 ou 10 degrés. Les indigènes, qui vivent complètement nus, dorment à même le sol, et ignorent l'usage des couvertures, soit de fourrure soit de tissu, souffrent cruellement de cette condition.

Sur un tel sol et sous un tel climat, la végétation se réduit à des arbres espacés et rabougris, des buissons anguleux, où les plantes épineuses prédominent. A l'arrivée des pluies, la terre se couvre, en un temps incroyablement court, de fleurs et de hautes herbes. Mais pendant les sept autres mois, ces plantes se fanent et se dessèchent (quand les feux de brousse des indigènes n'en disposent pas plus complètement) et le sable, blanc, rouge ou ocre selon la région, paraît en larges plaques sous les brindilles calcinées. C'est l'époque où le rare gibier qui vague à travers le plateau se concentre dans les impénétrables bosquets (*capões*) dont le dôme arrondi marque la présence des sources. Il y trouve de petits pâturages encore verts, longeant parfois aussi l'étroit ruban de forêt-galerie qui borde les rivières.

Les cours d'eau sont nombreux et importants, les deux groupes principaux formant respectivement les bassins du Juruena et du Roosevelt. Toutes les vallées sont approximativement parallèles, et leurs eaux s'écoulent vers le Nord; elles découpent dans le plateau un système de fossés longitudinaux, et se décrochent par des cascades de rapides, parfois aussi des chutes : ainsi le saut du rio Papagaio à Utiarity, le saut de la rivière Sacre, et les rapides du Juruena. Ces accidents correspondent au passage des terrains sédimentaires aux roches cristallines qui réapparaissent dans la partie moyenne du bassin amazonien. Sur leur cours supérieur, et en raison de la nature du terrain, les rivières ont des lits profonds allant parfois jusqu'à une trentaine de mètres; l'eau reste si transparente, pourtant, qu'on aperçoit aisément le fond et les poissons qui circulent. Ces conditions aggravent encore les problèmes alimentaires : à travers le vert cristal des eaux, le poisson devine le pêcheur et lui échappe immanquablement. Cela est vrai surtout pour les fameuses du Tapajos : quand on atteint les bonnes terres de la vallée du Madeira, on ne passe pas seulement de la savane à la forêt humide; les cours d'eau

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

se transforment aussi, avec des lits plats et bourbeux, et des eaux rougeâtres.

On a vu que les frontières du territoire occupé par les Nambikwara correspondent — grossièrement au Sud et au Nord, et presque exactement au Nord-Ouest — aux rebords du plateau. Vers l'Est, où la limite suit à peu près le cours du Juruena, les Nambikwara touchent aux Indiens Paressi et Iranxe, qui occupent les parties méridionale et orientale du plateau.

* * *

Il est impossible d'estimer, même de façon approchée, le chiffre de la population Nambikwara puisque son territoire reste, en majeure partie, inconnu. Il semble toutefois raisonnable de considérer qu'à la fin de la construction de la ligne télégraphique (vers 1915-1920) ce chiffre devait être, environ, cinq fois supérieur à son montant actuel. En postulant une densité de population constante pour tout le territoire, on pourrait admettre un chiffre global de 10.000 habitants au moment de la découverte, correspondant à 2.000 ou 3.000 aujourd'hui, et sans doute moins encore. Notre itinéraire avait été conçu dans le but principal de nous mettre en contact avec le plus grand nombre possible d'indigènes. Après cinq mois de voyage à travers leur territoire, nous n'en avions cependant rencontré que deux cents; c'était l'effectif moyen d'une seule bande Nambikwara il y a vingt ans. Aujourd'hui la bande nomade va de quatre ou cinq, à trente ou quarante membres. Cet effondrement démographique s'explique par l'introduction de maladies allogènes, lors de la première pénétration du territoire en 1907. Les quelques données numériques qu'il nous a été possible de recueillir dispensent de tout commentaire : il y a quinze ans, la fraction connue du groupe Sabané comprenait plus de 1.000 individus; quand le groupe visita la station télégraphique de Campos Novos en 1928, on recensa 127 hommes, plus les femmes et les enfants. En novembre 1929 cependant, une épidémie de grippe se déclara, alors que le groupe campait au lieu connu par les agents du télégraphe sous le nom d'*Espera*. La maladie évolua rapidement vers une forme d'œdème pulmonaire, et 300 indigènes moururent en quarante-huit heures. Tout le groupe se débanda, fuyant la maladie et laissant en arrière les malades et les mourants. Des mille Sabané jadis connus, 19 hommes subsistaient seuls, avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants. A l'épidémie, il faut peut-être ajouter, pour expliquer ces chiffres étonnants, que les Sabané se mirent en guerre, il y a quelques années, contre certains voisins orientaux (groupe x2)[1]. Mais un large groupe relevant du dialecte b2, et installé non loin de Tres Buritis, fut complètement liquidé par la grippe en 1927, seuls 6 ou 7 personnes dont 3 seulement[2] étaient encore vivantes en 1938. Le groupe

[1] *Voir* la classification des groupes Nambikwara, plus loin, p. 10 sq.
[2] *Voir* plus loin, p. 61.

Tarundé, jadis l'un des plus importants, comptait encore 12 hommes (plus les femmes et les enfants) en 1926; de ces 12 hommes, 4 subsistaient seuls en 1939.

Un groupe méridional relevant du dialecte *b1* (Kabiṣi) paraît avoir mieux résisté; sans doute, parce que ses contacts avec les gens de la Ligne sont rares. De 1929 à 1934, aucun Kabiṣi n'aurait été vu le long du télégraphe; les indigènes circulaient peut-être plus au Sud, où la ville, aux trois quarts abandonnée, de Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, devait subir, pendant la même période, plusieurs attaques d'indiens inconnus, mais que les rares résidents désignent aussi du nom de Kabiṣi. Au dire de nos informateurs, ce groupe, à lui seul, réunirait encore sept ou huit cents individus, dont nous avons rencontré une douzaine en septembre 1938[1]. Les autres groupes s'amenuisent rapidement en raison des ravages dus aux épidémies, et à leur très faible natalité, qui constitue un phénomène général, comme on le verra au chapitre consacré à l'analyse de chaque groupe.

* * *

Seul, Roquette Pinto a tenté une classification des Nambikwara. Il distingue quatre groupes. Au sud-est, les Kokozu, qui vivent auprès des rivières Juruena, Juina, Papagaio et Camararé; au nord-est, les Anunzé, qui occupent le bassin du rio Doze de Otubro; au sud-ouest, un groupe appelé Uaintaçu ou Kabixi, s'étendant de Campos Novos à la vallée du Guaporé. Enfin, au nord-ouest, depuis la rive occidentale du rio Doze de Otubro jusqu'à la vallée du rio Roosevelt, on trouverait un dernier groupe rassemblant les Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Taruté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto n'indique pas clairement sur quelles bases se fonde cette classification; on peut supposer qu'elle n'est pas purement linguistique, puisque les vocabulaires publiés dans «Rondonia» font état de trois dialectes seulement. Il s'y mêle, sans doute, une large part d'empirisme. Par ailleurs, la liste des groupes qu'on trouve dans les publications de Rondon et de ses collaborateurs ne correspondent qu'occasionnellement à la classification de Roquette Pinto. Nos propres listes de noms de groupes ne comprennent pas tous ceux cités par nos devanciers; mais elles révèlent plusieurs noms nouveaux; en même temps, nous avons relevé des dialectes qui n'avaient jamais été signalés. Il est donc trop tôt pour procéder à une classification définitive, et on trouvera plus loin la raison de ces incertitudes : les bandes nomades des Nambikwara sont des formations fragiles, et elles possèdent toutes un nom, sobriquet dérivé du système de parenté, ou dû à la malice d'un groupe voisin. Ainsi les noms surgissent, disparaissent ou se transmettent avec une surprenante facilité. Voici un bon exemple de désaccord

[1] Voir plus loin, p. 50.

entre des observateurs travaillant à des périodes différentes : quelque part, entre 1926 et 1928, Max Schmidt recueillit un court vocabulaire de vingt mots, qu'il a publié par la suite[1] comme ayant été obtenu d'un groupe dit Tamaindé, alors installé à Tres Buritis. Ce vocabulaire relève certainement du groupe *b2* de notre classification, qui se distingue par l'usage d'un suffixe verbal de forme *-tare*, et que nous avons aussi rencontré dans la région de Tres Buritis. Pourtant, en 1938, les usagers de ce même dialecte se désignaient du nom de Tainté, et le nom de Tamaindé était seulement utilisé par un groupe parlant un dialecte différent (*b1*) pour désigner un troisième groupe (*a* de notre classification), dont on peut douter que le dialecte appartienne même à la famille linguistique Nambikwara.

Que faut-il en conclure? Tout essai de classification fondée sur les noms de bandes, qu'ils soient choisis par chacune d'elle ou reçus de groupes voisins, est, d'avance, condamné à l'échec. La seule base saine d'une classification des bandes et des groupes ne saurait être que linguistique. Cette méthode restera, en tout cas, seule valable, tant qu'une étude menée pendant la saison des pluies n'aura pas permis d'établir l'existence d'unités plus larges et plus stables que les bandes nomades de la saison sèche. Comme il serait difficile et arbitraire de désigner chaque dialecte du nom éphémère porté par telle ou telle bande qui le parlait au moment où l'enquête a été menée, et qu'une classification entreprise sur la base des connaissances actuelles ne saurait être que provisoire, nous procéderons à l'aide de symboles, de préférence aux noms de groupe qui donneraient une image infidèle de la réalité.

Cela posé, on peut dire que la famille linguistique Nambikwara comprend trois groupes principaux dont deux subdivisés en sous-groupes. Soit, au total, cinq unités distinctes. Les deux groupes que nous désignons respectivement par *a* et *b* sont étroitement apparentés du point de vue sémantique et morphologique, et ils représentent incontestablement deux modalités d'une même langue. Dans les deux cas, on observe le même usage de suffixes classificatoires, avec un suffixe verbal dont le sens est « être », « devenir », « faire », « fabriquer ». Dans le dialecte du groupe *a*, ce suffixe verbal paraît sous les formes *-kaljate*, *-kalatu*, *-kâtu*. On doit distinguer un type *a1*, prédominant de la rivière Piaguaçu à la Juina, avec une désinence *-u* pour les substantifs, et un type *a2* qui tend à substituer une désinence *-a* à la précédente. Comme ce dernier groupe se place à l'ouest de l'autre, et qu'il occupe approximativement la région des sources du rio Dous de Outubro et du rio Camararé, il paraît vraisemblable que la désinence *-a* soit apparue sous l'influence du dialecte *b*. A part la désinence et quelques variations de vocabulaire, les dialectes *a1* et *a2* sont pratiquement identiques.

Plus sérieuses sont les divergences de vocabulaire entre les groupes *a* et *b*. Ce dernier présente aussi une désinence *-a* pour les substantifs, et des

[1] L. c.

formes nouvelles pour le suffixe verbal. Sur cette dernière base, on doit distinguer un sous-groupe *b1* à suffixe verbal *-dje* ou *-dje*, et un sous-groupe *b2*, en tous points identique au précédent, sauf le suffixe verbal à forme

Carte n° 1.

Ligne téléphonique : _____

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

-ères. L'aire du dialecte *b1* s'étend de la rive droite du Guaporé au Sud au cours inférieur des rios Tenente Marques et Ikê au nord, et du bassin du rio Dous de Outubro à l'est, à une région se terminant au delà de la rive droite du rio Roosevelt vers l'ouest. On entend le dialecte *b2* depuis le bassin supérieur et moyen du rio Roosevelt jusqu'au confluent des rios Burité de Melgaço et Commemoração de Floriano.

Par ses caractères sémantiques et morphologiques, le dialecte *c* s'éloigne nettement des précédents. Nous n'avons pas poussé suffisamment loin son étude linguistique pour décider s'il convient ou non de le rattacher à la famille Nambikwara. On le parle dans une région située au nord et au nord-est de l'aire dialectale *c2*.

Nous tenterons maintenant d'établir une corrélation entre notre classification et les indications antérieures :

I. Groupe *a*.

Sous-groupe a1.

Du vocabulaire publié par Roquette Pinto à la fin de *Rondonia*, et des indications géographiques qu'il fournit, on peut conclure que ses *Kabixi* (qui forment son groupe du Sud-Est) correspondent certainement à notre sous-groupe *a1*. Et pourtant, nous n'avons pu retrouver le terme *Kabixi* (P. de Souza : *Cosore*). La désinence *-e* indique le dialecte *a1* ; mais le terme *kabi* appartient à la langue Paressi et aux dialectes du groupe *c*, avec le même sens « oncle maternel ». Il est complètement inconnu dans le système de parenté du groupe *a*. Selon nos informateurs, le groupe *a1* serait appelé :

1. *waljare* par le groupe *b1* ;
2. *wakirisu* par le groupe *c* ;

et il se diviserait en bandes nombreuses s'appelant elles-mêmes, ou se donnant les unes aux autres les noms :

3. *wakikwa* (rive droite du Juruena) ;
4. *kalitiana* (rive gauche du Juina) ;
5. *kaidwa* (subrique : « les meilleurs » ; haut-Juruena) ;
6. *kapitiu* (rive gauche du Juruena).

Le groupe *a1* est en contact avec les Indiens Iranxe, qu'ils appellent :

7. *irisu* (au confluent du rio Clarery et du rio do Sangue).

Sous-groupe a2.

Ce sont les *Anunzu*, *Anunzé*, ou groupe sud-est de Roquette Pinto (P. de Souza : *Anonzé*). Le bref vocabulaire publié par Roquette Pinto à la suite de ses propres vocabulaires appartient aussi à ce groupe. Nous n'avons jamais rencontré le terme *Anunzé* pas plus que les autres formes, mais seulement les noms :

8. *avélam* (*a1/2*);
9. *kadételi* (*b1*);
10. *mamékoti* (*c*).

II. Groupe *b*.

Sous-groupe b1.

Notre sous-groupe *b1* comprend les *Uaintaçu*, *Uaindzé* (Rondon : *Uainodezi*), *Kabizi*, *Tagnani* (Rondon : *Tagnani*), *Tauité* (Rondon : *Tauité*), *Taruté*, *Tacchuité* (Rondon : *Tachiouité*) de Roquette Pinto, soit ses deux groupes sud-ouest et nord-ouest. Nous n'avons jamais rencontré le terme *Tagnani*, ni, comme nom de bande, les termes *tauite*, *taruté*, *tassite*, qui signifient respectivement, dans le système de parenté du groupe *b*, «mon enfant», «mon beau-frère», «mon parent au troisième degré». Les Paressi appliquent le nom *Kabiçi* au groupe *b*. Pour le terme *Uaintaçu*, nous avons trouvé un équivalent :

11. *céijadam* (*a1*),

qui désigne le groupe *b*. Par contre, nous avons recueilli les appellations suivantes :

12. *sikalétam* (*a1*; à l'ouest du rio Camararé);
13. *taruéndé* (*b1*; bassin du rio Doze de Otubro);
14. *mamaindé* (*b1*; — Kabisi [Paressi] Mama-Inde [Rondon]; sources du rio Doze et rive droite du Guaporé)[1];

[1] Il semble que la frontière méridionale du groupe *mamaindé* soit plutôt sur le cours des affluents de la rive droite du rio Guaporé. Le Guaporé proprement dit est habité par des tribus riveraines, distinctes des Nambikwara par la langue et par la culture. Mais ces tribus connaissent et redoutent des Indiens dit *Kabiçi*, et cela, aussi loin que le rio São Miguel (Hamaine, Some notes on the Pawumwa Indians of South America, *American Anthropologist*, 1912, p. 333). Pour ajouter à l'obscurité qui couvre encore le problème des frontières méridionales des Nambikwara, les Paressi du Sud, qui vivent à l'orient des sources du Juruena, étaient aussi connus sous le nom de *Kabiçi* (Max Schmidt, *Reisen in Matto Grosso*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1912, vol. 44, p. 146-176). Ils sont aujourd'hui métissés ou disparus.

15. *mamájndeti* (*c*; identique au précédent, et, par extension, tout le groupe *b1*);
16. *itémolo* (*c*; vers le Sud).

Sous-groupe b2.

Ce dialecte n'avait jamais été signalé, sauf par le court vocabulaire publié par Max Schmidt et attribué à un groupe *Tamaindé*. Nous avons recueilli les appellations suivantes :

17. *tokinde* (*b1*; rive gauche du rio Barão de Melgaço);
18. *jólola* (*c*; même région);
19. *navélate* (*b1*; entre le rio Tenente Marques et le rio Roosevelt);
20. *lakénde* (*b1*; rive droite du rio Roosevelt);
21. *sovéjate* (*c*; même région);
22. *navéjte* (*b2* [Rondon : Navaite]; rio Roosevelt);
23. *taiate* (*b2*; rio Roosevelt).

III. Groupe *c*.

Ce groupe semble n'avoir jamais été étudié. Rondon mentionne seulement, sans indication géographique ou dialectale, un groupe *Sabané* et un groupe *Isia*. Ce dernier terme appartient au système de parenté du groupe *c* avec le sens « frère (ou sœur) aîné » ; nous ne l'avons jamais rencontré comme nom de bande. Par contre, le groupe *c* se désigne lui-même du nom :

24. *sabéne* (*c*),

et est appelé par les autres groupes :

25. *tokintoa* (*a1/2*);
26. *tamájnde* (*b1/2*).

IV. Noms d'autres groupes Nambicuara.

Pour les termes *Malatunde*, *Ualatunde*, *Ua-lat-nde* (Roquette Pinto), *Malatunde* (Rondon), nous avons un équivalent :

27. *malénde* (*b1*),

qui nous a cependant été donné avec le sens général d'« Indien » (*maáleus*, *b1* — « c'est un Indien ») par opposition à « Brésilien » (*lejaégere*, *b1* — « les vêtus »).

Nous n'avons pu recueillir aucun équivalent pour les termes suivants, cités

par Roquette Pinto et Rondon pour désigner des groupes Nambikwara : *Tsiqué* (Roquette Pinto), *Tsiddi* (Rondon), *Tsiqué* (P. de Souza)[1], *Xandikuku* (Roquette Pinto), *Xandé* (Rondon), *Xandé* (P. de Souza), *Nénê* (Rondon), *Mené* (Rondon), *Pamaré* (Relatorios da Commissão Rondon, passim). Les auteurs cités ne fournissent aucune précision sur le dialecte et la situation géographique de ces groupes.

V. Noms d'autres tribus.

Roquette Pinto cite le terme *Salumã* comme appartenant à son groupe nord-ouest. Nous l'avons recueilli sous les formes :

28. *salũdi* (*b1*);
29. *salũma* (*c*);

pour désigner une tribu septentrionale étrangère aux Nambikwara. Comme von den Steinen cite le nom *Sarumã*, donné, dit-il, par les Parecis aux Mundurukú, cette interprétation semble plus vraisemblable. Le groupe *c* appelle les Parecis :

30. *ẽnaikê ẽkarakê* (*c*)

et connaît en outre l'existence de trois autres tribus septentrionales :

31. *ẽkêtênãnã* (*c*);
32. *kaipâlê* (*c*);
33. *yaikêkêtênã* (*c*).

Le sous-groupe *b1* mentionne parfois une tribu vivant aux alentours du rio Barão de Melgaço :

34. *ẽkêpêrê* (*b1*).

* * *

Nous avons évoqué dans d'autres publications[2] la question de savoir si le genre de vie, apparemment très primitif, des Nambikwara, constitue ou non le vestige authentique de conditions anciennes. Considéré dans le présent, leur niveau de culture est certainement très bas. Ils vivent nus, surtout les femmes, qui ne portent qu'un minuscule rang de perles de *buriti* autour de la taille, des pendants d'oreille, des colliers parfois autour du cou ou en bandou-

[1] Il y a bien un terme de parenté *tsiqué* qui appartient au dialecte *a* avec le sens de « beau-frère », mais le personnel *b* ou se réfère le dialecte *b*.

[2] On dual organization in South America, *Américas Indígenas*, Mexico, 1944. Sur certaines similitudes structurales des langues Chibcha et Nambikwara. *Congrès International des Américanistes*, Paris, 1947.

lière, des bracelets taillés dans la queue du grand tatou, et, parfois, d'étroites bandelettes de coton tissé par leur mari, ou de paille de *buriti*, étroitement serrées autour des biceps et des chevilles. En plus des mêmes ornements, les hommes arborent quelquefois une sorte de pompon de paille, accroché à la ceinture au-dessus des parties sexuelles, et d'autres, plus petits, attachés aux bracelets de coton; par contre, ils ne portent pas de bracelet d'écaille. L'ignorance complète du hamac et l'usage nambikwara de dormir à même le sol (ou, plus rarement, sur de larges pièces de l'écorce du palmier-*paxiuba*) intriguent depuis longtemps les ethnologues; ce sentiment est partagé par les tribus voisines, et les Parecis, évoquant cette singularité, appellent les Nambikwara *Unkondevi*, «ceux qui dorment sur la terre».

On doit diviser l'année Nambikwara en deux périodes distinctes. Pendant la saison pluvieuse (d'octobre à mars), chaque groupe se fixe sur une petite éminence surplombant le cours de quelque ruisseau; les indigènes construisent alors des huttes grossières dont la forme et les matériaux montrent de curieuses variations. Ils ouvrent des brèches dans la forêt-galerie qui occupe le fond humide de la vallée, et ils y plantent et cultivent des jardins où figurent surtout le manioc (doux et amer) et le tabac, parfois des haricots, du coton, des arachides et des calebasses (*Lagenaria* sp.). On râpe le manioc sur des planches incrustées d'épines de palmier, ou la presse à l'aide d'un lombeau d'écorce tordu. Le jardinage fournit des ressources alimentaires suffisantes pendant une partie de la vie sédentaire, et même utilisables plus tard : les Nambikwara conservent le manioc en enfouissant des tourteaux de pulpe râpée dans le sol.

A l'arrivée de la saison sèche, on abandonne le village, ou plutôt, le site de résidence temporaire, et chaque groupe «éclate», si l'on peut dire, en plusieurs bandes nomades. Pendant sept mois environ, ces bandes vont errer à travers la savane, à la recherche de gibier, de petits animaux tels que larves, araignées, sauterelles, rongeurs, serpents, lézards, etc., et de fruits, graines, racines ou miel sauvages, bref, de tout ce qui peut les empêcher de mourir de faim. Leurs campements, installés pour un ou plusieurs jours, pour quelques semaines parfois, consistent en autant d'abris sommaires que de familles, faits de palmes ou de branchages piqués en demi-cercle dans le sable et liés au sommet. C'est l'époque où la quête alimentaire absorbe toutes les activités. Les femmes s'ornent du bâton à fouir, et les hommes chassent avec l'arc et la flèche, dont il faut distinguer plusieurs types. Les groupes orientaux ont un arc à section plate, qui évoque ceux des Sirionó, plus ouverts ou couverts quand on se déplace vers l'Ouest. Quant aux flèches, celles destinées à la chasse aux oiseaux offrent une tête émoussée; les flèches de pêche ont trois à cinq pointes, chacune formée comme un minuscule harpon, et le hampe est sans empenne. Les flèches empoisonnées[1], dont la pointe est protégée

[1] Cf. plus bas, p. 92.

par un étui de bambou, sont réservées à la chasse au singe et au moyen gibier. Celles pour le gros gibier ont une longe pointe lancéolée. L'empenne est attachée au canon. En plus de l'arc et des flèches, les hommes emploient une massue qui affecte souvent la forme d'un épieu et dont l'usage est réservé aux opérations magiques et guerrières[1].

Les matières premières de l'industrie indigène consistent en bois variés, tiges d'alocâsse sauvages, rotins, fibres des palmiers buriti (*Mauritia vinifera*) et tucum (*Astrocaryum tucuma*) ou de singe, dents et ongles de mammifères, fourrure (pour faire des parures seulement), plumes, piquants de porc-épic, coquilles végétales et coquillages fluviaux, pierres, cotons et graines. Comme outils, ils ont des couteaux faits d'un éclat coupant de bambou, de pierre grossièrement taillée, ou de fragments de fer ou d'acier obtenus par échange, et forés, à l'aide de vire et de cordelette, entre deux lattes de bois formant mandrin. Les drilles se composent d'un percoir de pierre ou de fer monté à l'extrémité d'une baguette qu'on fait tourner entre les paumes. La Commission Rondon a répandu l'usage des haches et coupoirs de métal, et les anciennes haches de pierre ne servent plus guère que comme petites enclumes, pour le façonnage de la coquille ou de l'os. Il faut citer aussi l'usage de polissoirs de pierre, et, parmi les objets d'usage courant, les fuseaux, peignes, paniers et calebasses à transporter l'eau. La poterie, inconnue des groupes orientaux, reste grossière partout ailleurs. Il n'y a ni métier ni jarre. Les indigènes confectionnent cinq types différents d'instruments de musique, tous à vent, qu'on entend souvent dans les fêtes.

La différence d'apparence physique entre les Nambikwara et leurs voisins orientaux, occidentaux et méridionaux — Parecis, Tupi-Kawahib et tribus du Guaporé — est saisissante[2]. Et ils diffèrent aussi de la plupart des autres tribus du Brésil, dont le type physique est généralement plus massif que le leur. Chez les Nambikwara, la taille n'est pas exceptionnellement petite; mais ils sont minces, et leur longue chevelure, parfois ondulée et témoignant d'une pilosité plus développée que la moyenne indigène, leurs mains et leurs pieds de dimensions réduites, leurs attaches fines, et surtout leur visage, aux traits menus mais de dessin très pur, contribuent à former un type physique très éloigné de celui qu'on rencontre le plus souvent en Amérique du Sud, mais qui rappelle avec persistance certains types du Mexique méridional et du Guatemala, et plus encore celui qu'offrent les statues à barbe peintes de la région de Vera Cruz.

* * *

Les Nambikwara se réveillent avec le jour, remuent le feu, se débarbouillent tant bien que mal du froid de la nuit, puis se nourrissent légèrement des

(1) Cf., plus loin, p. 59.

(2) L'étude anthropologique des Nambikwara a fait l'objet de recherches du docteur J.-A. Vaccaro, qui participait à notre expédition.

restes de galettes de manioc de la veille. Un peu plus tard, les hommes partent, ensemble ou séparément, pour une expédition de chasse. Les femmes restent au campement où elles vaquent aux soins de la cuisine. Le premier bain est pris quand le soleil commence à monter. Les femmes et les enfants se baignent souvent ensemble par jeu, et parfois un feu est allumé, devant lequel on s'accroupit pour se réchauffer au sortir de l'eau, en exagérant plaisamment un grelottement naturel. D'autres baignades auront lieu pendant la journée. Les occupations quotidiennes varient peu. La préparation de la nourriture est celle qui prend le plus de temps et de soins : il faut râper et presser le manioc, faire sécher la pulpe et la cuire; ou bien, écaler et bouillir les noix de cumaru (*Dipteryx odorata*) qui ajoutent leur parfum à la plupart des mets. Quand le besoin s'en fait sentir, les femmes et les enfants partent en expédition de cueillette ou de ramassage. Si les provisions sont suffisantes, les femmes filent, accroupies au sol dans la position connue sous le nom « aztèque » : à genoux, les jambes et les pieds posant à plat sur leur face interne et les fesses reposant sur les talons. Ou bien, elles taillent, polissent et enfilent des perles de coquilles de noix ou de coquillage, des pendants d'oreille ou d'autres ornements. Et si le travail les ennuie, elles s'épouillent mutuellement, flânent ou dorment.

Aux heures les plus chaudes, le campement est muet; les habitants, silencieux ou endormis, jouissent de l'ombre précaire des abris. Le reste du temps, les occupations se déroulent au milieu de conversations animées. Presque toujours gais et rieurs, les indigènes échangent des plaisanteries, et parfois aussi, avec des gestes non équivoques, des propos obscènes ou scatologiques salués par de grands éclats de rires. Le travail est souvent interrompu par des visites mutuelles ou des questions; que deux chiens ou oiseaux familiers copulent, tout le monde s'arrête et contemple l'opération avec une attention fascinée; puis le travail reprend, après un échange de commentaires sur cet important événement.

Les enfants flânent pendant une grande partie du jour, les fillettes se livrant, par moment, aux mêmes besognes que leurs aînées, les garçonnets oisifs, ou pêchant au bord des cours d'eau. Les hommes restés au campement se consacrent à des travaux de vannerie, fabriquent des flèches et des instruments de musique, et rendent parfois de petits services domestiques. Un grand accord règne généralement au sein des ménages. Vers trois ou quatre heures, les autres hommes reviennent de la chasse, le campement s'anime, les propos deviennent plus vifs, des groupes se forment, différents des agglomérations familiales. On se nourrit de galettes de manioc et de tout ce qui a été trouvé pendant la journée : poissons, racines, miel sauvage, chauve-souris, bestioles capturées, et petites noix sucrées du palmier *bacaïne* (*Acrocomia* sp.). Parfois un enfant se met à pleurer, vite consolé par un aîné. Quand la nuit tombe, quelques femmes, journellement désignées, vont ramasser ou abattre, dans la brousse voisine, la provision de bois pour la

nuit. On devine leur retour dans le crépuscule, trébuchant sous le faix qui tire le bandeau de portage. Pour se décharger, elles s'accroupissent et se penchent un peu en arrière, laissant poser leur hotte de bambou sur le sol afin de dégager leur front du bandeau.

Dans un coin de campement les branches sont amassées, et chacun s'y fournit au fur et à mesure des besoins. Les groupes familiaux se forment autour de leurs feux respectifs qui commencent à briller. La soirée se passe en conversations, ou bien en chants et danses. Parfois ces distractions se prolongent très en avant dans la nuit, mais en général, après quelques parties de caresses et de luttes amicales, les couples s'unissent plus étroitement, les mères serrent contre elles leur enfant endormi, tout devient silencieux, et la froide nuit n'est plus animée que par le craquement d'une bûche, le pas léger d'un pourvoyeur, les aboiements des chiens ou les pleurs d'un enfant.

LISTE DES SYMBOLES PHONOLOGIQUES[1].

ə	e muet.
ã	a nasalisé.
ẽ	e nasalisé.
ã	o nasalisé.
i	i asyllabique.
u	u asyllabique.
ʃ	fricative palatale chuintante sourde.
ʒ	fricative palatale chuintante sonore.
ʃ	affriquée palatale chuintante sourde.
γ	fricative vélaire sonore.
ʔ	coup de glotte faible.
ʔ	coup de glotte fort.
˙	syllabe accentuée.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

LA VIE FAMILIALE.

SYSTÈME DE PARENTÉ.

Que l'unité sociale considérée soit le village temporaire ou la bande nomade, le système de parenté des Nambikwara peut, en gros, être décrit de la façon suivante.

Pour un sujet quelconque, masculin ou féminin, tous les membres de sa génération se répartissent en quatre grands groupes, soit deux groupes mascu-

[1] Cf. plus loin, p. 35, n. 1.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

lins et deux groupes féminins. Si le sujet considéré est un homme, tous les hommes de sa génération se diviseront en *frères* et en *maris de sœurs* (ou beaux-frères); tandis que les femmes seront distribuées en *sœurs* et en *épouses*. Symétriquement, si le sujet est une femme, toutes ses compagnes seront désignées comme des *sœurs* ou des *épouses de frères* (ou belles-sœurs); et ses compagnons masculins se partageront les noms de *frères* ou d'*époux*. Ainsi un homme appelle-t-il *épouse* un nombre de femmes considérablement supérieur à celui de ses épouses véritables, même s'il est polygame. Et la femme, bien que toujours monogame, traite-t-elle, du nom d'*époux*, sensiblement la moitié des hommes de sa génération. De même les *frères* et les *sœurs* sont beaucoup plus nombreux que les frères et les sœurs réels, ou consanguins. Ceux-ci sont distribués en deux sous-groupes, les frères aînés et les frères cadets d'une part, les sœurs aînées et les sœurs cadettes de l'autre. Le terme utilisé pour désigner les frères cadets (consanguins) et les sœurs cadettes (consanguines) sert également à désigner les «frères» et les «sœurs» non consanguins, quel que soit leur âge par rapport au sujet considéré.

Un sujet masculin ou féminin appelle *père* son père consanguin et tous les frères de celui-ci; il appelle *mère* sa mère utérine et toutes les sœurs de celle-ci. Réciproquement, tous ses «pères» et toutes ses «mères» le désignent du nom d'enfant, ou de fils, ou de fille.

Un seul terme est également utilisé pour désigner le père du père (ou de la mère), le père de la femme, et le frère de la mère, tandis qu'un même terme sert à désigner la mère du père (ou de la mère), la mère de la femme, et la sœur du père. Mais à l'inverse du cas précédent, il n'existe pas de terme réciproque. Le père (ou la mère) de mon père et de ma mère m'appellent par un terme connotant les parents à la troisième génération, tandis que le père de mon conjoint et le frère de ma mère, d'une part (régulièrement identifiés), la mère de mon conjoint et la sœur de mon père, d'autre part (régulièrement identifiées), me désignent d'un nom signifiant à la fois neveu et gendre, nièce et bru. Ainsi les parents de mon conjoint et les parents de mes parents, identifiés quand je les nomme, se distinguent lorsqu'ils me répondent, puisqu'ils utilisent à mon endroit des termes différents.

Quand on passe de la ligne directe à la ligne collatérale, on perd une génération, puisque le même terme est utilisé pour désigner les parents du conjoint, et les parents des parents. Un petit-neveu est donc théoriquement séparé de

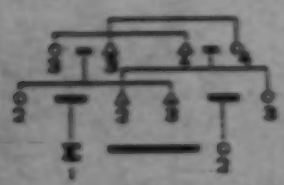


Fig. 1.

ses grands-oncles par quatre niveaux de parenté, tandis qu'il est à trois degrés seulement de parenté de ses grands-parents, qui s'identifient cependant avec ses grands-oncles, puisque le frère de la mère ou la sœur du père sont identifiés au père et à la mère du conjoint, comme l'indique le schéma ci-contre.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

Les grands-oncles (ou tantes) utilisent donc, pour désigner leurs petits-neveux (ou nièces) un terme nouveau, connotant les parents au quatrième degré, tandis que leurs descendants emploient, pour les nommer, le terme, déjà utilisé dans la ligne directe, mais non encore dans la ligne collatérale, servant à désigner les parents au deuxième degré. Ce dernier terme sert donc, en ligne directe, à désigner la troisième génération descendante, et la troisième génération ascendante en ligne collatérale, équivalente, en ligne descendante, au quatrième degré. Ces remarques conduisent à la conclusion que les Nambikwara ne font pas de distinction entre les générations et les degrés de parenté. Une différence d'une génération est égale, pour eux, à un éloignement d'un degré.

Cela posé, et au sein de la même génération, tous les individus que j'appelle époux (ou épouses) sont les fils (ou les filles) des « frères » (consanguins ou non) de ma mère, et des sœurs (consanguines ou non) de mon père, c'est-à-dire des frères de ma mère (qui sont en même temps les « beaux-frères » de mon père), ou des sœurs de mon père (qui sont en même temps des « belles-sœurs » de ma mère). Et tous les individus que j'appelle frères ou sœurs sont les enfants des frères de mon père ou des sœurs de ma mère, c'est-à-dire des « épouses » de mon père (qui sont en même temps mes « mères »), ou des « époux » de ma mère (qui sont en même temps mes « pères »). On voit donc qu'un individu donné appelle « frères et sœurs » tous ses cousins parallèles, et « pères et mères » ses oncles et tantes parallèles, tandis qu'il appelle époux ou épouses ses cousins croisés, et « beau-père et belle-mère » (identifiés à grand-père et grand'mère, donc, plus exactement : parents au deuxième degré) ses tantes et oncles croisés. La confusion entre les générations et les degrés rend également possible le mariage du frère de la mère ou du père, avec la fille de la sœur ou du frère, ou de la sœur du père avec le fils du frère, puisque, dans ces deux cas, les beaux-parents seront les grands-parents, désignés, comme eux, du terme de parents au deuxième degré. Ces mariages, que nous appellerons « obliques », puisqu'ils unissent des individus appartenant à deux générations consécutives, sont effectivement pratiqués.

On trouvera ci-dessous la liste des termes de parenté, tels qu'ils viennent d'être analysés dans leurs relations respectives (Dialecte *A 1/2*).

1. *alaínuru* (a 1); *alaíu* (a 2)...	père, frère du père, époux de la sœur de la mère.
2. *a²hénuru* (a 1); *a²hénu* (a 2)..	mère, sœur de la mère, épouse du frère du père.
3. *yélu, yéju*.....	enfant.
4. *a²héruru*.....	fils.
5. *a²hénuru*	fille.
6. *alaénuru*.....	frère aîné.
7. (*ty*)*aénuru*	sœur aînée.

8. *alénsu* ..... frère cadet, fils du frère du père, fils de la sœur de la mère.
9. *arindesu* ..... sœur cadette, fille du frère du père, fille de la sœur de la mère.
10. *asúhesu* ..... mari de la sœur, cousin croisé (h. p.).
11. *assétasu* ..... femme du frère, cousine croisée (f. p.).
12. *asíntu* ..... fille de la sœur (h. p.), fille du frère (f. p.), épouse du fils.
13. *asincéru* ..... fils de la sœur (h. p.), fils du frère (f. p.), époux de la fille.
14. *assúncsu* ..... père du père ou de la mère, frère de la mère, père du conjoint.
15. *aʔéjnsu* ..... mère du père ou de la mère, sœur du père, mère du conjoint.
16. *asyíttu* ..... fils (ou fille) du fils (ou de la fille), frère (ou sœur) du père (ou de la mère) du père (ou de la mère).
17. *asyélisu* ..... fils (ou fille) du fils (ou de la fille) du frère (f. p.) ou de la sœur (h. p.).
18. *ásjésu* (a 1); (*tá*)*desu* (a 2).... épouse, fille du frère de la mère, fille de la sœur du père.
19. *syénsacsu* (a 1); (*tá*)*ncsu* (a 2).. époux, fils du frère de la mère, fils de la sœur du père.

Le schéma suivant montre leur utilisation dans ce groupe théorique plifié :

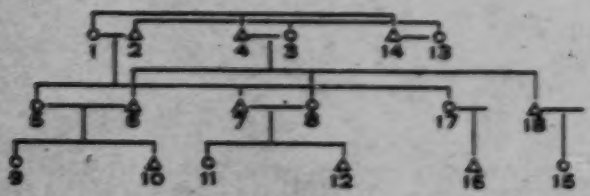


Fig. 2.

Par rapport à un sujet masculin E 10 :

1– 3.	*aʔéjnsu*	rec. : *asyíttu*
2– 4.	*assúncsu*	
13–14.	*asyíttu*	rec. : *asuélisu*
5–17.	*aʔkéncsu*	rec. : *aʔkíraru*
6–18.	*akyíncsu*	rec. : *aʔkíraru*

7. *enéinou* rec. : *enéinéra*
8. *alépaou* rec. : *enéinéra*
9. *enéinou* ou (*hyénou* rec. : *alénou* ou *alénou*
11. *enjéu* rec. : *enjénou*
12. *enéinou* rec. : *enéinou* (si le sujet choisi est « 9 femme, E 12 sera *enjénou* et « 11 *enéinou*, rec. : *enéinou*)
15. *enéinou* rec. : *alénou*
16. *alénou* rec. : *enéinou*

Cette nomenclature ne comprend (si l'on ne tient pas compte de l'utilisation réciproque des termes, normalement univoques, *alénou* et *enéinou* dans le cas des cousins parallèles) que des termes univoques, à l'exception de deux : *enéinou* et *enéinou*, et chaque sexe n'a à sa disposition qu'un seul de ces deux termes réciproques ; en d'autres termes, un homme n'a que des beaux-frères, tandis qu'une femme n'a que des belles-sœurs. On verra plus loin qu'en ce qui concerne le premier terme (*enéinou*), il implique entre les hommes qui l'utilisent des relations particulières.

L'extrême *simplicité* du système conduit évidemment à des difficultés d'appellation lorsqu'on désire distinguer des *degrés* de parenté confondus par la nomenclature ; de même que son extrême *symétrie* risque d'amener des contradictions lorsque des mariages « obliques » entraînent des décalages entre les *générations*. A la nomenclature classificatoire analysée ci-dessus se superpose donc — ou se surajoute — une nomenclature descriptive, qui permet, en cas de difficulté, de situer avec plus de précision l'individu dans la génération, ou selon le degré de parenté qu'il occupe par rapport au sujet. Cette nomenclature descriptive n'est pas utilisée de façon courante, et, surtout, elle n'intervient jamais dans les appellations. Mais on l'invoque chaque fois qu'il y a doute, et pour quelques cas, on peut en signaler un usage plus fréquent.

La première difficulté peut se produire à propos de la distinction du vrai époux, ou de la vraie épouse, par rapport aux époux ou aux épouses théoriques, ou du vrai père, ou de la vraie mère, par rapport aux « pères » ou aux « mères » théoriques, ou des vrais fils ou filles par rapport aux « fils » et aux « filles » théoriques. Dans la plupart des cas, la discrimination paraît totalement superflue aux indigènes, tant elle est soulignée par les différences de comportement ; parfois aussi, elle apparaît inutile pour la raison, inverse de la précédente, que l'épouse théorique peut devenir une épouse réelle (par exemple en cas de polygamie, ou de remariage), que le père ou la mère théoriques, ou le fils ou la fille théoriques, peuvent jouer le rôle de vrais père ou mère, ou de vrais fils ou fille, par le mécanisme de l'adoption. Celui-ci fonctionne automatiquement, en cas de mort du père, l'enfant étant alors recueilli et

élevé par le frère de son père. En ce cas, le frère de son père, qu'il a toujours appelé père, devient pour lui un père véritable, bien que de substitution, et la femme du frère de son père, qui est le plus souvent la sœur de sa mère, et qu'il a toujours, en conséquence, appelée mère, est désormais traitée par lui comme telle, surtout si sa propre mère est morte ou remariée. Néanmoins, les indigènes désirent parfois préciser le caractère théorique de l'appellation. Ils ajoutent alors au terme classificatoire un terme descriptif, dont la signification approximative est celle de « parent », au sens le plus général, à savoir :

20. (*ahit*) *ájénisu*

employé sous la forme substantive ci-dessus, ou sous la forme participe : *ájénere;* ou sous la forme exclamative, dans la conversation : *ájéneram*.

Ainsi nous avons rencontré les appellations suivantes :

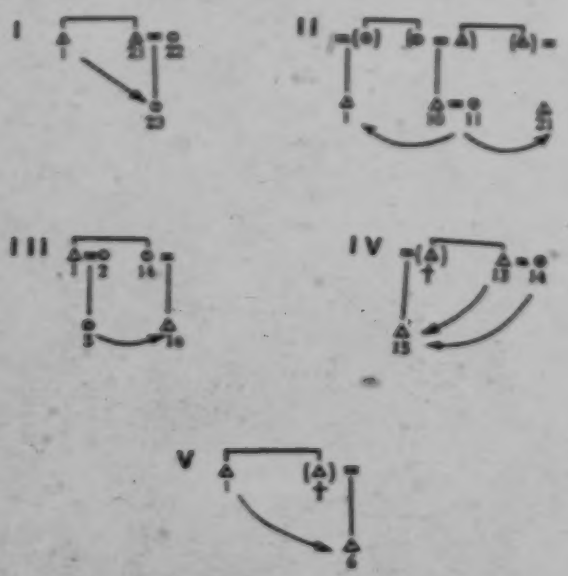


Fig. 3.

I. *a'kíneru ajéneram.* — II. (*t*)*oyeneseu ajénisu.* — III. *oyeneseu ajénisu* (entre enfants). IV. *tayettu a'kíneru ajéneram.* — V. *ahíneram* (= *a'kíneru ajéneram*).

Une deuxième difficulté est soulevée par la désignation des cousins parallèles. On a vu plus haut qu'on utilise, pour les nommer, le même terme qui désigne la sœur cadette ou le frère cadet, et cela quelque soit leur âge. Cet

usage suggère que la traduction adéquate des termes *alénan*, *alenénan*, *aténan*, (*a*)*ténan* pourrait être, plutôt que «aîné» et «cadet» : grand frère, grande-sœur, petit-frère, petite-sœur, avec la même ambiguïté qui existe dans notre langue entre le sens propre de l'adjectif et son sens figuré. Quoi qu'il en soit, on se trouve souvent devant une situation contradictoire, non seulement objectivement (ce qui ne choque pas la logique indigène, comme on le verra à propos des «mères» plus jeunes que leurs «filles»), mais aussi littéralement. C'est ce qui se passe lorsqu'une femme, par exemple, appelle *aténan* une cousine qui est très manifestement son aînée. On a alors recours à deux termes supplémentaires, parfois surajoutés aux termes classificatoires, mais qui parfois aussi les remplacent, même quand il s'agit de désigner des frères ou des sœurs consanguins. Ce sont :

21. *tié-nan* : «aîné» (pour désigner un homme);
22. *ténénan* : «aînée» (pour désigner une femme).

Ces termes servent à préciser la position respective, quant à la génération, de ceux qui sont :

23. *aténénan*, ou
24. *alenénélitu*,

c'est-à-dire, «l'un par rapport à l'autre des *aténan*», ou «des *alénan*», ce qui est à certains égards inadmissible; tandis que deux femmes peuvent être, sans difficulté :

25. *aténénan*

ou deux hommes :

26. *anénénan*,

c'est-à-dire, «l'un pour l'autre», *aténan* ou *anénan*. Ainsi, nous avons rencontré des femmes qui appellent leurs cousines parallèles *aténan ténénan*, c'est-à-dire «ma petite-sœur aînée».

D'autres difficultés apparaissent en cas de mariages obliques. Quand le frère de la mère épouse la fille de la sœur, les grands-parents de la femme sont en même temps les parents du mari. Quand le mari épouse une ou plusieurs filles de la sœur de sa femme, ses propres parents sont à la fois, les beaux-parents et les grands-oncles de ses femmes. D'où la nécessité fréquente de discriminer, plus précisément que ne le permettent les termes classificatoires, les frères et sœurs du père et de la mère, d'une part (c'est-à-dire les beaux-parents potentiels), et les pères et mères du père et de la mère (c'est-à-dire des beaux-parents éventuels de l'un des conjoints). On trouve alors les

termes suivants qui complètent les (ou se substituent aux) termes classificatoires *alʲjaun*, *auvéaun*, *alʲéaun*, *alʲhéaun* :

27. *aviúdagnun* : «mère de la mère»;
28. *oyuaiéaun* : «père de la mère»;
29. *auvéagnun* : «mère du père»;
30. *alʲéaheaun* : «père du père»;
31. *alʲjudagnun* : «sœur de la mère de la mère».

L'étymologie des termes vérifie le principe du mariage des cousins croisés. En effet, si l'on a :

FIG. 1.

on constate que :

aviúdagnun (ou *aviúdaheaun*, «petite sœur vieille»), est la sœur du père de mon père;

oyuaiéaun (de *oyúauun*, «mari») est le mari de la mère de ma mère;

auvéagnun (ou *auvéaheaun*, «belle-sœur vieille») est la belle-sœur de la mère de ma mère;

alʲéaheaun (de *alʲéaun*, «frère») est le frère de la mère de ma mère.

En ce qui concerne les oncles et tantes, leur appellation est précisée par les termes descriptifs :

32. *alʲjadagnun*, *atiéaheaun* : «sœur de la mère»;
33. *alʲéaheaun* : «frère de la mère»;
34. *oyúéaheaun* : «sœur du père».

Aucun terme descriptif n'a pu être recueilli pour le frère du père, appelé normalement père (*alʲjúneu*); cette lacune trouve, peut-être, son explication dans la vocation paternelle qui est la sienne en cas de mort du père consanguin.

D'autre part, les termes descriptifs suivants ont été recueillis au cours de tentatives de reconstructions généalogiques, sans qu'il ait été possible de déterminer avec précision les niveaux ou degrés de parenté auxquels ils se réfèrent. Il se peut qu'il fassent double emploi avec certains des termes précédents :

35. *tavúaheaun* : «vieux beau-frère» (*tavúa* [*b1/2*] — *auvéaheaun* [*a1/2*]);
36. *tuiúaheaun* : «vieux mari» (*yúa* [*b1/2*] — *oyúauun* [*a1/2*]);
37. *iméaheaun* : ?
38. *auvéaheaun* : «vieux grand-père» ou «beau-père»;

39. *nâ'lâwasu* cité avec le commentaire : « Quand le *nâ'lâwasu* meurt, le *alâsu* se coupe les cheveux, mais non le *alâsuisu* »

Enfin, deux termes de parenté expriment des relations découlant des mariages « obliques » et du dédoublement des générations en « aînés » et « cadets » :

40. *ejûndadisu*;
41. *(t)âdirâisu*.

Un homme appelle *ejûndadisu* le *alâsuisu* de sa mère (tandis que le terme *auâisu* est généralement réservé — mais non toujours — à l'*alâsu*); l'un et l'autre sont, bien entendu, des *auâisu* de son père. Le même individu est alors appelé par la sœur du sujet considéré « beau-père » (*auâisu*) ou « mari » (*ejûndasu*), ou, si elle est mariée, *ejûndadisu* également, le mari l'appelant alors « père » (*alejûsu*). On voit donc que l'*ejûndadisu* est un homme dont (sujet masculin) j'épouse la fille ou la femme, et dont ma sœur épouse le fils, à moins qu'elle ne l'épouse lui-même. Ainsi s'explique que l'*ejûndadisu* soit pour mon frère, *auâisu* ou *auâisuisu*; pour mon père, *auâisu* ou *auâisâra*; pour ma mère, *alâsuisu* ou *auâisâra*; pour ma sœur, *ejûndasu* ou *auâisuisu*; pour mon épouse, *alejûsu*.

D'autre part, un homme appelle *(t)âdirâisu* une femme qui peut être *auâisu* ou *auâisa* de son père, *auâisu* ou *auâisa* de sa mère, *auâisu* ou *alejûsu* de sa sœur, *auâisu* de sa femme. C'est donc une femme que j'épouse, ou dont j'épouse la fille. Une femme, à son tour, appelle *(t)âdirâisu* une femme qui est *alâsuisu* ou *auâisu* de son mari, c'est-à-dire une femme dont elle épouse le frère ou le fils.

On voit que ces deux appellations consacrent deux privilèges, ou ouvrent un double droit : celui du mariage du frère de la mère (et, théoriquement, du frère du père) avec sa nièce; droit appartenant essentiellement au frère aîné; et du mariage du fils de la sœur (fils du frère) avec sa tante. Cette règle, ou plutôt cette possibilité s'expliquent, d'une part, par la tendance des Nambikwara vers la polygamie, d'autre part par la rareté (d'ailleurs consécutive) des femmes. Nous en étudierons des exemples dans un instant.

Fig. 5. — A gauche = *ejûndadisu*; à droite = *tâdirâisu*.

Dans la nomenclature des termes utilisés pour la description des relations de parenté, nous citerons encore :

42. *aoijâtsu* (*a1/2*) *patâtsu* (*b1/2*) : « veuf, veuve » ;
43. *kondâlo* (*b1*) : « orphelin » ;
44. *kondâtsu* (*b1*) : « orpheline ».

* * *

Comme on vient de le voir, les termes *ejândalim* et *(t)âdirâlim* apparaissent comme des tentatives de solutions de situations ambiguës provenant d'un mariage oblique. Ces tentatives restent partielles, puisque nos parents conservent la possibilité d'interpréter toujours, de deux manières différentes, leur relation de parenté vis-à-vis de mon *ejândalim* ou de mon *(t)âdirâlim*. Le plus souvent, ces ambiguïtés sont laissées sans solution, ou plutôt l'on assiste à l'un des deux phénomènes suivants : chaque membre de la famille interprète sa relation par rapport au parent douteux de la manière la plus facile pour lui, sans se soucier du fait que les différentes appellations en cours peuvent apparaître grossièrement contradictoires ; ou bien le parent — ou le bloc de parents — douteux sont décalés d'une génération ou d'un degré de proximité, de façon à rationaliser la structure. Ces difficultés apparaissent surtout dans le cas des unions polygames, celles-ci se réalisant généralement sous la forme d'un accaparement d'une ou de plusieurs femmes appartenant à la génération inférieure à celle où l'on devrait s'être — parfois où l'on s'est déjà — normalement marié. En voici une illustration frappante, où la complexité des relations à la génération cadette fait suite à un mariage oblique à la génération aînée :

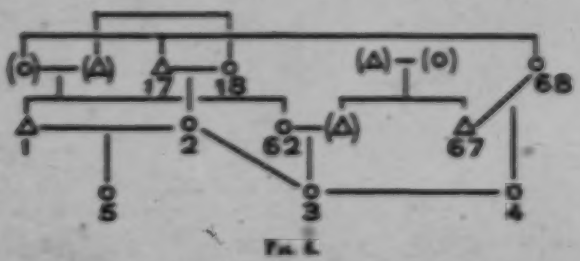


FIG. 6.

La réalité est la suivante : *A1* a épousé sa cousine croisée *a2*, dont il a une petite fille *a6*. Ultérieurement, il a épousé deux jeunes femmes : l'une (*a3*) dont le père est mort ; l'autre, *a4*, dont le père était le frère du père de *a3* et était appelé « mari » par *a2* qui appelait aussi « belle-sœur » la mère de *a4*. Ceci posé, *a4* et *a3* sont, pour *A1* et *a2*, des « filles » ou des « brus ». Comme *A1* les a épousées, elles sont devenues, par promotion :

Pour *a2*, des « petites sœurs » (*ariadau*) ;

Pour *a5* (pour qui elles auraient dû être normalement des sœurs ou des belles-sœurs), des «mères» ou des «sœurs de la mère»;

Pour *A1*, des épouses.

Et tandis que sa femme *a2* continue de donner aux beaux-parents de son mari la désignation primitive d'époux (*oyénosou*) et de belle-sœur (*axétasu*), lui les appelle maintenant beaux-parents, c'est-à-dire *axénosu* et *a'éjnosu*.

Un autre cas présente la combinaison suivante :

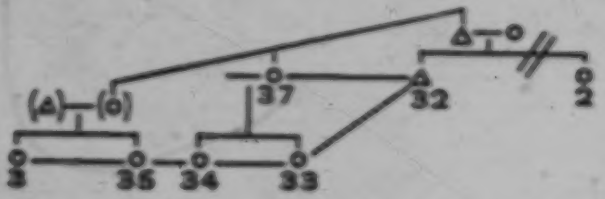


Fig. 7.

C'est-à-dire qu'un homme épouse une femme, et subséquemment, ses quatre «filles» (vraisemblablement deux filles consanguines du lit précédent, et deux nièces parallèles). Ici, *a2* appelle la femme âgée *a'éjnosu*, et les quatre jeunes [illegible], d'où l'on peut conclure que *A32* a épousé à la fois sa (*t*)*ádirikiou* et les filles de celle-ci.

Enfin, dans ce troisième cas :

Fig. 8.

a2 appelle, normalement, *a57* *axétasu* (épouse de son frère), mais elle néglige que *a58* soit dans la même situation, et lui conserve le nom, qu'elle lui donnait, avant son mariage avec *A56*, de *toyéttu* (mon enfant, fille de son mari). Sa propre fille *a5* appelle normalement *a57* *a'éjnosu* (femme du frère de la mère), et *a58* *toénosu* (sœur aînée), cependant elle pourrait épouser, et appellerait époux, aussi bien le fils de sa «belle-mère» que celui de sa «sœur».

Les indigènes traitent donc les situations anormales découlant des unions polygames de deux manières. Ou bien ils admettent la création d'une situation nouvelle et la consacrent par la révision des appellations (les nouvelles épousées sont promues à la classe des «mères», et leurs parents à la classe des

«parents du troisième degré»; elles se séparent donc, dans la nomenclature, de leurs anciens frères, sœurs, belles-sœurs et maris, qui deviennent des fils, filles, brus et gendres); ou bien les anciennes appellations sont simplement conservées, la connaissance pratique de la situation suppléant à l'impropriété du langage.

Mais ces incertitudes, qui apparaissent dans le cas de contradictions verbales, sont tout à fait absentes lorsqu'on se trouve en présence de contradictions réelles. Celles-ci sont admises comme les conséquences normales du système, ou plus exactement, elles ne sont pas considérées comme contradictoires. Ainsi :

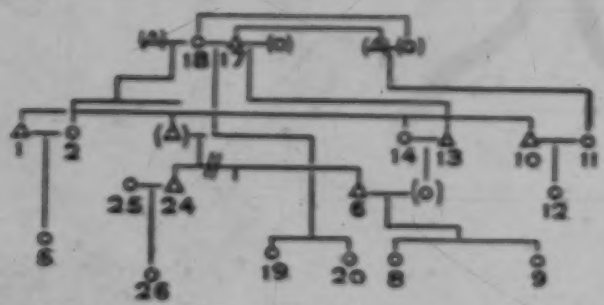


Fig. 9.

A17, homme d'environ 55 ans, a épousé *a18* (50 ans environ) et a d'elle deux fillettes, *a19* (environ 12 ans) et *a20* (environ 6 ans). *a18* a, d'un mariage précédent, une fille *a2* (environ 30 ans) mariée à *A1* (environ 35 ans); ce dernier a recueilli un fils *A24* d'un frère aîné mort; ce fils, marié lui-même et père d'un bébé, a environ 26 ans. *A17* et *a18* sont donc des «*aoréneou*» et «*aôjneou*». La fille *a2* de *a18* est une «*aôhénoeu*», mère d'une fillette de 8 ou 9 ans, *a5*. Dans ces conditions, les deux petites filles *a19* et *a20* sont, également, des «mères», et elles sont appelées «*aôhénoeu*» par :

a5 : leur contemporaine;
A6 : leur aîné (25 ans environ);
a12 : leur aînée (22 ans environ);
A24 : leur aîné (26 ans environ);

et elles sont appelées en conséquence «grand'mère» par :

a8 : leur contemporaine (6 ans environ);
a9 : leur cadette (3 ans environ);

filles de *A6*; et, en effet, *a2*, qui est une «mère», les appelle, normalement, «petites sœurs».

∴

Le système de parenté des groupes centraux, méridionaux et occidentaux (dialectes *b1* et *b2*) ne présente pas de différence fondamentale par rapport au précédent. Les degrés de parenté distingués sont moins nombreux; par contre, on trouve une assez grande variété de termes utilisés pour désigner un degré déterminé. Le fait que les informateurs emploient plusieurs termes pour qualifier leur situation par rapport à un sujet déterminé suggère que ces termes sont souvent synonymes, bien que leur sens étymologique ne soit pas toujours parfaitement clair.

Les grands-parents sont plus souvent distingués entre eux, et distingués des parents du conjoint, qu'ils ne le sont dans le système *a* (*1* ou *2*); d'autre part, le fils (ou la fille) du frère (ou de la sœur) du père (ou de la mère) sont parfois désignés par des termes différents. La densité des groupes étudiés est trop faible pour qu'il soit possible de fonder solidement une théorie du système en vigueur : des solutions de remplacement interviennent fréquemment, et les formes préférentielles de mariage rencontrées ne sont pas généralisables, faute de cas suffisamment nombreux. Mais les considérations précédentes suggèrent que des unions préférentielles, choisissant même entre certaines catégories de cousins croisés, ont pu être jadis en vigueur.

Enfin, les appellations désignant les frères (et les sœurs) aînés et cadets sont plus flottantes que dans le système *a* (*1* ou *2*); et on voit apparaître un nouveau terme désignant le frère ou la sœur de l'autre sexe. Cette désorganisation du vocabulaire peut être interprétée comme résultant de l'influence du système septentrional (dialecte *c*), dont on verra ultérieurement qu'il tend, de façon croissante, à assimiler le système des groupes *b*.

Voici le vocabulaire de parenté utilisé, avec les références au groupe *a* (*1/2*) :

DIALECTE *a* 1/2	DIALECTE *b* 1/2	
	1. (*ta*)*mãdo*	(ma) père, frère du père.
	2. *ãdo*	père (— homme).
	3. *wãjre*	père (surtout employé pour désigner le père absent, ou le père d'un tiers, ou le frère du père.
	4. (*ta*)*mãdaure*	frère du père (— père autre).
	5. (*ta*)*mãdãdaure*	père (le frère du père quand il se substitue au père mort).
	6. (*ta*)*nãdo*	(ma) mère, sœur de la mère.
	7–8. (*ta*)*nãdãure*, *nãdare*	mère (mère autre; pour la sœur de la mère et pour la mère d'un tiers).
	9. *dawãdure*	mère (femme du frère du père, cf. 5).

[illegible]	10. [illegible]	enfant.
	11. [illegible]	petit enfant, bébé.
[illegible]	12. [illegible]	fils.
	13. [illegible]	fils (= petit homme).
	14. [illegible]	fils (appliqué par le frère du père ou fils du frère).
[illegible]	15. [illegible]	fille.
	16. [illegible]	fille (= petite femme).
	17. [illegible]	fille (adoptée).
(i)[illegible]	18. [illegible]	sœur aînée.
	19. [illegible]	sœur aînée (f.).
[illegible]	20. (i)[illegible]	sœur cadette.
	21. [illegible]	frère ou sœur de l'autre sexe.
[illegible]	22. (i)[illegible]	frère aîné.
[illegible]	23. (i)[illegible]	frère cadet.
[illegible]	24. (u)[illegible]	(mon) épouse, femme.
[illegible]	25. (i)[illegible]	(mon) époux, mari.
	26. [illegible]	mari (= homme).
	27. [illegible]	mari (quand il est absent, ou le mari d'une autre).
[illegible]	28. (i)[illegible]	cousin croisé, mari de la sœur (h. p.).
[illegible]	29. (u)[illegible]	cousine croisée, femme du frère (f. p.).
[illegible]	30. (i)[illegible]	fils de la sœur, mari de la fille (h. p.).
	31. (i)[illegible]	fils du frère, mari de la fille (f. p.).
	32. (u)[illegible]	mari de la fille.
[illegible]	33. [illegible] 34. [illegible]	fille du frère (f. p.), fille de la sœur (h. p.), femme du fils.
[illegible]	35. [illegible] 36. (u)[illegible]	père de la mère, père du conjoint.
	37. [illegible] 38. (u)[illegible]	père du père ou de la mère.
[illegible]	39. [illegible]	mère du conjoint.
	40. [illegible]	mère du père ou de la mère.
[illegible]	41. [illegible]	fils (fille) du fils (ou de la fille), sœur du père (frère de la mère) du père ou de la mère.
[illegible]	42. [illegible]	enfants du fils ou de la fille du frère (f. p.), enfants du fils ou de la fille de la sœur (h. p.).

Termes descriptifs :

43. *séjkyujade* 44. *(te)yiádaré* enfant d'un tiers, enfant adopté.
45. *iséne* ..... adolescent.
46. *tilíne* ..... adolescente.

(Pour orphelin [-e], veuf, veuve, voir plus haut, p. 26.)

∴

Nous passons maintenant au système de parenté du groupe septentrional (dialecte *c*) :

1. *ṣéjuko* ..... père.
2. *kómi* ..... frère du père.
3. *náyko* ..... mère, sœur de la mère.
4. *séjétaba* ..... sœur du père.
5. *kuéko* ..... frère de la mère, père du conjoint, père du père ou de la mère.
6. *ôlko* ..... femme du frère de la mère, mère du conjoint, mère du père ou de la mère.
7. *taíte* ..... fils, fils de la sœur (f. p.), fils d'une « épouse » (h. p.).
8. *taítero* ..... fille, fille de la sœur (f. p.), fille d'une « épouse » (h. p.).
9. *ájâna* ..... fils ou fille de la sœur (h. p.).
10. *taámero* ..... fils ou fille du frère (f. p.).
11. *jéja* ..... frère ou sœur aîné(e).
12. *sabáni* ..... frère ou sœur cadet(te), cadet(te).
13. *iétta* ..... épouse, fille de la sœur du père, fille de la sœur de la mère.
14. *tjîmo* ..... mari, fils de la sœur du père, fils du frère de la mère.
15. *jípa* ..... mari de la sœur, frère de la femme (h. p.).
16. *ṣiyétta* ..... femme du frère, sœur du mari (f. p.).
17. *ṣiyaytte* ..... mari de la fille (f. p.), mari de la fille, mari d'une « épouse » (h. p.).
18. *ṣinaṣo* ..... fille du frère (f. p.), fille de la sœur (h. p.) quand elle est en même temps femme du fils (h. f. p.) ou femme du frère cadet (h. p.).
19. *ájáṣi* ..... enfants de la fille.
20. *ásáṣo* ..... enfant du fils, ou de la fille quand celle-ci est mariée à un oncle.
21. *yéa* ..... enfant de la sœur (mariée à un oncle).

Ce vocabulaire de parenté n'offre pas, semble-t-il, d'affinité linguistique avec celui des dialectes *a* et *b*; et la structure du système paraît aussi différente. Sans doute, le principe fondamental — le mariage des cousins croisés — reste-t-il le même; pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de se reporter à la liste des parents connotés par les termes *tâna* et *iatia*. On retrouve aussi la dichotomie des membres d'une même génération en sœurs et épouses (h. p.), ou frères et maris (f. p.) d'une part, et, d'autre part, sœurs et femmes de frères (f. p.), ou frères et maris de sœurs (h. p.). Mais la distinction est ici plus confuse, puisqu'elle s'accompagne d'une absence de symétrie en ce qui concerne la désignation des frères et sœurs des parents, et des enfants des frères et sœurs du sujet. Au lieu de trouver les premiers répartis en pères et mères, beaux-pères et belles-mères, et les seconds en enfants, et gendres et brus, nous avons une terminologie plus compliquée. Le nom de la sœur du père (*sajúdo*) diffère de celui de la femme du frère de la mère (*pâdo*), bien qu'elles se confondent habituellement dans un système de mariage entre cousins croisés bilatéraux; il y a aussi un nom spécial pour le frère du père. Mais, si ce dernier est un frère cadet ayant épousé une de ses nièces, il sera appelé beau-frère (*sipa*) par le fils de son frère, son neveu. Plus délicate encore est l'appellation des neveux et nièces, car la symétrie ménagée par les autres systèmes entre les enfants du frère (d'un frère) et les enfants de sœur (d'une sœur) s'évanouit au profit d'une nouvelle symétrie, cette fois entre les enfants de sœur (d'une sœur) et les enfants de l'épouse (classificatoire) du frère, qui sont appelés du même nom. De plus, les enfants respectivement issus d'un frère et d'une sœur reçoivent des noms différents selon qu'ils sont des fils ou fille de frère (d'une sœur), ou fils ou fille de sœur (d'un frère). Enfin, il n'est plus possible d'identifier normalement le gendre (*kiosita*) et la bru (*sinoiti*) avec le neveu ou la nièce croisés, et les *kuti, sadio* (à la différence des *sapito, sapiti* et *sapitso* ou *sapiovo* des systèmes précédents) ne correspondent plus exactement à des parents de la troisième génération, ou du troisième degré.

Ces contrastes s'éclairent quand on recherche les formes de mariage effectivement pratiquées. Sur huit mariages, cinq sont «horizontaux», c'est-à-dire unissent des conjoints relevant de la même génération classificatoire, et trois sont «obliques», le mari relevant de la génération de la mère de son épouse :

C1 — c2 : fils de frère et fille de sœur (horizontal);
C4 — c5 : frère de mari et sœur de femme (horizontal);
C6 — c7 : frère cadet de mère et fille de sœur (oblique);
C12 — c13 : frère aîné de mère et fille de sœur (oblique);
C16 — c17 : frère cadet de mère et fille de sœur (oblique);
C20 — c8 : sœur de mari et frère aîné de femme (horizontal);
C20 — c21 : sœur de mari et frère aîné de femme (horizontal);
C29 — c28 : fils de frère et fille de sœur (horizontal).

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

En l'absence de données généalogiques, on peut même supposer que deux des mariages ci-dessus, classés comme «horizontaux», sont probablement obliques étant donné la différence d'âge considérable entre les époux (*C10 — c8, c11*); tel est souvent le cas des enfants issus de mariages «obliques». Mais même en négligeant cette possibilité, la proportion des relations «obliques» s'élève quand on passe, des mariages proprement dits, à la relation classificatoire d'époux et d'épouse. C'est ainsi que *C6*, par exemple, appelle «femme» :

c2 : sœur de femme;
c5 : sœur de femme du père;
c7 : sa propre femme;
c8 : sœur de femme du père;
c13 : sœur de femme;
c17 : sœur de femme;
c21 : sœur de femme du père;
c24 : sœur de femme;
c31 : sœur de femme;

soit, en fait, trois relations horizontales et six obliques (directement, ou, indirectement, par la position déjà oblique de l'intermédiaire).

On a vu plus haut que le mariage «oblique» n'est nullement inconnu des groupes oriental, central, méridional et occidental. Mais il n'y est pas si fréquent, et surtout, le système des appellations n'en tient pas compte. Les problèmes résultant de cette forme de mariage sont, alors, résolus de deux façons : soit qu'on conserve des appellations devenues contradictoires, soit qu'on déplace un ou plusieurs individus d'une catégorie de parenté à une autre. La méthode du système septentrional est tout autre, car c'est le système lui-même dont la structure s'accommode du mariage entre personnes de générations différentes[1]. Ce nouveau caractère est attesté par la distinction plus nette, au sein de chaque génération, entre les «aînés» et les «cadets» : au lieu de quatre termes distinguant l'âge relatif et le sexe il n'y en a plus que deux, *jaja* et *sakâsi*, qui se réfèrent à l'âge et s'appliquent indifféremment aux deux sexes; de plus, le terme *sakâsi* tend à prendre le sens général de «cadet» ou «petit», et vient à préciser, de ce point de vue, n'importe quelle relation de parenté[2] impliquant ainsi que la qualité de *sakâsi* équivaut à un déplacement dans une autre génération. Et en effet, bien que le frère aîné et le frère cadet puissent également prétendre à épouser la fille de leur sœur, le frère aîné, même marié avec sa nièce, continuera d'être appelé *jaja* par la

[1] Pour l'interprétation théorique, on comparera avec les systèmes Miwok et Ao Naga, tels que nous les avons analysés dans un autre ouvrage. (*Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*, ch. 17 et 22.)

[2] Cf., plus bas, p. 37, texte n° 1.

mère de sa femme; tandis que, dans la même situation, le frère cadet passe parfois au rang de *ʒiʒuʒitte* ; il n'est plus considéré comme un frère, mais comme un gendre. D'ailleurs, si le terme *ʒiʒuʒitte* désigne normalement un gendre «horizontal», c'est-à-dire un neveu croisé marié à une fille, il est significatif qu'un homme appelle *ʒiʒuʒitte* son frère cadet qui a épousé une nièce, et même une «épouse»; et qu'une femme désigne de même façon un frère cadet marié à une fille, comme on vient de le voir. Et pourtant, un homme appelle indifféremment *ʒitta* (épouse), ses cousines croisées et les filles de ses sœurs, tout en distinguant les maris de ses «épouses» en *ʒiʒuʒitte* (gendre «horizontal»), *sahâni* (ou *ʒiʒuʒitte*, remplaçant alors *sahâni*) et *ʒiʒa*.

On pourrait considérer que ces différences par rapport aux autres systèmes sont purement formelles. Elles entraînent, cependant, des conséquences importantes. Le mariage préférentiel entre frère de la mère et fille de la sœur doit introduire une asymétrie entre les enfants du frère et ceux de la sœur, justifiant ainsi l'usage d'appellations différentes dans les deux cas. Pour la même raison, on voit apparaître un décalage d'une génération classificatoire entre une femme qui a épousé un oncle, et telle de ses cousines parallèles. En voici un exemple frappant :

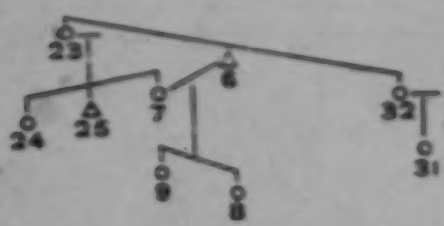


Fig. 10.

c23 appelle *C6* (en fait, *sahâni*) *ʒiʒuʒitte*: donc sa fille *c24* l'appelle *ʒiʒa* (époux), puisqu'il est marié à sa sœur *c7*, et leur frère *C25* l'appelle *ʒiʒa* pour la même raison. Pour *c23*, ses petites-filles (et nièces à la fois) *c8* et *c9* sont des *ʒiʒi*, appelées *taétero* par la sœur de la mère *c24*, et *aʒʒinu* par le frère de la mère, *C25*. Mais si l'on se place au point de vue de *c31*, le fait essentiel n'est pas, comme dans les cas précédents, que *C6* ait épousé une fille ou une sœur (ici, une nièce ou une cousine parallèle), mais qu'il soit le frère de la mère. En conséquence, elle l'appelle *koika* (beau-père), et elle appelle la femme de *C6* *ʒiʒiko* (belle-mère), et les enfants de celle-ci deviennent ses *ʒiʒitta* (belles-sœurs).

Une double conclusion se dégage de cette analyse. En premier lieu, on doit se rappeler que, dans les systèmes *a* et *b*, le terme pour «frère ou sœur cadet(te)» désigne aussi les cousins parallèles. Or, nous venons de constater que, dans le système du groupe *c*, le cousin parallèle peut être effectivement déplacé à une génération plus jeune, et que tel est le cas quand le mariage est du type «oblique». Il se pourrait donc que le mariage oblique ait occupé une place plus importante, dans les systèmes *a* et *b*, que ce n'est le cas aujourd'hui. Le second point est que le système de parenté du groupe *b*, avec son usage d'un terme spécial pour le frère ou sœur de l'autre sexe, et sa distinction

C. Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

entre les parents du conjoint et les grands-parents, se place dans une position intermédiaire entre les systèmes *a* et *c*. Il constitue une sorte de transition entre le système simple, symétrique et harmonieux des groupes orientaux, et la structure plus subtile et complexe du système septentrional. Ce rôle correspond bien aux positions géographiques respectives occupées par les différents groupes.

ÉTUDE CONCRÈTE DES GROUPES.

Le fonctionnement concret des systèmes de parenté précédemment analysé a été étudié sur les groupes suivants :

I. *Groupe oriental* (dialectes *a*).

(1) Dialecte *a1*. — Un groupe de 23 individus comprenant 6 hommes, 9 femmes et 8 enfants. Ce groupe s'est trouvé temporairement élargi par la rencontre de bandes, et parfois même par leur agglomération temporaire, dont les membres présentent entre eux, et par rapport au premier groupe, des relations de parenté analogues. Ainsi, le groupe (1) s'est-il trouvé temporairement élevé jusqu'à comprendre 75 individus (20 hommes, 30 femmes et 25 enfants).

(2) Dialecte *a2*. — Plusieurs petites unités comprenant chacune 6 à 12 individus.

II. *Groupe méridional central* (dialecte *b1*).

Un groupe stable de 17 individus comprenant 5 hommes, 6 femmes et 6 enfants, temporairement porté, par la rencontre de parents, à 31 individus (13 hommes, 10 femmes et 8 enfants).

III. *Groupe occidental* (dialecte *b2*).

Un groupe de 12 individus comprenant 4 hommes, 5 femmes et 3 enfants.

IV. *Groupe septentrional* (dialecte *c*).

Un groupe stable de 34 individus comprenant 9 hommes, 11 femmes et 14 enfants.

L'étude concrète des groupes sera fondée sur le groupe oriental *a1* (restreint) et sur le groupe central *b1* (restreint), les seuls avec lesquels seulement nous avons vécu de façon suffisamment prolongée pour pousser l'analyse psycho-sociologique.

Groupe oriental, dialecte a1 : [illegible] (a1); [illegible] (b1); [illegible] (c).

Ce groupe comprenant 23 personnes réparties en six familles a été rencontré dans la région du Rio Papagaio (Utiarity) à l'occasion d'une de ses excursions de la période nomade. Comme nous l'avons su plus tard, il faisait partie d'une assez importante communauté indigène localisée en plusieurs villages ou sites de campement dans une zone inexplorée de la rive droite du Rio Juruena, où nous avons pénétré, voyagé et séjourné avec eux. La saison sèche et la période de nomadisme ne semble pas avoir été la seule raison de l'isolement du groupe; des divergences relatives au commandement avaient vraisemblablement provoqué une scission, groupant un certain nombre d'individus autour d'un chef actif et ambitieux. Nous avons, sans doute, été appelés à jouer un rôle à demi-conscient dans cette lutte; nous reviendrons sur ce point quand nous traiterons du commandement. Toutefois, les rencontres du groupe avec d'autres bandes appartenant à la même communauté ont toujours été cordiales. La rencontre d'une première bande a reconstitué approximativement la population du village d'hiver; et l'effectif d'un village voisin, rencontré ultérieurement, a porté le rassemblement à 75 personnes, soit le plus grand nombre d'indigènes que nous ayons vu réunis en 8 mois.

Comme on le verra par le tableau généalogique ci-contre, le groupe restreint se compose de quatre générations, la plus âgée étant réduite à deux individus, la suivante se composant de «maris» et de «femmes», de «frères», de «sœurs», de «beaux-frères» et de «belles-sœurs». La troisième et la quatrième, enfin, constituent un mélange complexe d'enfants, parfois, en bas âge, considérés comme des «enfants» ou des «parents», et d'adultes classés comme «frères», «sœurs», «maris» et «femmes», et décalés à une génération inférieure à leur âge à cause de leur situation d'enfants de frères aînés.

Avant de donner quelques rapides indications sur chacun des membres du groupe du point de vue de sa situation dans le système de parenté et de sa psychologie individuelle, il convient de s'arrêter un moment sur la question des *noms propres*.

∴

Les noms propres ne sont jamais prononcés chez les Nambikwara. Une prohibition très stricte les frappe, et soulève un problème pratiquement insoluble pour la notation des généalogies, bien que la prohibition ne semble pas aussi rigoureuse pour les défunts que pour les vivants. Néanmoins, on

1: Lévi-Strauss / SP17 Nambicuara

n'entend jamais un nom propre, et les individus s'interpellent, soit par de simples onomatopées :

hâna (dialecte sal) ; *hâné* (sâ, kâ, sâ) : « Gens ! » ;

soit par le terme de parenté :

1. *nakâsi'â* - *pâjâdo* (*a*) : « Ma petite. — Père ? »
2. *[illegible]* (*b*)[1] : « Le manioc est brûlé ; mon frère le gratte pour le manger. Frère ! Gratte ! »

Les indigènes ressentent très vivement l'incommodité du système, surtout lorsqu'ils sont en contact avec des blancs. Ceux d'entre eux qui fréquentent par intermittences les postes de la Ligne Rondon ont très rapidement adopté les noms brésiliens qu'ils entendent prononcer autour d'eux, et ils se sont — ou ont été — baptisés Julio, José Maria, Luiza, Ireonna, etc., en apportant d'ailleurs à ces surnoms d'étranges déformations. Parfois même, il s'agit de sobriquets tels que Lebre (lièvre), Assucar (sucre), ou Cavaginac (la taille de barbe illustrée par le fameux général). Plusieurs indigènes ont conservé ce dernier nom, perpétuant ainsi, en pleine brousse, le souvenir de l'époque où Rondon vécut et grandit.

Nous pourrions utiliser ces noms pour les désigner dans le courant de cette étude, ou encore leurs noms véritables tels que nous avons pu, dans certains cas, les reconstituer : mais ces noms brésiliens ne sont portés que par la petite minorité d'indigènes qui sont en contact avec les postes de la Ligne Rondon ;

[1] Il faut préciser la façon dont ces textes, ci-après qui suivent, ont été obtenus. Nous n'avons eu le secours d'aucun interprète. A l'époque de notre séjour, il n'en existait d'ailleurs qu'un, indien Nambikwara éduqué loin des siens par les Pères jésuites, et que nous n'avons malheureusement pu employer. Les indigènes en contact avec les postes de la ligne télégraphique utilisent, dans leurs relations avec les employés Parecis ou brésiliens, une sorte de « sabir » formé d'environ quarante mots, pour partie indigènes et pour partie portugais. Cette langue franque, accompagnée de nombreux gestes, a servi d'introduction. Au bout de trois mois environ, nous étions parvenus à une connaissance grossièrement empirique du Nambikwara proprement dit, nous permettant de nous faire comprendre des indigènes, et de suivre approximativement une conversation. Ce résultat n'aurait pu être atteint sans l'inlassable bonne volonté des informateurs, toujours prêts à échanger des mots (Nambikwara contre français ou portugais) et à développer les points obscurs par l'usage d'une mimique appropriée. Travaillant avec ces moyens de fortune, nous avons, soit noté au passage des fragments de conversation qui ne nous étaient pas adressés, soit recueilli des informations sous la dictée. Dans les deux cas, l'interprétation du texte était reprise, par la suite, avec des informateurs. Il va de soi qu'un sens établi de façon aussi superficielle n'est pas à l'abri d'inexactitudes qui peuvent être parfois grossières. Nous ne les publions pas pour leur signification littérale, souvent sujette à caution, mais plutôt à cause de l'impression fruste de la vie et de l'atmosphère indigènes qu'ils aident, tout de même, à reconstituer. Pour les transcriptions, nous sommes redevables à M. Paul L. Garvin de celles qu'il a établies à l'aide de nos notes de voyage, et qu'il utilise dans son *Esquisse du système phonologique du Nambikwara-Tarundé*, qui paraît dans le Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, 1948.

et les noms authentiques nous manquent dans un très grand nombre de cas. De toute façon, le procédé serait infidèle à la réalité. Car le point remarquable est que, dans la vie quotidienne, on n'entend prononcer aucun nom. Il nous semble donc plus conforme à l'atmosphère indigène de nous abstenir, dans le courant de ce travail, d'utiliser des noms pour désigner les individus, et nous nous contenterons de symboles indiquant le sexe, le groupe, et la place dans le groupe de l'individu considéré (pour chaque groupe, respectivement *A, B, C;* majuscule pour un homme, minuscule pour une femme, suivi d'un chiffre identifiant le sujet.)

Toutefois, comme on vient de l'indiquer, il nous a été possible, pour le groupe *a1*, de recueillir une liste complète de noms, et voici comment : un jour que nous jouions avec un groupe d'enfants, l'une des fillettes fut frappée par une camarade; elle vint aussitôt se réfugier auprès de nous, et se mit, en grand mystère, à nous murmurer quelque chose à l'oreille, que nous ne comprîmes pas, et que nous fûmes obligés de nous faire répéter à plusieurs reprises, si bien que l'adversaire s'aperçut du manège, et, manifestement furieuse, arriva, à son tour, pour livrer ce qui parût être un secret solennel : après quelques hésitations et questions, l'interprétation de l'incident ne laissa pas subsister de doute. La première fillette était venue, par vengeance, nous donner le nom de son ennemie, et quand celle-ci s'en aperçut, elle communiqua le nom de l'autre, en guise de représaille. A partir de ce moment, il fut très facile, bien que peu scrupuleux, d'exciter les enfants les uns contre les autres, et d'obtenir de chacun d'eux le nom de tous les autres. Après quoi, une petite complicité ainsi créée, ils nous donnèrent, sans trop de difficulté, les noms des adultes. Lorsque ceux-ci découvrirent nos conciliabules, les enfants furent fortement réprimandés, et la source de nos informations tarie. Par ailleurs, un jour de grande confiance, *A1* nous donna les noms de ses parents et de ses arrière grands-parents, si bien qu'en fin de compte la liste de noms propres recouvre un total de cinq générations :

1. Mère de la mère de *A1*...	*Arigúdadusu.*
2. Père du père de *A1*.....	*Irítilisu, Irígudusu.*
3. Mère du père de *A1*.....	*Etyaúglugluisu.*
4. Père de la mère de *A1*....	*Iglyíkulusu.*
5. Père de *A1*.....	*Arakúdadusu.*
6. Mère de *A1*.....	*Tuyuérusu.*
7. *A1*.....	(manque.)
8. *a2*.....	*Gyénderusu.*
9. *a3*.....	*Uájterekaneru.*
10. *a4*.....	*Uaárakaneru.*
11. Mère de *a4*.....	*Uaárasu.*
12. Père de *a4*.....	*Nisyanírusu.*
13. *a5*.....	*Gúenderékineru.*

14. *A6*..... *Tajritsu.*
15. *a7*..... *Naritsu, Nitmidjkinsu.*
16. *a8*..... *Tajrikinsu.*
17. *a9*..... *Tajrikinsu.*
18. *A10*..... *Nikkerukindidetu.*
19. *a11*..... *Sali'itirokdjin.*
20. *a12*..... *Sali'itikinsu.*
21. *A13*..... *Tarésakurun.*
22. *a14*..... *Njitsekse.*
23. *A15*..... *Nikdikitsu.*
24. *A16*..... *Njoaikukinsu.*
25. *A17*..... *Kajikurun.*
26. *a18*..... *Senaisukurun.*
27. *a19*..... *Senaisukinsu.*
28. *a20*..... *Senaisukurikiritsu, Kjatorikinsu.*
29. *A21*..... *Karikleju.*
30. *a22*..... *Iuntajdetu, Idonorikinsu.*
31. *a23*..... *Kjedikitsu, Kjetitdeoukinsu, Karikkinsu.*

Comme on le voit par cette liste, il existe deux catégories de noms. Les adultes possèdent un nom qui leur est propre. Les enfants sont nommés d'après leurs parents : fils, ou fille, de un tel. Le nom utilisé dans ce cas est généralement celui de la mère (*a5/a12* (mais qui n'est pas une enfant), *A16/a19/a20*); mais pas toujours : *a8* et *a9*, dont la mère est morte, sont appelées toutes deux d'après leur père, filles de *Tajritsu*. A propos de *a23*, qui est un petit bébé, un grand flottement se manifeste chez nos informateurs (il ne faut pas oublier que ce sont des enfants, et que leurs renseignements sont incertains), et le nom de *Karikkinsu*, fille de *Karikleju*, son père, a été recueilli, bien que sa mère soit vivante. Mais, comme on le verra plus loin, *A21*, *a22* et *a23* se trouvent, pendant notre séjour, confondus dans le même état de marge. D'autre part, le fait que les noms de *Kjatorikinsu* et de *Idonorikinsu* aient pu être recueillis pour *a20* et *a22* suggère qu'elles ne sont pas filles de *a18*, mais cousines parallèles de ses filles. Si tel n'est pas le cas, les deux noms peuvent faire partie d'une collection, ou avoir été attribués à tort à leurs titulaires supposés.

Les adolescents reçoivent leur nom du chef au moment de la puberté. L'imposition du nom est un point sur lequel nous reviendrons ultérieurement. Le fait que certains adultes soient désignés dans notre liste par un moyen teknonymique s'explique sans doute par l'ignorance de nos informateurs de leur nom véritable. Néanmoins, il faut remarquer que, dans les deux cas en cause, *a12* est une femme enceinte et *a22* une femme qui allaite. Toutes deux se trouvent soumises à des prohibitions complexes. Une interdiction spéciale pèse peut-être sur le nom d'individus placés dans certaines situations.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

Quoi qu'il en soit, ce sont les seuls noms que nous ayons pu obtenir et, respectant la prohibition qui les couvre, nous ne les utiliserons pas plus, dans le courant de cet exposé, qu'ils ne le sont dans la vie quotidienne des Indiens Nambikwara. Nous donnerons maintenant quelques indications sur les individus composant le groupe étudié.

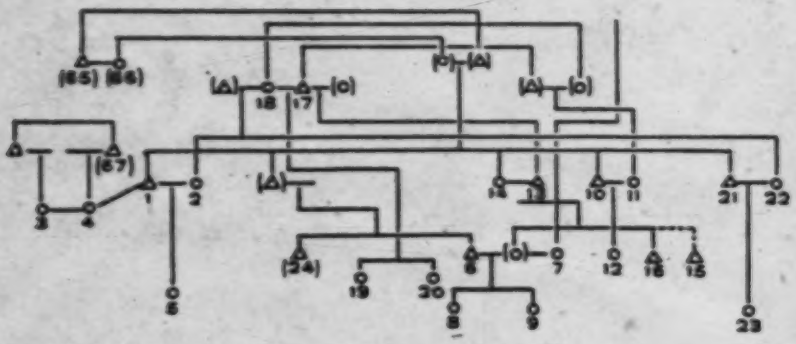


FIG. 11. — Composition généalogique du groupe *a1*.

A1. — Le chef du groupe. C'est un homme d'environ 35 ans, marié à trois femmes : *a2*, dont il a une fille *a5*, et *a3* et *a4*, l'une et l'autre filles de « sœur », sans enfant.

A1 est remarquablement intelligent, conscient de ses responsabilités, actif, entreprenant et ingénieux. Lorsque nous allions visiter son village, il ne devait pas hésiter à suivre un nouvel itinéraire, inconnu de lui, parce que nos chevaux ne pouvaient passer par la piste habituelle; et quand nous arrivions au village, nous trouvions les piquets nécessaires pour attacher les bœufs et les chevaux, qu'il avait fait planter par une corvée envoyée quelques heures à l'avance.

Son attitude vis-à-vis de l'écriture est très révélatrice. Il a immédiatement compris son rôle de signe[1], et la supériorité sociale qu'elle confère; aussi

[1] Les Nambikwara du groupe *a* ignorent complètement le dessin, si l'on excepte quelques traits géométriques sur des calebasses. Pendant plusieurs jours, ils ne surent que faire du papier et des crayons que nous leur distribuions. Peu après, nous les vîmes fort affairés à tracer des lignes ondulées. Ils imitaient en cela le seul usage qu'ils nous voyaient faire de nos bloc-notes, c'est-à-dire écrire, mais sans en comprendre le but et la portée. Ils appelèrent d'ailleurs l'acte d'écrire : iekariukedjutu (*a1*), c'est-à-dire « faire des raies », ce qui présentait pour eux un intérêt esthétique :

(3) *Kitsikignare wi?jone* (*b1*).
Faire des raies, c'est joli.

Les dessins reproduits fig. 19 constituent donc une innovation culturelle inspirée par nos propres dessins.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

nous a-t-il réclamé un bloc-note et un crayon, et nous sommes pareillement équipés quand nous travaillons ensemble. Il ne me communique pas verbalement les informations que je lui demande, mais trace sur son papier des lignes sinueuses et me les présente, comme si je devais lire sa réponse. Mais lui-même est à moitié dupe de sa comédie; chaque fois que sa main achève une ligne, il l'examine anxieusement, comme si la signification devait miraculeusement en jaillir, et chaque fois, la même désillusion chagrine se peint sur son visage. Mais il n'en convient pas; et il est tacitement entendu, entre nous, que son grimoire possède un sens que je feins de comprendre; naturellement, le commentaire verbal suit presque immédiatement, et me dispense de réclamer des éclaircissements très nécessaires. Quand nous parlerons du commandement, nous aurons à revenir sur certains aspects de cette demi-mystification.

C'est un précieux informateur, qui comprend les problèmes, perçoit les difficultés, et s'intéresse au travail; mais ses fonctions l'absorbent souvent, et il disparaît pendant des journées entières pour une expédition de chasse, une reconnaissance d'itinéraire ou une localisation d'arbres à graines ou à fruits mûrs. D'autre part, ses femmes l'appellent souvent à de tendres jeux amoureux auxquels il se laisse volontiers entraîner.

D'une façon générale, son attitude traduit une logique, une continuité dans les desseins, très exceptionnelle chez les Nambikwara, souvent instables et fantasques. Placé dans d'autres conditions, et avec d'autres moyens, il pourrait être un organisateur de valeur. C'est ce qu'il est, d'ailleurs, seul responsable des destinées de son groupe qu'il conduit avec compétence, bien que dans un esprit parfois utopique.

Le père et la mère de *A1* sont morts. Mais le frère de son père et la sœur de sa mère, qu'il appelle *ahyinosu* et *a?kénosu*, vivent dans le même village (*A65* et *a66*).

a2. — Environ 30 à 35 ans. L'aînée des femmes de *A1*, mère de *a5*, fille de *a18* et d'un père mort. Elle est sérieuse, travailleuse, un peu sèche dans les relations sociales. Dans le triple ménage de *A1*, elle joue le rôle de la gardienne du foyer, et on la voit toujours occupée à quelque tâche culinaire ou artisanale. Elle renseigne peu volontiers, mais quand elle accepte de le faire, ses informations sont claires et précises. C'est toujours à elle qu'on a recours pour trancher les cas épineux, compléter un vocabulaire de parenté, répondre à un interrogatoire systématique.

a3. — Vigoureuse fille d'une vingtaine d'années, épouse secondaire de *A1*. Sa mère (*a63*), *arindosu* de *A1*, *akandnosu* de *a2*, est actuellement mariée à un *asukosu* de *A1*. Son père, mort, était frère du père de *a4*.

Elle est exubérante, toujours de bonne humeur, prête à accompagner son époux dans les plus dures expéditions, capable de porter de lourds fardeaux. C'est une véritable «force de la nature»; physiquement, elle n'est pas sans

charme, rieuse et pleine de santé. Comme informatrice, elle est vague, pratiquement inutilisable.

a4. — Environ 17 ou 18 ans, la plus jeune des épouses de *A1*. Son père et sa mère (*A67* et *a68*) sont vivants, *asoúnosu* et *a'éjnosu* de *A1*, *oyénsaesu* et *aseétasu* de *a2*. Elle est jolie, coquette et provocante, ne se livre à aucune activité appréciable, sauf en voyage, où elle se montre collaboratrice active de son époux. Elle parle volontiers, rit beaucoup, se montre très curieuse de nos vêtements, ustensiles, façon de manger et de vivre. Totalement inefficace comme informatrice.

a5. — 8 à 9 ans. Fille de *A1* et de *a2*. Elle présente un prognathisme sous-nasal fortement marqué, et porte, à la joue gauche, une sorte de petite caverne bourgeonnante, sans doute due à un ulcère tropical. C'est une enfant très calme et très aimable, sensible à nos avances, mais qui, quand on l'ennuie, a de brusques colères ou des accès d'humeur sombre, pendant lesquels elle est inabordable. Le reste du temps, elle aime notre société et collabore volontiers au travail ethnographique.

A6. — Environ 30 ans : c'est le fils d'un frère aîné disparu de *A1*; il appelle son oncle paternel «père», la femme *a2* de celui-ci, «mère», et la petite *a5*, «sœur». D'un premier mariage avec une fille de la sœur de son père (*a14*), morte, il a deux enfants (*a8* et *a9*); il est actuellement remarié (avec *a7*). Par ailleurs, il est vaniteux, satisfait de lui-même, peu intelligent, très bon père et très épris de sa jeune femme avec laquelle on le trouve toujours tendrement enlacé. C'est un informateur prolixe, mais lourd et sans nuance.

a7. — Jolie femme d'une vingtaine d'années, peut-être moins; jeune épouse du précédent. Ses parents sont vivants et se trouvent, dit-elle, au village. Elle est *asintu* de *A1* et *a2*, *arindesu* de *a3* et *a4*, *aseétasu* de *a5*. Elle est sotte, égoïste, exclusivement intéressée par elle-même; se considérant, d'ailleurs, comme exceptionnellement séduisante, ce qui paraît être (du point de vue indigène, s'entend), très exagéré. Elle refuse systématiquement de témoigner le moindre intérêt aux deux filles de son mari, se conduit très amoureusement vis-à-vis de celui-ci.

a8 et *a9*. — 6 ans environ, et 2 ans, filles du premier mariage de *A6* et filles de la fille morte de *a14*. Les deux enfants sont pratiquement abandonnées à elles-mêmes. Leur belle-mère ne s'en occupe pas; leur père prend soin d'elles quand les travaux masculins, et sa femme, lui en laissent le loisir. Leur grand-mère est leur principale ressource, et c'est vers elle qu'elles courent lorsqu'elles se sont fait mal, ont peur, faim ou soif. Mais elle-même est absorbée par les soins de son fils, de son beau-fils (*A15*) et de son mari; et bien souvent, le bébé est négligé pendant des journées entières, couvert de cendres et d'ordures, à moins qu'une femme quelconque du groupe, prise de pitié ou sim-

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

plement agacée, ne l'empoigne et ne lui donne un bain. Le plus souvent, c'est sa grande sœur, précocement mûrie, qui prend soin d'elle, la porte, bien qu'elle soit à peine plus grande, la nourrit et la nettoie. L'une et l'autre sont des enfants charmantes, gaies et avides de caresses comme ceux qui en sont habituellement privés. Leur sort est une grosse préoccupation pour la communauté. Sous ce régime de vie dure et constamment absorbée par de menues tâches dont chacune est tout un labeur, on peut difficilement assumer des charges autres que les siennes propres; et ces enfants délaissés sont un perpétuel sujet d'irritation, dont, même quand on les soigne, ils sont souvent les victimes. A maintes reprises, nous avons été pressentis pour savoir si nous ne prendrions pas la plus jeune des enfants en charge. On nous l'eût remise avec allégresse et soulagement. Le bébé était si délicieux que nous nous serions laissés tenter si la perspective de nous voir chercher, au retour, une mauvaise querelle par le Service de Protection des Indiens, ne nous en avait, très raisonnablement, dissuadés.

A10. — Environ 40 ans. Il est *alónu* de *A1*, *ajénkedin* de *a2*, *ahúnou* de *a5*, marié avec *a11*. Ses parents sont morts. Il est aimable et grimaçant, souffre d'une hernie qu'il dissimule sous un lambeau d'étoffe pendant à sa ceinture. Son activité s'en trouve considérablement diminuée. Peu intéressé par notre travail, et peu empressé à comprendre les questions et à informer.

a11. — Environ 40 ans. Épouse du précédent. C'est une «sœur» de *a2*, une «épouse» de *A1*, une «mère» de *a5*. Elle est obscure, acharnée et laborieuse, et ne révèle sa nature heureuse qu'à l'occasion des chants et des danses, où elle excelle. On la voit toujours occupée à quelque besogne artisanale, pour lesquelles elle semble éprouver une prédilection : taillant ou polissant des disques de coquille ou de coquillage, les forant ou les enfilant, frottant des pendants d'oreille ou des bracelets. Elle parle peu, se laisse totalement absorber par son travail. C'est une épouse et une mère, et une remarquable informatrice pour tous les détails de la culture matérielle.

a12. — Fille des deux précédents, approximativement 22 ans; elle est l'épouse de *A13*, qui l'a abandonnée pour vivre avec deux femmes *a14* et *a15*. De ce fait, elle est retournée à la charge de ses parents, et doublement, car elle est enceinte. Elle est placide, souriante, et apathique. Elle se trouve éloignée de la vie collective par son état et par une douloureuse infection des yeux, qui la frappe la première parmi les membres de son groupe, dont plusieurs seront ultérieurement atteints par l'épidémie.

A13. — Environ 40 ans. Fils de *A18*, «frère», par conséquent, de *a2*, «beau-frère» de *A1*, dont il a épousé la sœur aînée *a14*. Toujours joyeux, actif et docile, c'est l'homme de confiance de *A1*, son messager préféré, le compagnon qu'il choisit pour toute tâche compliquée. Il est travailleur, un

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

peu maniéré dans ses attitudes, et, comme informateur, complaisant, très prolixe et pas toujours clair ni compréhensif.

a14. — Environ 40 à 45 ans. Épouse du précédent, vraie sœur de *A1*, mère de *A16*. Elle est influente, active, travailleuse, d'abord assez rude, mais en réalité complaisante et compétente. Elle exerce une réelle autorité sur les autres femmes du groupe, par son esprit d'initiative et son allant. C'est la grand'mère de *a8* et *a9*, qu'elle nourrit et dont elle s'occupe fréquemment. Non seulement elle est bonne informatrice, mais prend parfois elle-même des initiatives didactiques. Elle aime les chants et les danses.

A15. — Environ 15 ans. Il est orphelin; son père était frère de *A13*, qui l'a recueilli. Garçon doux, tranquille, assez timide.

A16. — 7 ou 8 ans; fils de *A13* et de *a14*, « époux » de *a5*. C'est un enfant vif et curieux; sa mère lui refuse rarement quelque chose, et il la tyrannise volontiers. Elle est manifestement fière de lui et lui passe beaucoup de caprices. Un jour, elle est venue nous demander de lui apprendre à lire. Les tentatives ne sont pas très encourageantes. Il prend les leçons comme un jeu et se refuse à appréhender les lettres comme des formes déterminées; elles sont pour lui interchangeables, et il les gratifie à tour de rôle de tous les sons dont il dispose dans son vocabulaire.

A17. — Entre 50 et 55 ans, c'est le doyen du groupe; il en est conscient et tire une certaine vanité de n'avoir autour de lui que des « fils » ou des « filles », des « gendres » et des « brus », des petits-enfants et arrière-petits-enfants. Il est physiquement robuste, aimable, joyeux et bavard; très enclin aux plaisanteries érotiques. Il informe volontiers, avec une extrême bonne volonté et une volubilité intarissable. Mais ses explications ne sont pas toujours claires, et il est nécessaire de se laisser guider par sa fantaisie un peu incohérente.

a18. — Environ 45 ans; épouse du précédent, mère de *a2* et de *a22*. C'est une femme sérieuse, travailleuse, dévouée à son mari et à ses enfants; elle rit peu, parle seule, est toujours affairée à quelque besogne. Ses informations sont rares, mais solides.

a19. — Une dizaine d'années. Fille des précédents. Très jolie fille, encore une enfant chez qui s'esquissent à peine les premiers signes de la puberté. Elle a dans le groupe une position de « mère », ainsi que sa petite sœur *a20*. C'est une enfant brutale et parfois violente, qui adopte à notre égard une attitude confinant à l'hostilité. Son langage est cru, et elle se livre volontiers aux plaisanteries les plus osées. Cette attitude s'explique, au moins partiellement, comme on le verra plus loin, par sa situation d'âge.

a20. — Fillette de 5 ou 6 ans, sœur de la précédente; ses contemporains, et même des adultes, l'appellent «mère». Elle est parfaitement insupportable; prétentieuse, maniérée, intarissablement avide de présents ou de distractions.

A21, *a22*, *a23*. — Il est difficile de caractériser ces 3 individus, qui vivent, pendant presque tout le temps de notre présence, dans un état de ségrégation silencieuse presque absolu. Le bébé *a23* n'est pas encore sevré, et l'état de couvade devait se terminer à la fin de notre séjour. Nous décrirons ultérieurement les opérations qui sanctionnèrent le retour à la vie commune. *A21*, 35 à 40 ans, est le frère de *A1*; *a22*, environ 18 ans, la sœur de *a2*. *A21* devait mourir noyé pendant une de nos absences. Le bébé a 12 à 18 mois.

Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, le groupe restreint, tel qu'il vient d'être décrit, s'est temporairement réuni à d'autres bandes similaires, ou s'est temporairement aggloméré d'autres groupes familiaux. C'est ainsi qu'aux 6 «feux» [1] composant le groupe stable s'ajoutent par intermittence :

Feu 7 (*24 à 28*). — Cinq individus, à savoir : *A24*, «fils» (d'un frère aîné) de *A1* (20 à 25 ans), époux de *a25* (18 à 20 ans), leur bébé *a26* (2 ans environ), le père *A27* (50 ans environ) de *a25*, et le frère *A28* (12 ans environ) de celle-ci.

Feu 8 (*29 à 37*). — Huit individus, à savoir : *A32*, chef du groupe composé par les feux 7, 8 et 9. Environ 40 ans, *sukosu* de *A1*; ses cinq femmes, soit *a33*, *a34*, *a35*, *a36*, «sœurs» entre elles (18 à 25 ans), et leur «mère» *a37* (40 ans environ), plus les 3 enfants de cette dernière, *a30* et *A31* (8 à 11 ans) et *a29* (2 ans environ).

Feu 9 (*39 à 41*). — Quatre individus, soit deux ménages, dont les relations de parenté sont obscures. *A38* (50 ans environ), «frère» de *a2*, et son épouse *a39* (45 ans environ), «sœur» de *A1*; et *A40* (30 ans environ), «frère» de *A1*, et son épouse *a41* (30 ans environ), «sœur» de *a2*, l'un et l'autre «père» et «mère» de *a5*.

Feu 10 (*42 à 47*). — Six personnes, à savoir : *A42* (30 ans environ), *sukosu* de *A1*; ses deux femmes, l'une *a43* (35 ans environ), «sœur» de *A1*, et l'autre *a 4* (18 ans environ), «nièce» de *A1*, et trois enfants. *A45* et *A46* (9 à 12 ans) et *a47* (2 à 3 ans).

[1] Comme l'analyse suivante le montre, le groupe familial restreint chez les Nambikwara est assez difficile à définir. La notion empirique de foyer nous semble la plus pratique et la plus claire. Elle désigne l'ensemble des individus qui se réunissent le soir et dorment autour du même feu. Dans le groupe *a1* (restreint) précédemment étudié, on a, de ce point de vue, six feux, soit : I (1 à 5); II (6 à 9); III (10 à 12); IV (13 à 16); V (17 à 20); VI (21 à 23).

Feu 11 (*48 à 50*). — Trois individus, soit : *A48*, «frère» de *A1* et «époux» de *a2* (environ 35 ans), sa femme *a49* (environ 35 ans), «épouse» de *A1* et «sœur» de *a2*. L'un et l'autre sont par conséquent «père» et «mère» de *a5*, et leur enfant *a50* est sa «sœur» (3 à 4 ans).

Feu 12 (*51 à 56*). — Six personnes, soit : *A51* (40 ans environ), «frère» de *A1* et *ajúnkedisu* de *a2*, sa femme *a52*, «sœur» de *a2* (environ 40 ans), et quatre enfants, *a53* (14 ans) et *A54*, *a55* et *A56* (6 à 10 ans).

Feu 13 (*57 à 61*). — Cinq personnes, comprenant : *A57* (environ 45 ans), frère de *A69*, et *asúkosu* de *A1*, «frère aîné» de *a2*; ses deux femmes l'une *a58*, «sœur» de *A1*, l'autre *a59*, sa «fille» (20 et 30 ans), et deux enfants, *A60* et *A61* (3 et 7 ans), l'un et l'autre «époux» de *a5*.

Feu 14 (*62 à 66*). — Cinq personnes, soit : *A62* (environ 42 ans), *asúkosu* de *a1* et *akenánosu* de *a2*, sa femme *a63*, «sœur» de *A1* et de *a58*, et mère de *a3* (40 ans environ), leur enfant *a64* (5 ans environ) et deux personnes que *A1* appelle «père» et «mère», soit *A65* (50 ans environ) et *a66* (50 ans environ), qui vivent au foyer de leur «fille» *a63*.

Feu 15 (*67 à 70*). — Quatre personnes formant deux ménages : *A67*, «époux» de *a2* et appelé *asoúnosu* par *A1* parce qu'il est le père de son épouse *a4*, et *a68*, *aseétasu* de *a2*, mais appelée *a?éinosu* par *A1* parce qu'elle est la mère de son autre femme. Et *A69* (environ 28 ans), «frère» de *A42* et *asúkosu* de *A1*, marié à *a70* (25 ans environ), parenté indéterminée.

Feu 16 (*71 et 72*). — *A71* (environ 30 ans), «frère» de *A28* et son épouse *a72* (environ 20 ans), «fille» de *A13* et de *a14*.

Feu 17 (*73 à 75*). — *A73* (environ 30 ans), ancien époux de *a12*, qu'il a abandonnée, et ses 2 femmes *a74* et *a75* (20 à 25 ans), «sœurs» de *a5*.

* * *

RÈGLES DE RÉSIDENCE.

Les phénomènes de distribution spatiale ne semblent pas présenter une signification spéciale dans des groupes essentiellement nomades. Nous donnons néanmoins le plan de répartition des familles dans le *campement nomade* (carte I), et dans le *village d'hivernage* (carte II) pour le groupe restreint, et le plan de répartition des familles ou des feux en *campement semi-permanent* pour l'agglomération la plus nombreuse (carte III).

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

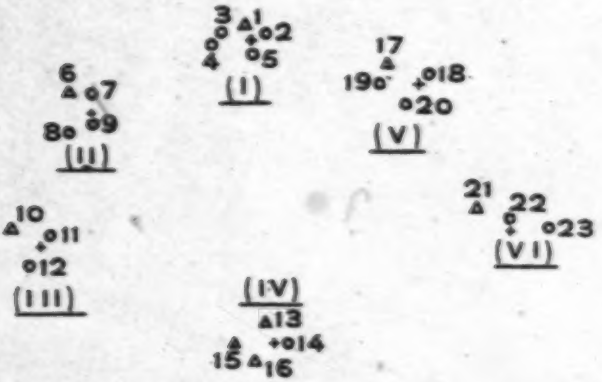


Fig. 12. — Emplacement des feux (+) et des groupes familiaux (Δ : homme; O : femme) dans le campement nomade.

Fig. 13. — Groupement des familles dans les huttes du village d'hiver.

L'examen de ces cartes appelle plusieurs remarques.

(1) Le campement nomade obéit généralement à des règles fixes pour la répartition des individus autour des «feux», mais non pas pour la distribution des «feux» dans l'espace. Les feux 1 à 6 ne sont pas distribués de

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

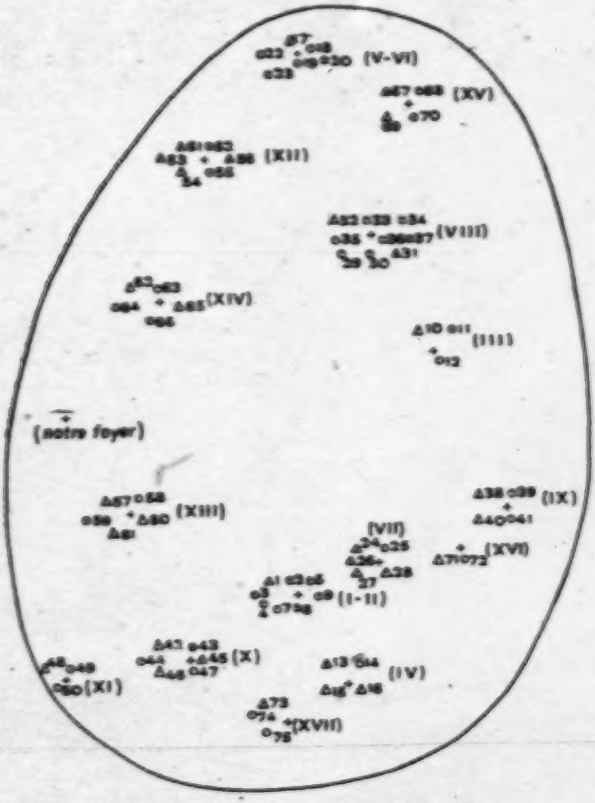


Fig. 16. — Répartition des familles en résidence temporaire.

la même manière dans le campement nomade (I) et en campement général (III); en fait, dans ce dernier cas, les familles sont arrivées les unes après les autres, voyageant en groupe de deux ou trois, ou séparément, et sont venues occuper les emplacements disponibles. Néanmoins, quand le groupe restreint voyage en un seul bloc, son campement est *généralement* conforme à la distribution donnée dans la carte I, qui reproduit un campement maintenu pendant un mois.

(2) La distribution des feux de campement ne reproduit pas la répartition des familles dans les huttes du village d'hiver. Cependant on observera que les membres des feux 1 et 2, qui occupent une même hutte, campent aux côtés les uns des autres dans la carte I, et autour du même feu dans la carte III

(mais, à ce moment, *A6* est absent et sa famille rallie le feu de son « père »). De même, les feux 4, 5 et 6, juxtaposés sur la carte I, cohabitent pendant l'hivernage (carte II); mais dans ce dernier cas, il y a séparation complète lors de la rencontre générale. Il est vrai qu'à ce moment, *A21* vient de mourir, sa femme et son bébé ont rallié le feu maternel, et le groupe de 6 personnes est arrivé en retard à la réunion, après un voyage isolé. Les feux 16 et 17, réunis à l'hivernage (II), sont nettement isolés en campement (carte III); de même pour les feux 14 et 15 et pour les feux 3 et 10.

(3) Lorsque plusieurs familles se réunissent autour du même feu, il ne semble pas possible de dégager des règles de résidence, ce qui semble confirmer l'impossibilité d'obtenir des informateurs une réponse claire à la question de savoir si, après le mariage, les jeunes ménages s'établissent séparément, ou restent auprès des parents de la femme ou du mari. Dans deux cas, on voit des filles rallier le feu de leurs parents : *a12*, abandonnée par son mari, et *a22* au moment de son veuvage. Le ménage du feu 4 réside, pendant l'hivernage, auprès des parents du mari; et le ménage 6 auprès des parents de la femme (feu 5 dans les deux cas). A ce moment également, le feu 9 s'installe dans la hutte du « père » du mari. Enfin, dans deux cas, on voit des parents, inaptes à la lutte économique par l'âge ou par le veuvage, s'installer au feu de leur fille : ainsi *A65* et *a66*, et *A27* avec son fils *A28*. Tout cela offre un spectacle extrêmement confus, et ce n'est pas le seul cas où le sociologue se sent, chez les Nambikwara, découragé de dégager des règles fixes. Dans un cas tel que celui des règles de résidence, les réponses des indigènes, et l'étude des faits, peuvent faire conclure que ces règles n'existent pas, mais une telle conclusion ne doit être accueillie qu'avec les plus extrêmes réserves. Nous aurons, à plusieurs reprises, à insister sur le fait que, dans une société dont la base démographique s'est effondrée dans un espace de temps très court, les règles traditionnelles peuvent se trouver obnubilées par la nécessité de résoudre des cas qui sont devenus, par la force des choses, individuels et concrets. Chez des peuples qui vivent dans des conditions de vie aussi dures, une certaine distribution en associations élémentaires d'individus de sexe et d'âge différents peut être décisive pour assurer les moyens d'existence de chacun d'eux. Beaucoup de combinaisons familiales semblent ainsi résulter de nécessités immédiates. Il se peut aussi que les règles existent, et se fondent sur des raisons sociologiques qui nous ont échappé. Une société constituée de bandes errantes qu'on ne retrouve jamais, à quelques semaines d'intervalle, avec la même composition parce que certains membres ou familles ont fait scission, tandis que d'autres sont venus s'agréger; dont les campements n'offrent jamais, d'un jour à l'autre, la même exacte distribution; dont les huttes d'hiver sont le plus souvent détruites pendant la saison sèche; qui se fuient, se chassent, s'attaquent entre elles en de fréquents conflits, et dont le moins qu'on puisse dire est qu'en période de paix, elles s'évitent; dont

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

la culture matérielle, réduite au strict minimum, ne met en œuvre que des techniques rudimentaires où les différenciations sociales ne peuvent s'inscrire; une telle société offre au sociologue une matière sans cesse mouvante et fuyante, et plutôt insaisissable. Dans de très nombreux cas, ses lois d'organisation échappent à l'analyse et, à supposer qu'elles existent, ne pourraient être découvertes qu'à l'occasion de séjours s'étendant, non seulement sur la période de la vie nomade, mais aussi sur celle de la vie sédentaire.

Groupe central et méridional, dialecte *b1* : *taránde, maimáde* (*b1*); *mamájndeti* (*c*) *oájnderu, nikodétou* (*a1*).

Nous avons partagé le campement des deux groupes *b1* et *c*. Ce dernier comprenait 17 personnes réparties en cinq feux. L'un et l'autre vaguaient dans la zone de la ligne de partage des eaux entre le Rio Tapajoz et le Rio Madeira (Vilhena). Nous reviendrons plus tard [1] sur les motifs complexes qui avaient pu pousser ces deux bandes, parlant des dialectes différents, et qui n'étaient même pas capables de se comprendre sans interprète, à se fondre pratiquement. Il semble que le groupe *b1* était composé des rares survivants d'une formation jadis importante et maintenant disparue, séjournant autrefois, en deux groupes distincts, sur les sources des affluents orientaux du Rio Roosevelt. Nous avons déjà essayé de chiffrer ces pertes, résultant de récentes épidémies [2]. Le groupe *c* avait, sans doute, passé par les mêmes épreuves; de plus, sa position s'était trouvée compromise par des antagonismes avec d'autres bandes relevant du même dialecte, et qui avaient été autrefois leurs alliées. Une visite, à but commercial, d'indigènes apparentés, en provenance du Sud (membres du groupe connu sous le nom de *Kabiṣi*) devait, pour quelques jours, élever à trente et une personnes l'effectif du groupe *b1*. Voici sa composition à ce moment :

Feu 1 (*1 à 7*). — La famille du chef de bande. Le chef, *B1*, est âgé de 30 à 35 ans, et l'un des indigènes les plus intelligents qu'il nous a été donné de rencontrer; mais il l'est d'une façon très différente d'*A1*. Ce dernier est un personnage avisé et plein de ressources, toujours méditant quelque combinaison politique. Au contraire, *B1* n'est pas un homme d'action, mais plutôt un contemplatif, à l'esprit séduisant et poétique, et d'une riche sensibilité. Il a pleine conscience de l'inévitable décadence de son peuple, et cette conviction imprègne souvent ses paroles d'une subtile teinte de mélancolie :

(4) *joámditaˀẽ ajánajne héni niho ámdadnjẽn.* (*b1*)
Je faisais aussi la même chose, maintenant c'est fini

[1] Cf. p. 77.
[2] Cf. *plus haut*, p. 6.

dit-il, en évoquant des jours plus heureux, quand son groupe, loin d'être réduit à une poignée d'individus incapables de maintenir vivantes les coutumes traditionnelles, comprenait plusieurs centaines de participants fidèles à toutes les manifestations de la culture Nambikwara. Sa curiosité envers nos mœurs et envers celles que nous avons pu observer dans d'autres tribus, ne le cède en rien à la nôtre. Avec lui, le travail ethnographique n'est jamais unilatéral : il le conçoit seulement comme un échange d'informations, et celles que nous lui apportons sont toujours bienvenues. Souvent même, il nous demande — et conserve soigneusement — des dessins représentant des ornements de plumes, des coiffures, des armes, tels que nous les avons vus chez des peuplades voisines ou éloignées. Entretenait-il l'espoir de perfectionner, grâce à ces informations, l'équipement matériel et intellectuel de son groupe ? C'est possible, bien que son tempérament rêveur ne le poussât guère aux réalisations. Pourtant, un jour où nous l'interrogions sur les flûtes de Pan, pour vérifier l'aire de diffusion de cet instrument, il répondit qu'il n'en avait jamais vu, mais qu'il aimerait en avoir le dessin (à la différence du groupe *a*, le groupe *b* n'a pas de vraie flûte de Pan, mais des instruments faits de deux ou trois tuyaux d'égale longueur et donnant approximativement la même note, attachés ensemble avec du fil de coton et de la cire). A l'aide de notre croquis, il parvint à fabriquer un instrument grossier, mais utilisable.

B1 avait deux femmes : *b2*, 25 ans environ, mère de deux petites filles de 5 à 7 ans, *b4* et *b5*; et *b3*, plus âgée que lui (environ 40 ans), mère d'un garçon de 7 ans, *B6*, et d'une fille de 9, *b7*.

Feu 2 (8 et 9). — Un fils d'un frère décédé de *B1*, que celui-ci appelle donc «fils» (environ 25 ans), et sa femme de 18 ans environ, sœur de *B13*; pas d'indication sur le père et la mère.

Feu 3 (10 à 12). — *B10* est un frère de *B8*, et *B1* l'appelle également «fils». Sa femme, *b11*, parenté indéterminée, a environ 20 ans, et sa fille *b12* approximativement 6.

Feu 4 (13 et 14). — Ce ménage présente le seul cas certain de mariage oblique dans le groupe *b1*. *B13*, 25 ans environ, a épousé une fille de 16 ou 17 ans, *b14*, fille d'un fils décédé du frère décédé de *B1*; il l'appelle donc, comme prévu, *tarsite*.

Feu 5 (15 à 17). — Ces trois individus sont les derniers survivants d'un groupe apparenté et détruit par une épidémie. Après le désastre, ils se sont ralliés à la bande de *B1*. *B15*, environ 35 ans, est le frère de *b2*, donc *tarute* de *B1*. Sa femme, du même âge, *b16*, est sœur de *B1*, donc *ndadare* de *b2*. Leur fils, *B17*, a environ 5 ans. Les filles de *B1* l'appellent «mari», et il les appelle «femmes».

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

Les vinitsara. — Ils venaient de la région comprise entre les sources des affluents de la rive gauche du Juruena et de ceux de la rive droite du Guaporé. Tous étaient apparentés à leurs hôtes, et se distribuaient en trois générations. La plus vieille comprenait trois individus : *B18*, 50 ans environ, père de *B21*, *B25*, *B27* et *B29*; sa femme *b19*, du même âge, tante paternelle de *B1*; et le frère de celle-ci, *B20*, 40 ans. La génération suivante se composait, outre les enfants déjà cités de *B18* (de 20 à 30 ans), de *b26*, femme de *B25* (vers 20 ans); du mari de *b29*, *B28* (environ 25 ans); de la femme, *b22*, de *B21*, (même âge); de son frère *B24* (20 ans), tous deux enfants d'une sœur décédée de *B18*; et d'un veuf de 40 ans environ, *B30*, frère de *B15* et de *b2*, et qui avait été marié à une sœur de *B1*. La jeune génération n'était représentée que par deux enfants, *b23*, environ 7 ans, fille de *B21* et *b22*, et *b31*, environ 10 ans, fille de *B30*, mère décédée. [Pour l'ensemble des relations généalogiques, le lecteur voudra bien se reporter à la figure 15.

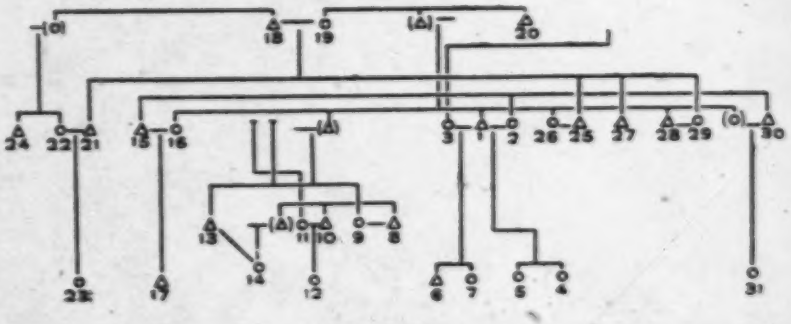


FIG. 15.

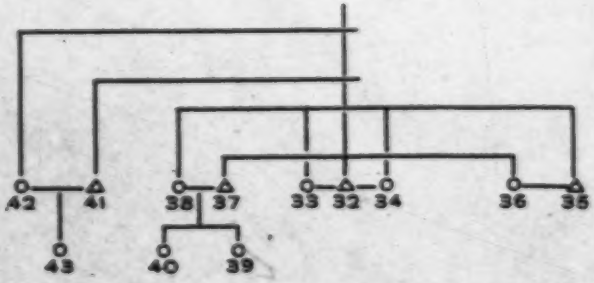


FIG. 16.

Groupe occidental, dialecte *b2* : *tajate*, *lakónde* (*b1/2*); *soyaínte* (*c*).

Nous nous bornerons à donner le schéma généalogique de la composition de ce petit groupe (fig. 16), rencontré, pour quelques jours seulement, vers la ligne du partage des eaux qui sépare les bassins du Roosevelt et du Gi-Parana (*Tres Buritis*). Ses membres semblent être des survivants d'un groupe jadis important, les *tajate*.

Groupe septentrional, dialecte *c* : *sabáne* (*c*); *tamáinde* (*b1/2*); *toátesu* (*a1/2*).

Nous n'avons pu établir la composition généalogique de ce groupe, en raison des difficultés linguistiques (le dialecte *c* ne paraît pas relever de la même famille que les autres) et de l'impossibilité consécutive où nous nous sommes trouvés de déterminer la position réelle, dans le système, d'individus désignés d'un même terme. Nous nous contenterons donc d'une analyse par foyers.

Feu 1 (*1 à 3*). — *C1*, 30 ans environ, et sa femme *c2*, 25 ans; lui, «frère» de *C6*, elle, «fille» de *c23*, leur fils, *C3*, a environ 10 ans.

Feu 2 (*4 et 5*). — *C4*, 40 ans, est le frère cadet de *C20* et de *c23*; sa femme *c5*, 25 à 30 ans, est appelée «femme» par *C6*, «sœur aînée» par *c21*, et «fille» par *c23*.

Feu 3 (*6 à 10*). — Nous avons déjà analysé[1] la situation de parenté de *C6*, de sa femme *c7* (tous deux ont la trentaine), et de leurs enfants *c8* et *c9* (6 à 8 ans); le frère cadet de la femme, *C10*, environ 10 ans, vit avec eux.

Feu 4 (*11 à 14*). — *C11* a une cinquantaine d'années; il est appelé «frère aîné» par *C6*, *C4*, *C15*, *C20*, et *c23*; sa femme *c12*, environ 35 ans, est «fille» de *c23*; le jeune frère de celle-ci, *C14*, 17 ans environ, célibataire, vit avec eux ainsi que leur fillette de 7 ans, *c13*.

Feu 5 (*15 à 18*). — *C15*, 30 ans environ, est appelé «frère cadet» par *C20* et *c23*; sa femme *c16* est «fille» de *c23*; elle a un jeune frère, *C17*, environ 12 ans, et un bébé d'une vingtaine de mois, *c18*.

Feu 6 (*19 à 22*). — Le chef, ou plutôt, semble-t-il, le shaman du groupe *c*, est âgé de 30 à 40 ans, «frère» de *c23*. Ses dispositions sont amicales et mystérieuses. Nous le retrouverons plus loin[2]. Il a deux épouses, *c19* et

[1] P. 33 à 35.
[2] P. 103.

c21, très jolies filles de 17 ou 18 ans, « sœurs » du mari défunt de *c23*. On a donc ici, un bon exemple de polygynie sororale. La seconde femme a un petit garçon de 3 ans, *C22*.

Feu 7 (*23 à 25*). — La femme, *c23*, a passé 40 ans; elle est veuve et paraît jouir d'une grande considération. Ses nombreux « frères » l'approvisionnent ainsi que ses enfants, et comme *C20*, elle est apte à recevoir des révélations surnaturelles[1]. Elle a un fils, *C25*, environ 14 ans, et une fille, *c24*, environ 10 ans. On se reportera, à leur sujet, à la page 35.

Feu 8 (*26 et 27*). — Un jeune ménage d'environ 18 ans, dont les parents seraient morts, et que les aînés du groupe appellent « petits-enfants ».

Feu 9 (*28 à 30*). — *C28*, 25 ans environ, est un « fils » de *C6*; sa femme, *c29* est plus âgée que lui (plus de 40 ans); elle est appelée « fille » par *c19* et *c21*, pourtant de loin ses cadettes; sa fille *c30* a environ 2 ans.

Feu 10 (*31 à 33*). — *c32*, environ 40 ans, est une sœur cadette de *c23*; elle a deux filles : l'aînée, *c31*, 17 ans environ, est mariée; la cadette, *c33*, encore un bébé. Le mari et son gendre sont absents; on les dit en voyage ensemble. Le groupe pourvoit aux besoins des 2 femmes.

Il convient d'ajouter à cette liste un visiteur, *C34*, environ 30 ans. Il est frère de *c12* et, pendant son séjour, il reçoit l'hospitalité du foyer n° 4.

LES RELATIONS INTERINDIVIDUELLES

MARIS ET FEMMES.

Pour bien comprendre l'attitude des deux sexes l'un par rapport à l'autre, il est indispensable d'avoir présent à l'esprit le caractère fondamental du *couple* chez les Nambikwara; c'est l'unité économique et psychologique par excellence. Non seulement, parmi ces bandes errantes, qui se font et se défont sans cesse, le couple apparaît-il comme la seule réalité stable (au moins théoriquement), mais c'est lui seul, aussi, qui permet d'assurer la subsistance de ses membres. Les Nambikwara vivent sous une double économie : économie de chasseurs et de jardiniers d'une part, économie de collecteurs et de ramasseurs de l'autre. La première est assurée par l'homme, la seconde par la femme. Tandis que le groupe masculin part pour une journée entière à la chasse, armé d'arcs et de flèches, ou travaillant dans les jardins pendant la saison des pluies, les femmes, munies du bâton à fouir, errent avec les enfants à travers la savane, et ramassent, arrachent, assomment, capturent, saisissent

[1] Cf. p. 101.

tout ce qui, sur leur route, est propre à servir à l'alimentation : graines, fruits, baies, racines, tubercules, œufs, petits animaux de toute sorte. A la fin de la journée, le couple se reconstitue autour du feu. Quand le manioc est mûr, et tant qu'il en reste, l'homme rapporte un fardeau de racines que la femme râpe et presse pour en faire des galettes (*uridaeu, a1*), et quand la chasse a été fructueuse, on cuit rapidement les morceaux de gibier en les enfouissant sous la cendre brûlante du feu familial. Mais pendant 7 mois de l'année, le manioc est rare; quant à la chasse, elle est soumise à la chance, dans ces sables stériles où un maigre gibier ne quitte guère l'ombre et les pâturages des têtes de sources, éloignées les unes des autres par des espaces considérables de brousse semi-désertique. Aussi, c'est sur la collecte féminine que, le plus souvent, la famille devra subsister. Bien souvent nous avons assisté à (et parfois partagé) ces dînettes de poupée diaboliques qui, pendant la moitié de l'année, sont, pour les Nambikwara, le seul espoir de ne pas mourir de faim. Quand l'homme, silencieux et fatigué, rentre au campement et jette à ses côtés un arc et des flèches qui n'ont pu être utilisés, on extrait de la hotte de la femme un extraordinaire et attendrissant assemblage : quelques fruits orangés du palmier buriti (*sêtêu, a1, hihûnde, b1, ?ole, c*), deux grosses mygales venimeuses (*kuruiu, a1, kitunde, b1*), de minuscules œufs de lézards et quelques-uns de ces animaux (*katitiriu, a1, nagôde, b1, talîne, c*), une chauve-souris, des petites noix de palmier *bacuiba* (*uvadeu, a1, lihuainde, b1*), ou *uaguassu* (*uadihiu, a1*), une poignée de sauterelles (*takadeu, a1, tagwe, b1, tadki, c*). Les fruits à pulpe sont écrasés avec les mains dans une calebasse remplie d'eau, les noix brisées à coups de pierre, les animaux et larves enfouis pêle-mêle dans la cendre; et l'on dévore gaîment ce repas, qui ne suffirait pas à calmer la faim d'un blanc, mais qui, ici, nourrit une famille. Les conversations s'animent et les rires fusent. Dans la savane obscure, les feux de campement brillent. Autour du foyer, seule protection contre le froid qui descend, derrière le frêle paravent de palmes et de branchages hâtivement planté dans le sol du côté où l'on redoute le vent ou la pluie; auprès des hottes emplies des pauvres objets qui constituent toute une richesse terrestre; couchés à même la terre qui s'étend alentour, seulement hantée par d'autres bandes également hostiles et craintives, les époux, étroitement enlacés, se perçoivent vraiment comme étant l'un pour l'autre le soutien, le réconfort, l'unique secours contre les difficultés quotidiennes et la mélancolie rêveuse qui, de temps à autre, envahit l'âme Nambikwara. Le visiteur qui, pour la première fois, campe dans la brousse avec les Indiens, se sent étreint à la fois d'angoisse et de pitié devant le spectacle de cette humanité si totalement démunie; écrasée, semble-t-il, contre le sol d'une terre hostile, par quelque implacable cataclysme; nue, grelottante auprès des feux vacillants. Il circule à tâtons parmi les broussailles, dans l'obscurité, évitant d'écraser dans sa marche une main, un bras, un torse, dont on devine les chauds reflets à la lueur des feux. Mais cette misère est animée de chuchotements et de rires.

Les couples s'étreignent comme dans la nostalgie d'une unité perdue; les caresses, à la fois tendres et candides, ne s'interrompent pas au passage de l'étranger. On devine chez tous une immense gentillesse, une profonde insouciance, une naïve et charmante satisfaction animale, et, émanant de tout cela, quelque chose comme l'expression la plus émouvante et la plus véridique de la tendresse humaine.

Il n'est donc pas surprenant que l'attitude des deux sexes l'un vis-à-vis de l'autre se caractérise par un intense intérêt. Cet intérêt est traduit dans certains cas par le vocabulaire; les Nambikwara n'ont en effet qu'un mot pour dire : *joli* et *jeune*, et un seul mot pour dire *laid* et *vieux* (*manjéne, jo'ene, b1*). Leurs jugements esthétiques sont donc essentiellement fondés sur des considérations humaines, et surtout sexuelles. Mais l'intérêt qui se manifeste entre les sexes est d'une nature complexe. Les hommes jugent les femmes globalement, comme étant un peu différentes d'eux-mêmes; ils les considèrent, selon les cas, avec convoitise, admiration ou tendresse; la confusion des termes signalée plus haut constitue en elle-même un permanent hommage. Mais il ne faut pas oublier que la forme d'adaptation économique réalisée par la division sexuelle du travail attribue aux femmes un rôle capital, puisque la vie familiale repose dans une très large mesure (peut-être la plus large) sur la collecte et le ramassage féminins, mais qu'elle représente un type d'activité inférieure; la vie idéale est conçue sur le modèle de la production agricole ou de la chasse; avoir beaucoup de manioc, et de grosses pièces de gibier, est un rêve constamment caressé, bien que rarement réalisé. Tandis que la provende aventureusement collectée est considérée comme — et est réellement — la misère quotidienne. Dans le folklore Nambikwara, l'expression «manger des sauterelles» (*tigare girige, b1*), récolte typiquement infantile et féminine, équivaut à peu près au français «manger de la vache enragée». Parallèlement, la femme est considérée comme un bien tendre et précieux, mais de second ordre. Le langage qui lui est habituel la sépare des hommes et l'unit aux enfants (de même qu'elle collabore avec les enfants pour les expéditions de cueillette et de ramassage). Nous verrons plus tard que cette assimilation se poursuit aussi dans la pensée métaphysique et que, sur ce dernier plan, la discrimination entre les sexes atteint des proportions dont les attitudes psychologiques ne sont qu'un indice dérisoire. Il est de bon ton, entre hommes, de parler des femmes avec une bienveillance apitoyée, et, dans les conversations entre groupes sexuels, de s'adresser à elles avec une indulgence un peu railleuse. Certains propos se retrouvent souvent dans la bouche des hommes parlant entre eux :

5. *yãtsapunatsãkhae jo'etsapunatsãkhae jowi dosapunatsãkhae.* (*b1*)
Les enfants ne savent pas, moi je suis, les femmes ne savent pas

et l'on évoque le groupe des *dosu* (*a1*, femme), leurs plaisanteries, leurs conversations, sur un ton de tendresse et de moquerie. Mais ce n'est là, bien entendu,

qu'une attitude sociale. Quand l'homme se retrouvera seul, avec sa femme, auprès du feu de campement, il écoutera ses plaintes, retiendra attentivement ses demandes, réclamera sa collaboration pour cent besognes; la hâblerie masculine disparaît, et fait place à la collaboration de deux partenaires conscients de la valeur essentielle qu'ils présentent l'un pour l'autre.

Cette ambiguïté de l'attitude masculine à l'égard des femmes a son exacte correspondance dans le comportement, également ambivalent, du groupe féminin. Les femmes se pensent comme collectivité, et le manifestent de plusieurs manières; d'abord elles ne parlent pas comme les hommes. Bien qu'il n'existe pas, à proprement parler, un langage sexuel, on trouve dans la conversation mille inflexions, nuances de prononciation, qui sont typiquement féminines. Les femmes articulent mal, et affectent une sorte de bredouillis qui rappelle la prononciation enfantine. Elles chuchotent au lieu de parler à voix haute, et émettent les sons avec un maniérisme et une préciosité affectés, qui sont d'ailleurs séduisants, quand ils ne sont pas exaspérants. Ainsi, dans le dialecte *a1*, elles donnent aux mots une désinence *—ju* au lieu de l'habituel *—su* ou *—tu*. Elles prononcent aussi *—kititu* le suffixe verbal qui est, pour les hommes, *—kodjutu* ou *—kodjuyu*.

Qu'elles soient parfaitement conscientes de cette particularité est hors de doute : lorsqu'on ne les comprend pas, et qu'on les prie de répéter, elles exagèrent malicieusement, et chaque fois davantage, le style qui leur est propre, et quand on s'arrête, découragé, elles rient et les plaisanteries fusent : elles ont réussi. Cela est surtout vrai des femmes jeunes, qui n'ont pas encore d'enfant, et des jeunes concubines. Les mères et les femmes âgées soulignent beaucoup moins ces différences, bien qu'on les retrouve aussi chez elles à l'occasion. En outre, les jeunes femmes aiment la société des enfants et des adolescents, jouent et plaisantent constamment avec eux; et ce sont les femmes qui prennent soin des animaux de cette façon si humaine propre à certains indiens sud-américains. Tout cela contribue à créer autour des femmes, à l'intérieur du groupe, une atmosphère spéciale, à la fois puérile, joyeuse, maniérée et provocante, à laquelle les hommes s'associent quand ils rentrent de la chasse ou des jardins.

Mais une toute autre attitude se manifeste chez les femmes lorsqu'elles ont à faire face à l'une quelconque des formes d'activité qui leur sont spécialement dévolues. Elles accomplissent leurs tâches artisanales avec habileté et patience, dans le campement solitaire, rangées en cercle et se tournant le dos, et, pendant les voyages, elles portent vaillamment la lourde hotte qui contient les provisions et les richesses de toute la famille et le faisceau de flèches, pendant que l'époux marche en tête avec l'arc et une ou deux flèches, l'épieu de bois ou le bâton à fouir, épiant la fuite d'un animal ou la rencontre d'un arbre à fruits. On les voit alors, le front ceint du bandeau de portage, le dos complètement recouvert par l'étroite hotte en forme de cloche renversée, marcher, pendant des kilomètres, de leur pas caractéris-

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

tique : les cuisses très serrées, les genoux joints, les chevilles écartées, les pieds en dedans; prenant appui sur le bord extérieur du pied et remuant les hanches, courageuses, énergiques et gaies. Nous donnons ci-contre un tableau de la répartition des tâches entre les sexes, mais ce partage doit être interprété de façon beaucoup moins stricte qu'il n'est d'usage pour des phénomènes de ce genre. Chez les Nambikwara, la collaboration conjugale est poussée si loin que beaucoup de travaux sont faits en commun. Plus exactement, si l'homme intervient rarement dans les besognes féminines, la femme par contre (et surtout les femmes supplémentaires en cas de polygamie) assiste sans cesse son époux. Nous avons indiqué par des croix entre parenthèses les cas où une tâche attribuée à un sexe est occasionnellement pratiquée par l'autre. C'est ainsi que, lorsqu'ils sont seuls ou entre eux, les hommes s'adonnent au portage, mais qu'ils pratiquent non pas frontal (*sensibilité, a1*) comme les femmes, mais espadual (*sensibilité, a1*), et soulageant fréquemment le fardeau en tirant la bande de la main gauche, ce qu'ils expliquent en disant qu'ils ont besoin de guetter les proies éventuelles; et ils ne négligent naturellement pas la collecte et le ramassage, lorsque l'occasion s'en présente ou que la nécessité s'en fait sentir. De même, les femmes aident normalement (surtout les femmes polygames) leurs maris dans leurs travaux de jardinage; l'un et l'autre sexe abattent le bois, mais les hommes pour la construction des huttes ou des abris, et pour la confection des arcs, flèches, épieux et massues, etc., et les femmes, plus spécialement, le bois de chauffage. Mais surtout, et lorsqu'elle n'est pas occupée par ses propres travaux, la femme aide son mari dans toutes les besognes qui lui sont propres. Elle tient ses outils, les lui tend quand il les demande, maintient l'extrémité de la flèche ou du bois de l'arc pendant qu'il les redresse ou les polit, ou commence à tordre la corde pendant qu'il termine le bois; elle fait les retouches et complète le travail. Cette collaboration fréquente, et toujours harmonieuse, donne l'impression que la division sexuelle du travail est beaucoup moins stricte, parmi les Nambikwara, qu'elle ne l'est habituellement, et parfois même on peut la croire inexistante. Il n'en est rien; mais la règle est constamment assouplie ou masquée par l'unité du couple.

Comme nous l'avons montré en étudiant le système de parenté, tous les contemporains (classificatoires) d'un individu appartenant à un sexe différent sont distribués par lui en époux ou épouses, et frères et sœurs. Nous n'avons trouvé aucun terme qui désigne le conjoint réel, et permette de le distinguer dans la conversation, du conjoint classificatoire. Un homme appelle son (ou ses) épouse(s), et ses cousines croisées, indifféremment, *sujéis*, comme la femme désigne son époux et ses cousins croisés par le même terme *sujéosu*. Mais, bien entendu, le comportement est très différent dans l'un et l'autre cas. On vient de voir à quel point les relations sont étroites et actives, entre mari et femme véritables. Vis-à-vis de ses femmes potentielles, un homme n'adopte aucune attitude particulière, et les relations ne semblent être ni

DIVISION SEXUELLE DU TRAVAIL.

	HOMME.	FEMME.
Portage	(+)	+
Agriculture	+	(+)
Chasse et pêche à l'arc	+	
Collecte du miel sauvage	+	
Collecte et ramassage de graines, fruits, racines, œufs, petits animaux, chasse au bâton à fouir	(+)	+
Découpage du gibier	(+)	+
Préparation du manioc (râpage, pressage et cuisson)		+
Préparation des boissons		+
Feu { Production du feu	+	
Feu { Transport du feu		+
Abattage du bois	+	+
Construction des huttes	+	
Construction des abris	+	+
Armes	+	
Outils : haches, couteaux, épieux, râpes, burins, forêts	+	

	HOMME.	FEMME.
Tissage	+	
Corderie	+	
Tressage et vannerie; travaux de paille	+	
Céramique		+
Préparation des calebasses		+
Mortiers		+
Récipients de feuilles ou d'écorce	+	
Perles, colliers, bracelets, pendants d'oreille		+
Parures de plumes et de fourrures	+	
Instruments de musique	+	
Balles	+	
Teintures végétales		+
Préparation des poisons et des tubes à poisons	+	
Collecte des plantes médicinales	+	+
Épouillage		+

plus ni moins intimes que celles qu'il entretient avec ses sœurs (la même remarque est vraie en ce qui concerne les relations d'une femme avec ses maris potentiels et ses frères). Dans ces deux cas, les relations se caractérisent par

une grande réserve, les individus impliqués ne prêtent pas grande attention les uns aux autres, et s'adressent rarement la parole, sauf pour des motifs précis. Mais il s'agit là d'une attitude globale, conditionnée par l'usage, bien plus que d'un ensemble de réactions conscientes et stylisées. Les indigènes semblent ne percevoir la nature spécifique de certaines relations interindividuelles que dans le cas des relations de compérage, comme on le verra plus loin. Néanmoins, la très grande liberté qui règne, entre un homme et sa femme d'une part, et ses beaux-frères de l'autre, contraste très fortement avec le caractère plus sérieux et plus terne de ses rapports avec ses sœurs ou ses épouses (théoriques). Cette réserve va jusqu'à prohiber, dans une certaine mesure, l'expression verbale de la relation d'époux potentiels entre les enfants. Au cours de nos interrogatoires, nous avons toujours trouvé difficile d'obtenir une réponse des intéressés eux-mêmes ou de leurs proches, lorsque leur relation était celle de conjoints [1]. Toutefois, il n'y a pas eu de cas où, après quelques paroles évasives, ou une affectation d'ignorance, ou une attitude de mauvaise volonté, la réponse exacte n'ait été donnée. Mais aussi légère que soit la prohibition (l'indication exacte semble plutôt considérée comme une inconvenance ou une indélicatesse), elle n'en est pas moins singulière, puisque les enfants classés comme conjoints potentiels se comportent souvent, et très ostensiblement, comme tels, sans que nul y voit d'objection.

A plusieurs reprises, nous avons fait allusion à la polygamie, dont on a analysé des exemples concrets à l'occasion de l'étude des systèmes de parenté. La polygamie représente, chez les Nambikwara, une tendance générale limitée par la quantité de femmes disponibles, et une prérogative de fait des chefs de groupe, shamans, ou personnalités marquantes. A ce point de vue, elle relève de l'étude du commandement, et nous devrons y revenir quand ce problème sera abordé. Chaque fois qu'elle existe, la polygamie ne se substitue pas au mariage monogamique, elle s'y surajoute, sans le supprimer. Un individu commence par épouser une seule femme, et c'est à l'occasion de son ascension sociale, ou d'heureuses occasions, qu'il est en mesure de lui adjoindre des compagnes. Mais une distinction très nette, bien qu'elle ne soit pas sanctionnée par le vocabulaire de parenté [2], s'établit entre elle et les nouvelles venues. La première femme s'occupe de ses enfants et vaque aux soins du ménage, râpant le manioc et cuisant les noix de *cumaru;* elle se livre aux besognes artisanales féminines; en un mot, elle conduit son activité dans les

[1] L'indigène interrogé répond qu'il «ne sait pas», ou change la conversation.

[2] Pour caractériser les fonctions de la première femme, un informateur (A6) a utilisé une fois le terme asi̯ésu aʔoṷerelisu (*a1*); pour désigner les femmes supplémentaires, un autre informateur (B1) a mentionné une forme nukənái̯tere, qui pourrait être un féminin de nukənái̯ore (*b1*), «compagnon», terme que le chef utilise pour désigner les hommes de son groupe. Mais le sens de ce terme reste douteux; et il n'a jamais été possible, au cours des interrogatoires de parenté, d'obtenir des époux polygames des termes discriminatifs pour chacune de leurs femmes.

limites de la division sexuelle du travail. Les autres femmes l'aident occasionnellement, mais leur tâche essentielle semble être d'assister leur époux dans ses travaux masculins. Ce sont des camarades et des collaboratrices, qui, sur le plan général de la division du travail, pourraient être plus justement classées avec les hommes. Leur aide apparaît comme un moyen, pour le chef de groupe, d'arriver plus facilement à remplir ses lourdes fonctions, et comme une compensation psychologique de ses responsabilités. Quand il part en expédition de chasse ou en reconnaissance, une de ses femmes polygames l'accompagne pour tenir ses flèches et rapporter dans la hotte le butin éventuel; quand il travaille au campement ou au village, c'est avec leur aide et leur compagnie. Alors que les hommes et les femmes ne se baignent pas en même temps, on voit parfois le mari et ses femmes polygames prendre ensemble un bain, prétexte à de grandes batailles dans l'eau, à des tours, et à d'innombrables plaisanteries. Le soir, il joue avec elles, soit amoureusement, se roulant dans le sable enlacés à deux, trois ou quatre, soit de façon puérile : par exemple *A1*, *a3* et *a4*, étendus sur le dos, de manière à dessiner sur le sol une étoile à trois branches, lèvent leurs pieds en l'air et se les heurtent mutuellement, plante des pieds contre plante des pieds, sur un rythme régulier (ce jeu est décrit par le terme *eridnájkititu*, *a1*).

L'union polygame se présente ainsi comme une superposition d'une forme pluraliste de camaraderie amoureuse au mariage monogame, et en même temps, nous y insistons, comme un attribut du commandement doté d'une valeur fonctionnelle, tant au point de vue psychologique qu'au point de vue économique. Les femmes vivent habituellement en très bonne intelligence, et bien que la première femme ait un rôle qui puisse sembler parfois ingrat, travaillant pendant qu'elle entend à ses côté les éclats de rire de son mari et de ses petites amoureuses, et assiste même parfois, à de plus tendres ébats, elle ne manifeste aucune aigreur ni jalousie. Cette distribution des rôles n'est, en effet, ni immuable ni rigoureuse, et, à l'occasion, bien que plus rarement, le mari et sa première femme joueront aussi, au bain ou près du feu de camp; elle n'est en aucune façon exclue de la vie gaie. De plus, sa moindre participation aux relations de camaraderie amoureuse est compensée par une plus grande respectabilité et une certaine autorité sur ses jeunes compagnes. Il ne faut pas oublier (et nous l'avons montré dans l'étude du système de parenté) que le mariage polygame présente un double aspect : mariage d'un homme avec une *femme* et des «*filles*» de celle-ci, ou avec une femme et des *sœurs* de celle-ci. La situation respective de *A1*, *a2*, *a3* et *a4* réalise les deux situations à la fois puisque, au moins dans l'un des cas (avec *a4*), c'est le second mariage oblique au sein de la même lignée. Comme exemple du premier type, on a les mariages de *A32* et de *A56*; pour le second type, on se réfèrera aussi au mariage de *C20* [1].

[1] *Cf. plus haut*, p. 53.

Les femmes polygames appartiennent donc, en règle générale, à une génération cadette; la première femme les traite du nom de « filles » ou de « petites sœurs », et elles se conduisent comme telles. Une forme de groupement spontané que l'on trouve fréquemment réalisée est la réunion des filles du mari (de sa première femme) et de ses jeunes femmes (polygames); elles forment une sorte de société enfantine gaie et oisive, mais aussi plus ou moins subordonnée. Nous avons rencontré des ménages comprenant deux (*A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20*), trois (*A1,*) et cinq (*A32*) femmes. Il ne semble pas que le nombre de femmes soit proportionnel à l'importance sociale du mari (bien que l'union polygame elle-même soit conditionnée par celle-ci), mais plutôt de l'occasion.

LA VIE SEXUELLE.

Nous commencerons par donner quelques indications sur les activités organiques.

Tousser, éternuer, cracher, se moucher, roter, péter, constituent autant d'opérations qui ne sont soumises à aucune étiquette, et que le vocabulaire ne distingue pas toujours clairement (ainsi : *tolútige, b1,* tousser, et *tolútiore, b2,* éternuer; *kaʃite, c,* éternuer, et *kaʃipe, c,* cracher; *tarnikititu, a1,* péter — déféquer). Tous ces besoins sont satisfaits publiquement, sans précaution, geste rituel ou formule, tant de la part de l'exécutant que de celle des spectateurs. On n'y prête pas attention, et tout porte à croire que les termes employés pour les désigner, et si aisément interchangeables, se réfèrent à des formes plus générales de comportement.

Pour se moucher, on prend des deux mains une brindille ou une tige d'herbe sèche, on la plie en deux, et on pince le nez dans ce casse-noix improvisé tout en soufflant fortement; le mucus est recueilli en raclant l'instrument sous les narines, et on jette le tout ensemble après l'avoir plongé dans le sable pour le sécher. Les hommes urinent debout ou en marche; les femmes s'accroupissent, légèrement penchées en avant, et se saupoudrent de sable pour se sécher. Les enfants procèdent comme les adultes de leur sexe, sauf que les petites filles urinent souvent debout et jambes écartées. Les hommes vont déféquer seuls dans la brousse avoisinant le campement, les femmes font de même, ou vont par groupe; c'est dans de telles occasions qu'on perçoit la réalité du groupe formé par les fillettes et les femmes secondaires des mariages polygames. Ainsi, *a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, a20* ont l'habitude de s'isoler par 2, 3 ou 4 à la fois. On défèque en position accroupie, dans un trou sommairement creusé dans le sable avec les deux mains, ou directement sur le sol. On utilise un petit branchage pour se nettoyer, et on se sèche avec du sable.

Les femmes ne sont contraintes à l'isolement qu'au moment de leurs pre-

mières règles [1]. Par la suite, elles sont seulement astreintes à certaines prohibitions alimentaires et sexuelles :

6. *jayoódage edédé edédé edédé káno káno káno káno káno kanahókyüire tamíndige.* (*b1*)
La femme a ses règles chaque deux lunes (?), alors elle attend un jour, un jour, un jour, un jour, un jour, le lendemain elle peut manger, copuler.

L'interdiction de manger pendant 5 jours n'est pas rigoureuse, et porte plutôt sur certains types d'aliments. En outre, une femme ne peut se baigner pendant ses règles, comme c'est d'ailleurs, le cas général pour les deux sexes en période de marge; on va à la rivière puiser de l'eau dans une calebasse, et on se la verse sur le corps en s'accroupissant. Autrement, la femme vaque à toutes ses occupations habituelles. Aucune précaution n'est prise contre l'écoulement sanguin, et comme on n'en note aucune trace, on peut supposer qu'il est fort réduit [2].

Les Nambikwara connaissent très clairement la relation entre les rapports sexuels et la conception. Il est fréquent qu'un indigène précise qu'une relation de paternité est consanguine, et non classificatoire, en formant un anneau avec le pouce et l'index de la main gauche, dans lequel il introduit l'index de la main droite qu'il fait glisser en arrière et en avant. Après cette démonstration, il indique l'enfant en disant : *tayétte, tayétte,* « mon enfant, mon enfant » [3]. L'étymologie souligne le lien entre les deux phénomènes : dans le dialecte oriental, « copuler » se dit *yúnikadjutu* et, dans les dialectes central et méridional, *tamíndige, tuyírare.* Ces trois termes se rattachent aux formes respec-

[1] Cf. *plus bas,* p. 109.

[2] Chez les Bororo, au contraire, on voit très bien quelles femmes sont indisposées. Mais les remarques ci-dessus semblent l'indice d'un état de choses assez général chez les indiens sud-américains. Depuis le XVIe siècle, les voyageurs ont été souvent frappés par l'insignifiance des règles des femmes indigènes. Ainsi : « En l'espace d'environ un an que nous demeurasmes en ce pays-là, fréquentans ordinairement parmi eux, nous n'avons iamais veu les femmes avoir leurs ordes fleurs » (J. DE LÉRY, *Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil,* éd. Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, t. II, ch. 17, p. 92); et plus récemment : « ninguem nota quando ellas atravessam certos periodos malindrosos peculiares a seu sexo » (TOCANTINS, *Estudos sobre os Mundurucus,* Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, t. XL, 1877, p. 113). D'autre part, le texte qui vient d'être cité peut être interprété de deux façons différentes : l'inflexion vocale de l'informateur suggérait que l'expression *edédé edédé edédé* signifiait « (cette) lune (oui), (cette) lune (non), (et cette) lune (à nouveau) », voulant dire « toutes les deux lunes », et non — comme il est aussi grammaticalement possible — « lune, lune, lune », soit « chaque lune ». Le premier sens constituerait une sorte de scandale physiologique, et reste pourtant le plus probable. Il se pourrait, en effet que les indispositions périodiques fussent moins importantes et plus irrégulières chez les femmes sud-américaines que ce n'est le cas chez les blanches.

[3] De la même observation faite par Roquette Pinto (l. c., p. 255) plus de vingt ans auparavant, on peut conclure que ce geste ne constitue pas une improvisation individuelle, mais une conduite sociale stylisée.

tives pour «père» : *ahu̯ínosu* (*nosu* = homme, *a1*), *tamínde, u̯áire*. Par contre, dans le dialecte septentrional, on a : «copuler», *iru̯i̯a, i̯uúreli*, tandis que «père» se dit *u̯ái̯nko;* mais on se réfère plutôt aux relations sexuelles par le terme *ṣ́ikiṣ́ikíṣ́i*, dont la valeur évocative est renforcée par une gesticulation appropriée. Ce terme correspond, dans les autres dialectes, aux composés *u̯inikuṣ́iṣ́u* (*a1*), *iekei̯akátige* (*b1*), «copuler avec des mouvements rythmés». De même, dans le dialecte occidental, «copuler» se dit : *ái̯nṣ́ore*, alors que la démonstration évoquée au début de ce paragraphe s'aide du terme *niníṣ́ore*.

Nous n'avons pu élucider clairement la théorie indigène de la conception (concevoir : *u̯etnédige, b1;* de *u̯étte*, enfant). Elle implique, semble-t-il, que le sperme se coagule dans la matrice et forme progressivement l'enfant. L'homme jouerait seul un rôle positif, tandis que la femme serait réduite à celui de simple réceptacle. Pourtant, la femme est rendue responsable de la stérilité, que celle-ci soit attribuée à une condition particulière, ou à l'âge.

Il est difficile de dire si les nombreuses prohibitions rattachées aux relations sexuelles ont pour but conscient d'assurer des conditions favorables à la génération, ou si elles dépendent de croyances plus lointaines. La première hypothèse n'est guère vraisemblable, car les Nambikwara sont peu soucieux d'avoir des enfants. La quête alimentaire est trop dure, trop difficile, pour permettre le soin de plusieurs enfants à la fois, surtout quand ils sont encore incapables de suffire à leur subsistance; et surtout, pendant la période nomade, une femme ne peut porter, en plus de la lourde hotte, qu'un seul nourrisson. Aussi les premiers pas de l'enfant sont-ils impatiemment attendus. Quoi qu'il en soit, plusieurs prohibitions ont, pour résultat certain, de limiter l'activité sexuelle. Outre la prohibition de l'inceste[1], il n'est pas convenable de copuler «les nuits à lune» *kanaroʔeténdige* (*b1*); inversement, les nuits sans lune sont particulièrement conseillées, ainsi que les périodes pluvieuses. En 1938, les pluies furent en retard, et la première chute survint en septembre, après 6 mois de sécheresse totale. L'événement, si longtemps attendu, fut aussitôt célébré par *B1*, qui n'attendit même pas la nuit pour avoir des rapports sexuels avec sa plus jeune femme *b2*. Pourtant les rapports diurnes sont rares, et l'acte fut accompli plus ostensiblement que d'habitude, derrière les frêles palmes d'un abri. C'est immédiatement après que *B1* fournit un commentaire spontané sur les prohibitions météorologiques. Les rapports sexuels sont aussi — au moins théoriquement — interdits entre conjoint

[1] La prohibition de l'inceste se formule comme suit :

(7) tu̯aáde takenaáde tamíndige manhatte (*b1*)
sœur et frère copuler c'est mal

mais il ne semble pas que les manquements soient punis autrement que par la désapprobation collective. Une attitude très équivoque vis-à-vis d'un couple (A71 et a 72) et l'usage, à leur égard, de termes de parenté communiqués avec répugnance, et manifestement contradictoires avec le système, donne à croire qu'il pouvait s'agir de cousins parallèles. Nous n'avons pas recueilli de cas certain d'inceste entre consanguins.

depuis la naissance de l'enfant jusqu'au moment où il peut marcher; on hâte cet événement en frottant ses jambes avec le suc d'une plante non identifiée (*toṷiʔíri, c*) «pour qu'il marche vite, pour qu'on en fasse un autre»[1]; mais, par «un autre», on entend sans doute les rapports sexuels plutôt que leur résultat, rarement bienvenu : les femmes Nambikwara ont souvent recours à l'avortement, et connaissent un grand nombre de plantes et de racines à cet usage. Nous n'avons pu en obtenir de spécimen.

L'attitude Nambikwara envers les choses de l'amour peut se résumer dans leur formule : *tamíndige mṓndage*, traduite littéralement, sinon élégamment : «Faire l'amour, c'est bon.» Nous avons déjà noté l'atmosphère érotique qui imprègne la vie quotidienne. Les affaires amoureuses retiennent au plus haut point l'intérêt et la curiosité indigènes; on est avide de conversation sur ces sujets, et les remarques échangées au campement sont remplies d'allusions et de sous-entendus. Pourtant, les rapports sexuels sont rares, et les prohibitions qui les limitent n'expliquent cet état de choses que partiellement. Le véritable responsable semble être plutôt le tempérament indigène. Au cours des jeux amoureux auxquels les couples se livrent si volontiers et si publiquement, et qui sont souvent très poussés, nous n'avons jamais pu noter un début d'érection. Le plaisir recherché semble être moins d'ordre physique que ludique et sentimental. Les rapports sexuels ont habituellement lieu la nuit, et parfois non loin des feux du campement; plus souvent, les partenaires s'éloignent à une centaine de mètres, dans la brousse avoisinante. Ce départ est tout de suite remarqué, et porte l'assistance à la plus vive jubilation; on échange des commentaires, on lance des plaisanteries, et même les jeunes enfants partagent une excitation dont ils connaissent fort bien le motif. Parfois même, un petit groupe d'hommes, de jeunes femmes et d'enfants, se lancent à la poursuite du couple et guettent à travers les branchages les détails de l'opération, chuchotant entre eux et étouffant leurs rires. Les principaux acteurs n'apprécient nullement ce manège dont il vaut mieux, cependant, prendre son parti, comme aussi supporter les taquineries et les moqueries qui salueront le retour au campement. Il arrive aussi qu'un deuxième couple suive l'exemple du premier et recherche, à son tour, l'isolement de la brousse. Les indigènes connaissent, et utilisent, deux positions pour le coït; nous n'avons pu savoir si elles sont indifféremment pratiquées ou si le choix dépend d'une règle. Quoi qu'il en soit, en plus de la position postérieure (*toā́telosu, a1; inkəlékenore, b1* = copuler par derrière) si fréquente en Amérique du Sud, une autre position (*ṷataʔā́dige, b1*) peut être décrite de la façon suivante : la femme sur le dos, l'homme lui faisant face, la jambe droite seulement entre les jambes de la femme et la jambe gauche au dehors, si bien que les deux corps superposés affectent la forme général d'un X.

[1] La même coutume existait chez les anciens Tupi. Cf. Cardim, *Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil*, n. éd., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

PARENTS ET ENFANTS.

Les Nambikwara ont peu d'enfants; les couples sans enfant ne sont pas rares, 1 ou 2 enfants semble être un chiffre normal, et il est exceptionnel d'en rencontrer plus de 3 dans un ménage. Les prohibitions sexuelles, et les conditions économiques qui les fondent et qui suscitent aussi le recours à l'avortement, expliquent cette situation. Il semble aussi que les Nambikwara aient eu jadis l'habitude d'assommer à coup de bâton les enfants dont la mère mourrait pendant l'allaitement. D'après les informateurs, cette pratique serait aujourd'hui abandonnée.

La mère donne le sein couchée sur le flanc et l'enfant allongé contre elle; ces repas n'ont pas d'heure fixe : l'enfant tête quand il veut et autant qu'il veut. Le sevrage prend place vers la fin de la première année, mais jusqu'à 2 ou 3 ans, l'enfant retourne, de temps à autre, au sein maternel. Quand un enfant excrète au site du campement ou dans la hutte, le père ou la mère enterre soigneusement l'ordure en creusant sur place un petit trou, vite rempli de sable sec. On fait très attention à ne pas laisser les enfants souiller le campement et les objets déposés auprès d'eux :

8. *u̯érisekihíndage numí ʂekəlaʝene élamnihírə̨ (b1)*
l'enfant a uriné ! le cuir ! il est sale ! verse (l'urine) !

Plus tard, quand l'enfant peut s'isoler, mais pas encore se nettoyer lui-même, on le voit revenir à quatre pattes vers sa mère, et rester dans cette position pendant qu'elle applique le petit bâton de la façon qui a été décrite précédemment.

Tous les enfants semblent porter à la naissance une tache pigmentaire à laquelle ne se rapporte aucune croyance particulière. Les informateurs mentionnent seulement le phénomène, avec cette attitude positive et détachée, si frappante de leur part :

9. *u̯itte ʂédeʂedédnege tóodayige ká ká ká u̯udérige (b1)*
les enfants marqués de vert naissent, un jour, un jour, un jour, ça disparaît.

La disparition de la tache semble, en effet, très rapide.

On doit, naturellement, distinguer parenté véritable et parenté classificatoire. Vis-à-vis de ses «pères» et «mères» classificatoires, l'enfant n'adopte aucune conduite particulière; il les traite comme les autres adultes du groupe. Souvent d'ailleurs, un individu appelle père ou mère un garçon ou une fillette beaucoup plus jeune que lui (ainsi *a19* et *a20* sont «mères» de *A6* et *A24*). Quand un enfant orphelin vient à être recueilli par un oncle ou une tante parallèle, les parents classificatoires prennent la place des parents véritables, et la conduite change en conséquence. En général, les indigènes n'emploient

pas de terme pour distinguer les parents et enfants classificatoires des consanguins. Quand on sollicite une précision, ils ajoutent au terme pour fils ou fille (*aʔkiraru, aʔkineru*), dont la connotation semble être ainsi d'abord sociale, le mot *taṷéttu* (*a1*), *taṷétte* (*b1*) : «mon enfant», «mon petit» dont l'acception physiologique ressort bien du fait que le mot est aussi employé pour désigner les petits des animaux, les autres étant réservés aux relations de parenté dans la famille humaine.

Les Nambikwara éprouvent pour leurs enfants, et manifestent à leur égard, une très vive affection, et ils sont payés de retour. Mais ces sentiments, aussi réels et profonds qu'ils soient, sont parfois masqués derrière la nervosité et l'instabilité si caractéristiques de la conduite indigène. Aussi, comme les exemples suivants le montreront, on risque de se laisser tromper par une indifférence apparente, et même une rudesse momentanée :

Le petit *A16* souffre d'indigestion; il a mal à la tête, vomit, passe la moitié du temps à geindre et l'autre à dormir : il est malade (*intikátu, a1*), mais personne, parents compris, ne lui prête la moindre attention, et on le laisse seul un jour entier. Quand vient le soir, pourtant, sa mère lui donne de tendres soins, l'épouille doucement pendant qu'il dort, fait signe aux autres de ne pas s'approcher, et lui ménage une sorte de berceau entre ses bras.

Une jeune mère, *c21*, joue avec son bébé en lui donnant de petites claques sur le dos; le bébé se met à rire, et elle s'excite tellement au jeu qu'elle le frappe de plus en plus fort, jusqu'à le faire pleurer. Alors elle s'arrête et le console.

Nous avons vu la petite orpheline *a9*, que tout le monde aime, littéralement piétinée pendant une danse : elle était tombée sans que personne y prête attention, dans l'excitation générale de la fête. D'autre part, quand ils sont contrariés, les enfants frappent volontiers leur mère, et celle-ci ne s'y oppose pas. Les enfants ne sont jamais punis, et nous n'avons jamais vu battre l'un d'eux, ni même en esquisser le geste, sauf par plaisanterie. Parfois, un enfant pleure[1] parce qu'il s'est fait mal, s'est disputé ou a faim,

10. *ṷitsotnanịena narúdneraịena indótenaịena ũnʔeere* (*b1*)
l'enfant pleure, il a soif, il a faim, il veut manger,

ou parce qu'il ne veut pas se laisser épouiller. Mais ce dernier cas est rare, car l'épouillage semble charmer le patient autant qu'il amuse l'opérateur; on le tient aussi pour une marque d'intérêt et d'affection. Quand il veut se faire épouiller, l'enfant — ou le mari — pose sa tête sur les genoux de la femme, en présentant successivement les deux côtés de la tête. L'opératrice procède en divisant la chevelure par raies ou en regardant les mèches par transparence. Le poux attrapé est aussitôt croqué. L'enfant qui pleure est vite consolé par

[1] Les larmes d'enfant ne sont pas appelées du même nom que celles versées rituellement par les adultes au cours d'un deuil. Dans le premier cas : pleurer, náịere, nádige; dans le second : pleurer, doriágeịere (*b1*).

un membre de sa famille, ou par un enfant plus âgé. En général, ils ont peu sujet de se plaindre. Très choyés, rarement grondés, jamais battus, ils vivent libres, inutiles et oisifs.

Aussi le spectacle de la mère et de son enfant est-il habituellement plein de gaîté et de fraîcheur. La mère tend un objet au bébé à travers la paille de l'abri et le retire au moment où ce dernier croit l'attraper :

11. *kalai̯odnē daē i̯oʔdnoherē* (*b1*)
Prends par devant ! Prends par derrière !

Ou bien, au milieu de grands éclats de rires, elle prend l'enfant et fait mine de le précipiter sur le sol :

12. *ãmdīm nóm tebú* *nihu̯i* (*b1*)
[La mère] « Je vais te jeter ! » [L'enfant] « Je ne veux pas ! »

Réciproquement, les enfants entourent leur mère d'une tendresse exigeante et souvent inquiète. Au moment de quitter le groupe *b1*, nous avons proposé en plaisanterie à une fillette (*b5*) de l'emmener avec nous ; sa réponse a été très caractéristique ; et en même temps semblable à celle qu'auraient fait beaucoup d'enfants d'autres contrées dans des circonstances analogues :

13. *hódni̯ē odengenáhi̯en ṣu̯adaʔien t[illegible]ãhnãdai̯ē.* (*b1*)
Non ! Je ne veux pas aller ! [illegible] peur ! Maman pleurerait !

Et une autre observation met aussi en évidence l'affection toujours en éveil de l'enfant : un père (*C20*) rapporte du miel sauvage et commence par en donner à son fils (*C22*), puis seulement à sa femme (*c21*) ; l'enfant, inquiet, guette les mouvements de son père pour voir si sa mère recevra sa part.

Pendant l'état de marge qui précède le sevrage, l'enfant vit dans une aussi grande intimité vis-à-vis de son père que de sa mère. Comme celle-ci, le père prend soin de lui, le tient dans ses bras, enfouit ses excréments quand c'est nécessaire, etc. Plus tard, l'enfant vit plus près de sa mère. Elle le porte en voyage jusqu'à ce qu'il puisse marcher, et plus tard il marche à ses côtés. Il reste avec elle au campement ou au village, pendant que son père va chasser. Néanmoins, les modalités des relations dépendent d'abord du sexe de l'enfant. Un père manifeste plus d'intérêt vis-à-vis de son fils que de sa fille, puisqu'il doit lui enseigner les techniques et les occupations masculines ; et la même chose est vraie des rapports d'une mère et de sa fille. Mais dans l'ensemble, les relations du père avec ses enfants témoignent de la même tendresse et de la même sollicitude que nous avons soulignées précédemment. Le père joue avec son enfant en le portant sur l'épaule (*alaku̯iriginare, b1*) ; il confectionne des armes à la mesure des petits bras de l'enfant :

14. *miínde tau̯irétnore ikəláagetire* (*b1*)
Le père pour l'enfant fait des flèches.

D'un jeune garçon orphelin, presque adolescent, on nous a dit un jour qu'« il ne va pas chasser, parce qu'il n'a pas de père pour lui faire un arc ». Dans certains cas, le père doit étendre ses soins et, dans une certaine mesure, se substituer à la femme absente ; nous avons déjà cité le cas des 2 fillettes *a8* et *a9* dont la belle-mère (*a7*) refuse de s'occuper ; leur père (*A6*) doit alors assumer beaucoup de menues fonctions. Au moment de partir en voyage, c'est lui qui prépare le panier de l'aînée, mesure sur elle la longueur du bandeau d'écorce, et le raccourcit grâce à l'extrémité libre qu'il fixe en la passant plusieurs fois à travers les trous de la vannerie. C'est également le père qui raconte aux enfants les contes traditionnels ; et, en vue d'abréger et de rendre plus intelligible ces narrations souvent longues et redondantes, il s'applique à les transposer dans un style spécialement adapté aux petits. Ainsi, la version enfantine du conte du Deluge [1] est la suivante :

15. *wi'itento dohonensiwam kinaram hépatnĕ at'itene wejdenkjathattene yaindonle.* (*b1*)
Tout le monde était mort ! Il n'y avait plus personne ! Plus d'homme ! Tous étaient morts ! Plus rien !

Des relations d'une nature particulière existent, dans le cas de mariage polygame, entre les enfants du premier lit et leurs jeunes belles-mères. Bien que celles-ci reçoivent d'eux le nom de « mère » ou de « sœur de la mère », elles vivent avec eux, surtout avec les filles, dans un état de camaraderie qui s'étend, d'ailleurs, à tous les enfants du groupe. Nous avons déjà insisté sur cette société des fillettes et des jeunes femmes, qui prennent un bain collectif, vont déféquer par groupe, fument ensemble, plaisantent et se livrent à des jeux assez poussés, tels que se cracher de grands jets de salive, à tour de rôle, à la figure. Autre exemple : *a3* et *a4* jouent avec leur belle-fille *a5* ; l'une d'elles l'empoigne et la jette au sol avec tant de violence que la tête sonne contre le sol et que la petite se met à hurler. Les deux jeunes femmes la couvrent de quolibets. Enfin, la plus jeune va l'arracher du sol presque par force et la ramène sans ménagement, comme un paquet, à sa mère. Ces relations sont étroites, appréciées, mais sans courtoisie, comme celles que peuvent avoir de jeunes garçons dans notre société. Elles impliquent rarement des services ou des attentions. Ainsi, *A1* et ses femmes polygames *a3* et *a4* se partagent un morceau de gibier. *a5* en demande une part à *a4* et celle-ci lui répond : « Que ton père te donne le sien. » Ces relations entraînent une conséquence assez curieuse ; c'est que les petites filles deviennent plus rapidement indépendantes que les garçons. Elles suivent les jeunes femmes, participent à leur activité, tandis que les garçons, abandonnés à eux-mêmes, tentent timidement de s'agglomérer entre eux, mais sans grand succès, et restent plus volontiers, au moins dans la première enfance, aux côtés de leur mère.

[1] *Voir plus loin*, p. 120, la version complète de ce conte.

Si l'on considère maintenant les relations des *enfants entre eux*, leur caractère le plus frappant est l'absence de jeux. Dans certains groupes (central et méridional), les enfants confectionnent, d'ailleurs rarement, de petits objets de paille enroulée ou tressée, mais généralement ils ne connaissent d'autre distraction que les luttes ou les tours qu'ils se jouent mutuellement, et mènent une existence calquée sur celle des adultes. En fait, ils accompagnent la journée normale des femmes : le matin, préparation du manioc, puis des noix de *cumaru*, le bain dès qu'il commence à faire chaud; quand le soleil est très haut, filage à l'ombre et, avant la nuit, ramassage du bois pour le feu. De même, les fillettes apprennent à filer, traînent, rient et dorment; les garçonnets ne commencent à jouer avec de petits arcs et à s'initier aux travaux masculins que beaucoup plus tard (à 8 ou 10 ans). Mais les uns et les autres prennent très rapidement conscience du problème fondamental et parfois tragique de la vie Nambikwara, celui de la nourriture, et du rôle actif qu'on attend d'eux. Ils participent aux expéditions de cueillette et de ramassage avec beaucoup d'excitation. En période de disette, il n'est pas rare de les voir chercher, autour du campement, leur nourriture individuelle, s'exerçant à déterrer des racines, ou marchant dans l'herbe sur la pointe des pieds, un grand rameau effeuillé à la main, pour assommer des sauterelles. Les fillettes savent quelle part importante est dévolue aux femmes, dans la vie économique de la tribu, et sont impatientes de s'en rendre dignes. Ainsi, nous rencontrons une petite fille (*b5*) qui promène tendrement un chiot dans le bandeau de portage que sa mère utilise pour sa petite sœur, et nous faisons la remarque :

16. *ɣaiɲyitte yikɔrage*
Le bébé-chien on caresse?

Sa mère me répond :

ɣeikyátnore uainɔetuikɔdeʔena táitniene
La petite fille le chien-bébé caresse [parce qu'elle veut] l'élever.

ce à quoi la fillette ajoute avec gravité :

vóndage ʃuténturu kaiáno kaián kaián hóte kaiánde ʃutentere kyaikɔno (*b1*).
Quand je serai grande, j'assommerai le caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, le singe, les caetetus, j'assommerai quand il aboiera [le chien].

Elle fait d'ailleurs une faute de grammaire que le père souligne en riant : il aurait fallu dire *tilódage*, « quand je serai grande », au lieu du masculin qu'elle a employé. L'erreur est intéressante, placée dans le contexte, qui illustre manifestement un désir féminin d'élever les activités économiques spéciales à ce sexe au niveau de celles qui sont le privilège des hommes. Comme le sens exact de *ʃuténtere* est « tuer en assommant avec une massue ou un bâton » (ici, le bâton à fouir), l'informatrice tente inconsciemment d'identifier

la collecte et le ramassage féminins (qui ne peuvent viser qu'à la capture de petits animaux) avec la chasse masculine, armée de l'arc et des flèches.

Les relations entre frères et sœurs n'ont donné lieu à aucune observation particulière. Dans le groupe central et méridional, on rencontre une expression spéciale pour désigner le frère du même sexe, *nlaóre*, «l'autre»; ce terme ne s'applique pas seulement aux relations de parenté, mais désigne les objets appartenant à un même type. Ainsi les 5 ou 6 poteaux plantés obliquement et rayonnant à partir du centre, et qui soutiennent la première charpente de la hutte sont dits *indeléaore;* de même, les tuyaux des sifflets doubles (*kalṓde*) ou triples (*lutɔndi̯one*). Les groupes amis se disent être aussi «frères» [1], et dans les discussions entre adversaires on relève l'exclamation :

17. *Kakótj̯ane tákɔnaátj̯ane* (*b1*).
Méchant! Tu n'es plus mon frère!

ce qui indique que le terme «frère» a chez les Nambikwara le même sens élargi qu'il possède dans notre vocabulaire. Mais au sein de la société infantile, de nombreuses attitudes s'esquissent qui préparent ou avancent les relations ultérieures. Le bébé orphelin *a9* se trouve presque toute la journée entre les mains de sa jeune sœur *a8* (l'une a 2 à 3 ans, l'autre 6 à 7); elle s'occupe d'elle, la porte, la fait manger. *a19* et *a20* (qui sont des «mères») agissent vis-à-vis des précédentes comme des aînées, de façon bien plus marquée que ne le comporterait la véritable différence d'âge : en effet, *a8* et *a20* sont contemporaines; *a19*, l'aînée, casse pour sa sœur *a20* des noix de *bacaiuva*, et les mange en même temps qu'elle. Quand elles sont satisfaites, elles donnent le reste à *a8*, qui les casse, à son tour, pour sa petite sœur.

Les relations entre enfants se donnant les noms d'*époux* et d'*épouse* sont plus obscures, et nous n'avons pu parvenir à nous en faire une conception claire. Nous avons signalé qu'il existe une prohibition légère frappant l'expression de cette relation de parenté. Toutefois, en général, les jeunes «époux» et «épouses» ne manifestent l'un vis-à-vis de l'autre aucun comportement spécial, positif ou négatif. Cependant, nous avons rencontré des cas indiscutables où les jeunes conjoints potentiels se conduisent comme des conjoints véritables. Ils quittent le soir le foyer familial, et transportent des tisons pour allumer leur feu particulier dans un coin du campement. Les témoins ne prêtent guère attention à cette démarche. Par exemple, quelqu'un fera la remarque :

18. *u̯ítnau̯ri u̯íraj̯re tj̯áahete u̯íraj̯ena noréteu̯ii etlítere* (*b1*).
Les enfants du feu prennent pour faire le feu, ils soufflent pour faire des flammes.

[1] *Voir* p. 92.
[2]

et le jeune « époux » dit à sa femme potentielle :

19. *tado'takɨi nikɨtɨ'terayi et'ere aiturɨyi yatadahaki* (*b1*)
Penche-toi! Ramasse le feu, rapporte! Cherche [davantage]. Mets-le là!

Après quoi ils s'installent tous deux auprès de leur feu et se livrent, dans la mesure de leurs moyens, à tous les travaux érotiques qu'ils ont vu leurs aînés pratiquer. L'incident est accueilli par les adultes avec indifférence, ou, au plus, avec des sourires amusés : *yetnó tamiɨyere*, « ce sont des enfants qui ont de petites relations sexuelles », dit-on en passant. Nous n'avons vérifié ces pratiques que de façon occasionnelle, chez de jeunes enfants (5 à 7 ans). Elles semblent absentes chez ceux qui sont plus proches de la puberté, mais, dans ce dernier cas, une lacune apparaît dans nos observations, due à l'insuffisance de sujets de comparaison.

Vis-à-vis de l'étranger, l'attitude des enfants est assez variable. Certains manifestent pendant longtemps la crainte et l'hostilité :

20. *tanétte ɨiina ja'irina uɨena* (*b1*)
Mon enfant est effrayé, il a honte, il ne bouge pas.

parfois expliquées par un surprenant détail extérieur :

herákolɨi iɨiena (*b1*)
des lunettes il a peur.

D'autres (ou les mêmes après quelques jours ou semaines d'acclimatation) se montrent curieux, amicaux, éventuellement mystificateurs; ainsi *b5*, qui réclame qu'on applique à l'ethnologue le traitement qu'on fait subir au gibier pour le débarrasser de ses poils :

21. *n'ɨuyenágheē n'uyéeguedne* (*b1*)
Sa barbe au feu! Griller sa barbe!

En général, ils se montrent bons compagnons, enthousiastes, et inlassablement avides des jeux qu'on leur révèle; en échange, informateurs très complaisants dès qu'on s'en est fait des amis. Presque toutes les informations que nous avons pu recueillir sur les noms propres proviennent d'eux.

Ce chapitre ne pourrait se terminer sans présenter quelques observations relatives aux *animaux domestiques*. Non seulement, en effet, les enfants vivent en relation très intime avec les animaux, mais ces derniers sont traités — au moins extérieurement — dans la famille comme de véritables enfants; nous voulons dire qu'ils participent à l'alimentation du groupe, bénéficient des mêmes manifestations de tendresse ou d'intérêt — épouillage, jeux, conversation, caresses — que les êtres humains; en toute chose, leur traitement est

curieusement semblable. Les Nambikwara ont de nombreux animaux domestiques : des chiens d'abord, et des coqs et poules, qui descendent les uns et les autres de ceux qui ont été introduits dans leur région par la Commission Rondon; des singes, des perroquets, des oiseaux de diverses espèces, et, éventuellement, des *caetetu*, des *coati* (Nasua sp.), des *jaguatirica*. Seul le chien semble avoir acquis un rôle occasionnellement utilitaire auprès des femmes, pour la chasse au bâton à fouir (cf. cit. n° 16); les hommes ne s'en servent jamais pour la chasse à l'arc. Les autres animaux sont élevés dans un but d'agrément. On ne les mange pas, et on ne consomme pas les œufs des poules, qui les déposent, d'ailleurs, dans la brousse. Mais on n'hésitera pas à dévorer un jeune oiseau s'il meurt après une vaine tentative d'acclimatation.

Les termes utilisés pour le comportement à l'égard des animaux sont les mêmes que ceux vis-à-vis des humains; on dit *dehéna ɣitte ɣikɔrage*, « la femme le bébé caresse », ou *ɣáiɲyétte ɣikɔrage*, « la femme le chien-bébé caresse ».

En voyage, et sauf les animaux capables de marcher, toute la ménagerie est embarquée avec les autres bagages. Les singes, cramponnés à la chevelure des femmes, les coiffent d'un gracieux casque vivant, prolongé par la longue queue enroulée autour du cou de la porteuse. Les perroquets et les poules perchent au sommet des hottes, d'autres animaux sont tenus dans les bras. Aucun ne reçoit une abondante nourriture; mais, même les jours de disette, ils ont leur part, aussi faible soit-elle. En échange, ils sont, pour le groupe, un incessant sujet de distraction, d'amusement, le principal spectacle. On entend des exclamations telles que :

22. *ɟakhúninde ɨteru ɣirokúnene* (*b1*).
Les fourmis volantes! Il [le singe] les attrape pour les manger!

On parle au singe en lui donnant des fruits : *ɣoʂí*, « prend! » et comme les singes vivent en très grande intimité avec les chiens, on rit aux éclats en voyant leurs tours :

23. *hóte ɣáiɲde miramiraɲa hóte ɣairídnɲena* (*b1*).
Le singe du chien monte sur le dos! Le singe le chien mord!

et encore :

24. *kwyariʂena tákɔlahẽ tákela áyoriʈẽ kádaɲena* (*b1*).
Il se balance tête en bas, tête en bas il se balance, il est tombé! (le singe).

Les enfants jouent volontiers à brûler des bêtes, et, quand il s'agit d'insectes, on les laisse faire; mais s'ils tentent de brûler des animaux domestiques en les touchant subrepticement avec une braise, ils sont sévèrement réprimandés.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

LES GRANDS-PARENTS.

Nous employons le terme dans le sens classificatoire, c'est-à-dire les membres de la troisième génération ascendante. Ils sont en général peu nombreux : 2 dans le groupe *a1* restreint, 5 sur 75 personnes dans le groupe élargi, 3 sur 31 dans le groupe *b1* élargi (nous n'incluons pas dans cette estimation *A1*, *a2* et *a14*, qui peuvent indirectement être classés comme grands-parents). Ce petit nombre s'explique, en partie, par la très forte mortalité qui sévit chez les Nambikwara, et partiellement aussi par le fait que les personnes âgées, bien que participant à la vie nomade, ne se déplacent pas avec la même mobilité que les autres membres du groupe, et sont plus rarement rencontrées. Quoi qu'il en soit, les grands-parents partagent l'existence de leurs descendants. La fondation d'une nouvelle famille n'éteint pas les liens entre les adultes et leurs parents. Nous en avons souligné plusieurs exemples en étudiant les phénomènes de résidence. Des parents âgés ou veufs rallient le ménage de leur fils ou de leur fille, soit à titre définitif, soit à titre temporaire. Ainsi, en l'absence de son gendre (*A21*) et de sa femme (*a18*), *A17* s'installe auprès de sa fille (*a22*) et du bébé de celle-ci (*a23*). C'est elle qui fait cuire, pour les trois, le manioc et les noix de *cumaru*. D'autre part, les grands-parents ont, vis-à-vis de leurs descendants, un comportement que manifeste la permanence du lien de filiation. *a14* s'occupe spécialement de ses petites-filles (filles de la fille), orphelines de mère, *a8* et *a9*; elle les nourrit, les baigne, et le bébé passe ses journées auprès d'elle, et souvent ses nuits. Quand le groupe voyage, c'est elle qui la porte quand elle ne peut plus marcher. Mais surtout, quand une pièce de gibier a été rapportée par un chasseur, on voit, par le choix des bénéficiaires, s'esquisser, au sein du groupe, les limites d'une unité plus vaste que la famille conjugale, et dont, dans les circonstances quotidiennes, la réalité n'apparaît que rarement.

Ainsi, un boa *sucuri* (*iritasu*, *a1* : *Eunectes murinus*) étant un jour rapporté par *A17*, les tripes sont, par lui, remises à sa fille *a19*, qui les passe à sa sœur *a22*; celle-ci les partage entre *a12* et *a5* (ses « filles ») et se réserve une portion; cependant que *A17* découpe le corps en tronçons qu'il remet à *A13*, *A1*, *A21*, et dont il garde une part. Ici, le partage est presque coextensif au groupe restreint. Mais, dans une circonstance plus solennelle[1], le partage d'une *irara* (*inihinukleu*, *a1* : *Mustela* sp.) par *A21* donne lieu à la distribution suivante :

Un quartier à *a18* (mère de la femme);
Un quartier à *a2* (sœur aînée de la femme);
Un quartier à *a14* (épouse du frère);
Une patte à *a19* (sœur cadette de la femme);
Une demi-tête à *A17* (mari de la mère de la femme).

[1] P. 106 sq., cessation de l'état de marge.

Il consomme le reste avec sa femme et son bébé, et les bénéficiaires partagent leur lot avec époux et enfants. On voit donc se délimiter, au sein du groupe, une entité plus restreinte :

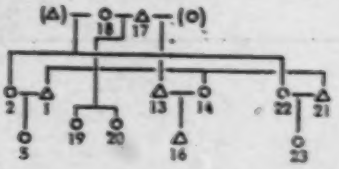


Fig. 17.

celle des membres d'une même famille bilatérale. De même, pour le râpage du manioc, *a2*, *a14*, *a18*, *a22* travaillent souvent ensemble et préparent une masse collective qui sera partagée entre les mêmes familles, et servira à l'alimentation des mêmes personnes que celles représentées dans le tableau ci-dessus.

Nous ne savons s'il faut attribuer à sa position classificatoire ou à ses caractéristiques individuelles certaines attitudes frappantes de *A17*. Il est très nettement conscient de sa position quasi-patriarcale au sein du groupe et du fait que tous les membres, ou presque, sont par rapport à lui : *asuittu*, *asuittu*, *tauéttu*, *tauéttu*, *tauéttu*; il insiste, énumère complaisamment les termes avec de grands gestes. Il est gai, jovial et trouve une satisfaction évidente dans des conversations à sujet érotique, dont il appuie les évocations par une mimique et des contorsions appropriées. Au sein du groupe, dont il ne partage que partiellement les activités, il ne détient aucune autorité, explicite ou implicite.

LES COLLATÉRAUX ET ALLIÉS.

Il n'existe pas de différence apparente entre le comportement d'un individu vis-à-vis des parents de son conjoint, et son comportement vis-à-vis de ses propres parents. C'est-à-dire que, du point de vue des relations individuelles, l'ordre des générations prime celui des degrés; les beaux-parents, parents du troisième degré, sont concrètement classés dans la deuxième génération («pères» et «mères»). On peut en dire de même pour les relations des père et mère de la femme, ou du mari, avec le conjoint de ces derniers. Aucune prohibition spéciale n'a pu être notée.

Les belles-sœurs (*ascétasu*, *a1*; *ndédere*, *b1*) ont entre elles des rapports très libres. Elles rient, plaisantent ensemble, se rendent de petits services tels que celui de se frotter mutuellement le dos avec la teinture d'*urucu* (*Bixa orellana*). Mais on se trouve en présence de relations tout à fait exceptionnelles

quand on passe aux beaux-frères (*asúkosu, a1 ; tarúte, b1*), ou plus exactement (puisque l'appellation d'*asúkosu* ne découle pas du mariage avec la sœur, mais lui est antérieure) des cousins croisés.

Du fait de la polygamie partielle qui règne dans le groupe, et qui se manifeste en ce que les femmes les plus jeunes et les plus jolies sont périodiquement soustraites, par le chef ou le shaman, du cycle régulier des mariages, les jeunes hommes se trouvent souvent en difficulté pour se marier, au moins pendant une partie de leur adolescence, aucune épouse potentielle ne se montrant disponible. Ce problème est résolu par les relations homosexuelles, que la langue Nambikwara (*b1*) a nommées de façon poétique : *tamindige kihádige*, c'est-à-dire l'*amour-mensonge*. Ces relations sont fréquentes entre jeunes gens, et se déroulent avec une publicité beaucoup plus grande que les relations normales. Les partenaires ne se retirent pas dans la brousse comme le font habituellement les adultes. Ils s'installent auprès d'un feu du campement, sous l'œil amusé des voisins. L'incident donne lieu à des plaisanteries, généralement peu poussées; ces relations sont considérées comme infantiles, et l'on n'y prête guère attention. La question reste pour nous douteuse de savoir si ces exercices sont poussés jusqu'à la satisfaction complète, ou se limitent à des effusions sentimentales, accompagnées de jeux érotiques, tels que ceux et celles qui caractérisent, pour la plus large part, les relations entre conjoints. Quoi qu'il en soit, le point essentiel, ici, est que les relations homosexuelles sont exclusivement *des relations entre cousins croisés*. Lorsqu'on s'informe auprès d'un indigène à propos d'un rapprochement du genre de celui que nous venons de décrire, la réponse typique que l'on obtient est :

25. *tarutebádige tamíndige* (*b1*)
[Ce sont] deux beaux-frères qui font l'amour.

Nous n'avons pu savoir si ces relations d'adolescence subsistent entre les adultes; la chose semble peu probable. Mais des relations d'une nature toute spéciale se maintiennent entre les « beaux-frères » ; ils se témoignent une grande familiarité, ont entre eux des effusions que nous n'avons jamais notées entre frères ou parents d'un autre degré. Il n'est pas rare, chez les Nambikwara (toujours prodigues, d'ailleurs, de gestes affectueux) de voir deux ou trois hommes, mariés et pères de famille, se promener le soir tendrement enlacés. L'information obtenue est, ici encore, toujours la même :

26. *tarúte ialhaṣíete.* (*b1*)
Les beaux-frères se tiennent embrassés.

Certains jeux, comme le « jeu de griffes » (*kajrobítunubí, e*) sont fréquents entre beaux-frères.

Mais la relation de « cousins croisés potentiellement ou effectivement alliés par le mariage de leur sœur » — ce qui semble l'équivalent le plus adéquat du

terme *tarite* — peut être extrapolée largement au delà des relations familiales. Dans certains cas, elle est utilisée pour créer, entre des individus sans parenté, des liens originaux dont le rôle est de fusionner, de façon indirecte, en un même groupe familial, des groupes précédemment hétérogènes. On a noté au début de ce travail [1] que les groupes centraux et septentrionaux ont été décimés, d'une façon particulièrement sévère, par les épidémies des quinze dernières années. Plusieurs d'entre eux ont vu leur effectif réduit à si peu de chose que la poursuite d'une existence sociale indépendante, dans de telles conditions, pouvait sembler un objectif illusoire. Certains se sont donc groupés dans l'espoir de reconstituer une unité viable. C'est ainsi que, quand nous les avons rencontrés, le groupe désigné sous la rubrique *b1* (restreint), comprenant 18 personnes, et le groupe *c*, comprenant 34 personnes, vivaient réunis, sous l'autorité de leurs chefs respectifs, mais ceux-ci travaillant en accord. Il est à présumer, d'ailleurs, que la diminution de nombre n'était pas la seule raison de cette alliance, et que le groupe *c* représentait une fraction d'un groupe plus nombreux qu'il avait été obligé de fuir pour une raison indéterminée. Il aurait cherché, dans une vie nomade partagée avec le groupe *b1*, une plus grande sécurité. Des événements assez obscurs [2] survenus pendant notre séjour laissent deviner des arrière-plans politiques dont nous avons ignoré les détails. Quoi qu'il en soit, les deux groupes voyageaient ensemble, campaient en même temps, mais sans mêler leurs feux, les familles constituantes formant deux agglomérations juxtaposées. Le trait le plus surprenant de cette organisation était que les deux groupes ne parlaient pas la même langue et ne pouvaient communiquer entre eux que par l'intermédiaire d'un ou deux individus appartenant à chaque groupe, qui agissaient comme interprètes. Il n'existait, notamment, aucune communication directe entre *B1*, chef des *Tarundé*, et son collègue *C20*, chef et shaman du groupe *Sabané*. En effet, s'il n'y a aucun doute sur les étroites affinités des dialectes *a1*, *a2*, *b1*, *b2*, qui ne diffèrent entre eux que comme des dérivations d'une langue mère, le dialecte *c* offre, vis-à-vis des précédents, des différences tellement profondes qu'on ne sait si l'on se trouve en présence d'une langue de la même famille; en tout cas, de quelque manière que l'étude linguistique doive résoudre ce problème, il peut raisonnablement être posé. Nous n'hésitons pas, néanmoins (et malgré des différences anthropologiques) à ranger le groupe *c* dans la famille culturelle Nambikwara, à cause de l'identité des cultures matérielles et des genres de vie, et surtout, à cause de l'attitude psychologique des groupes *b1*, *b2* et *c* les uns vis-à-vis des autres, qui reconnaissent ostensiblement leur communauté.

La réunion des deux groupes posait un problème, celui de la nature des relations qui devaient intervenir entre leurs membres respectifs. Ce problème

[1] *Voir* p. 6.
[2] *Voir* p. 102.

a été résolu par la reconnaissance de tous les membres mâles du groupe *c* comme étant des « cousins croisés » — *tarúte*, de tous les adultes mâles du groupe *b1*, et de tous les adultes mâles du groupe *b1* comme étant des *jópa* (correspondant à « cousin croisé » dans le vocabulaire de parenté du groupe *c*) de tous les adultes mâles du groupe *c*. Il en résulte, comme conséquence, que si tous les époux des deux groupes sont « beaux-frères entre eux », toutes les « épouses » d'un groupe sont « sœurs » des époux de l'autre, et tous les enfants de l'un ou l'autre sexe, dans un groupe, époux ou épouses potentiels des enfants de l'autre groupe appartenant au sexe opposé. La fusion consanguine des deux groupes est donc définitivement assurée à la prochaine génération. Voici la situation type que l'on trouve ainsi réalisée :

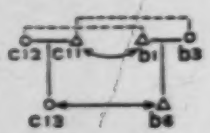


Fig. 18.

Le caractère systématique de cette solution n'est pas douteux ; les informateurs appartenant au groupe *b* ou au groupe *c*, lorsque nous les interrogions sur leur relation de parenté vis-à-vis d'un adulte mâle du groupe allié, ne nous fournissaient jamais de réponse spéciale visant le cas considéré, mais faisaient remarquer à la place que *tous* les hommes Sabané étaient pour eux *tarúte*, ou que *tous* les hommes Tarundé étaient *jópa* ; tandis qu'on ne se donnait généralement pas la peine de formuler les relations entre femmes, entre enfants, ou entre adultes et enfants ; dans tous ces cas, sauf quelques occasions où la déduction était explicitement faite, on donnait comme réponse le nom du groupe : elle l'appelle « Sabané » ou « Tarundé ». C'est donc bien en fonction de la relation de *tarúte* ou *jópa* (— *asúkosu*, *a1*) que le système a été conçu et appliqué.

Ce fait mérite l'attention, car si la finalité du système était seulement d'assurer les intermariages, on pouvait y procéder de deux autres manières, ou plus exactement donner, de la même solution, deux autres interprétations : l'une consistant à poser toutes les femmes comme des « belles-sœurs », l'autre traitant tous les hommes d'un groupe et toutes les femmes de l'autre, respectivement, comme étant entre eux « frères et sœurs », et le résultat eût été le même. Bien entendu, ces deux aspects sont impliqués dans la solution proposée, comme ses corollaires. Néanmoins la solution elle-même, qui pouvait être présentée de trois façons différentes et équivalentes, a été, en fait, pensée, de façon préférentielle, en fonction de la relation existant entre les *collatéraux mâles et alliés*. Plusieurs suggestions doivent alors être examinées.

Des trois solutions possibles, deux impliquaient la prise en considération des femmes, une seule était purement masculine, et c'est celle-là qui a été choisie. Il ne faut pas s'en étonner si, comme nous le supposons, le problème posé était un problème politique, donc relevant du commandement, exclusivement exercé par les hommes, et non par un jeu normal de la filiation, qui semble plutôt matrilinéaire[1]. Bien que, dans un système simple de mariage entre cousins croisés, comme l'est le système Nambikwara, les « beaux-frères entre eux » puissent être aussi facilement les pères des mères que les pères des pères, ce choix donne à la sociologie Nambikwara, que nous avons eu jusqu'à présent du mal à caractériser à ce point de vue, une teinte décidément masculine, ou plutôt, il témoigne d'une tendance dans cette direction, en même temps qu'il constitue la première ébauche d'un système social venant se surimposer aux structures purement familiales auxquelles nous avons été limités jusqu'à présent. Nous ne prétendons en aucune façon fonder, sur ces observations limitées et dont le caractère reste anecdotique, une théorie de l'organisation dualiste[2]. Néanmoins, nous sommes bien en présence d'un de ces cas où « les traits fondamentaux de l'organisation clanique se trouvent, dans une certaine mesure, préformés dans des tribus dépourvues de clan »[3]. Il suffirait, pour satisfaire aux exigences de l'organisation dualiste, que le nouveau groupe se fixât, et maintint le souvenir de son origine ambiguë en continuant à éviter de confondre les deux lots de foyers.

Enfin, ce système manifeste, sous un nouvel aspect, cette prépondérance des hommes que nous avons soulignée à propos des relations interindividuelles. C'est à travers les hommes que se décident les alliances des groupes, comme aussi, éventuellement, leurs guerres.

* * *

Les remarques précédentes ont peut-être un autre intérêt : celui de suggérer une interprétation d'observations de caractère sociologique que l'on trouve dispersées dans l'ancienne littérature relative à l'Amérique du Sud.

On doit d'abord noter des analogies frappantes entre certains traits du système de parenté Nambikwara et ceux qu'on peut attribuer à l'organisation familiale des anciens Tupi du littoral brésilien. On verra plus loin que, sur le plan métaphysique, il n'y a pas seulement des thèmes communs aux deux cultures, mais que tels termes religieux du vocabulaire Nambikwara ont une origine Tupi évidente. Chaque fois que nous devons décrire de menus incidents de la vie quotidienne des Nambikwara, la tentation est presque irrésis-

(1) *Voir* p. 83.

(2) Ce point a été développé ailleurs; cf. Dual organization, etc., l. c.

(3) R. H. Lowie, *Family and Sib*, American Anthropologist, N. S., vol. 21, 1919, p. 28-40.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

tible de citer Jean de Léry et Yves d'Evreux, tant il est vrai que les paroles mêmes de ces vieux auteurs peuvent être littéralement appliquées à une culture, pourtant postérieure de quatre siècles. Mais c'est dans le système de parenté que les ressemblances sont les plus nettes : les deux cultures invoquent les mêmes trois principes fondamentaux : distinction des frères et sœurs des parents en oncles et tantes parallèles appelés « pères » et « mères », et oncles et tantes croisés appelés « beaux-pères » et « belles-mères » ; mariage préférentiel entre cousins croisés, avec l'assimilation concomitante des cousins parallèles à des « frères » et « sœurs » ; enfin, mariage avunculaire, qui semble avoir été de règle, chez les anciens Tupi, sous la forme d'une union préférentielle entre le frère de la mère et la fille de la sœur[1].

Le premier principe ressort directement — et les deux autres indirectement — d'un texte capital d'Anchieta que nous devons citer ici :

« Mas na materia de parentesco nunca usam deste vocabulo *eté* (= vrai) porque chamando pais aos irmãos de seus pais e filhos aos filhos de seus irmãos e irmãos aos filhos dos tios irmãos dos pais, para declararem quem e seu pai, ou filho verdadeiro, senão *xeruba xemonhangara*, meu pai « qui me genuit » e ao filho *xeruira xeremimonhanga* meu filho « quem genui » ; et assim nunca ouvi o indio chamar a sua mulher *xeremireco eté*, sinão *xeremireco* (simpliciter) ou *xeruicig* « mai de meus filhos » ; nem a mulher ao marido *xemeneté* « maritus verus », sinão *xemeno* (simpliciter) ou *xerembira ruba* « pai de meus filhos » ; do qual tanto usam para o marido como para o barregão ; e se alguma hora o marido chamar alguma de suas mulheres *xeremireco eté*, quer dizer minha mulher mais estimada ou mais querida, a qual muitas vezes e a ultima que tomou[2]. »

Ce texte offre un intérêt supplémentaire : il montre que, pas plus que les Nambikwara, les Tupi n'ont été arrêtés par le problème de la distinction entre parents véritables et parents classificatoires. Dans les deux cas, le besoin de termes spéciaux ne s'est pas fait sentir, et l'on se borne à recourir, quand il faut, à des considérations physiologiques[3]. Le lecteur trouvera d'autres indications sur l'assimilation du frère du père à un père classificatoire chez Soares de Souza[4].

Les vieux auteurs décrivent souvent le mariage des cousins croisés chez les Tupi, ainsi que celui de l'oncle avec sa nièce. Ici encore, nous aurons d'abord recours à Anchieta :

« As filhas das irmas não chamam *temerico eté* nem por taes as têm ; porque muitos indios com terem muitas sobrinhas, e muito gentis mulheres, não usam d'ellas ; mas como os irmãos tem tanto poder sobre as irmas, tem para si que

[1] On doit ajouter la distinction des frères et sœurs en « aînés » et « cadets ».

[2] *Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil*, Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, t. VIII, 1846, I (2da Serie), p. 254-262 ; p. 259.

[3] Cf. plus haut, p.

[4] *Roteiro do Brasil*, Revista do Instituto, etc., t. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

lhes pertencem as sobrinhas, para as poderem ter por mulheres, et usar d'ellas *ad libitum* si quizerem, assim como as mesmas irmas, dão a uns e tiram a outros. *Tarugoaj*, indio muito principal na aldea de Jaribiatiba, que e no campo de São Vicente, tinha duas mulheres, e uma d'ellas era sua sobrinha filha de sua irma...[1].»

Plus loin, les deux types de mariage sont envisagés comme des institutions symétriques : «...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas.» Staden fait aussi allusion au mariage des cousins : «Ils offrent aussi en présent leurs filles et leurs sœurs[2].» De même chez Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville et bien d'autres. Avec un sens sociologique aigu, Anchieta découvre une connexion entre le mariage avec la fille de la sœur et la reconnaissance de l'homme comme seul responsable de la conception. On se souvient que cette théorie est aussi partagée par les Nambikwara :

«O terem respeito as filhas dos irmãos e porque lhes chamam filhas, e n'essa conta as têm; e assim *neque fornicarie* as conhecem porque têm para si o parenteco veradeiro, vem pela parte dos pais, que são os agentes; e que as mãis não são mais que uns saccos em respeito dos pais em que se criem as crianças, e por esta causa os filhos dos pais, posto que sejam havidos de escravos e contrarias captivas, são sempre livres e tão estimadas como os outros; e os filhos de femeas, se são filhos de captivos, os tem por escravos e os vendem, e as vezes matam e comem, ainda que sejam seus netos, filhos de suas filhas, e por isso tambem usam das filhas das irmas sem nehum pejo *ad copulam*, mas não que haja obrigação nem costume universal de as terem por mulheres verdadeiras, mais que as outras, como dito é. E por essa causa os padres as casam agora com seus tios, irmãos das mais, se as partes são contentes, pelo poder que têm de dispensar com elles, o qual ate agora se nao fez com sobrinho filho de irmão, nem ainda em outros graos mais afastados que vem pela linha dos pais porque entre os indios se tem isso por muito estranho[3].»

Sans doute le mariage des cousins croisés est-il largement répandu dans toute l'Amérique du Sud[4]. Mais chez les Tupi, c'est plutôt le mariage avunculaire qui retient l'attention des premiers voyageurs. Ainsi, Léry note : «Quant à l'oncle, il prend sa niepce» (pour femme); et Thevet : «Dès qu'elles sont nées, l'oncle maternel les lève de terre et les retient pour femmes futures»[5]. Magalhães de Gandavo s'exprime sans doute inexactement, mais

[1] L. c., p. 259.

[2] Hans Staden, *The true history of his captivity* (éd. Malcolm Letts), Londres, vol. II, ch. 18, p. 146.

[3] L. c., p. 259-260.

[4] Ainsi Breton, au sujet des Caraïb des Antilles : «Les cousins germains que nous appelons fils des frères du père se nomment frères et ces frères du père sont aussi appelés pères; et les enfants de ces frères ne contractent point d'alliance par ensemble, mais bien avec les enfants des sœurs de leurs pères» (*Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François*, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11).

[5] Léry, *loc. cit.* II, ch. XVII, p. 85; Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, p. 932.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

dans le même sens, quand il écrit : « C'est leur coutume d'épouser les femmes qui sont leurs nièces, filles de leurs frères ou de leurs sœurs ; ils les regardent comme leurs épouses véritables et légitimes. Les pères de ces femmes ne peuvent les refuser, et nul, sinon leur oncle, ne peut prétendre à les épouser »[1]. On se reportera aussi à Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza[2].

Quant à la polygamie, et à la distinction, si nette chez les Nambikwara, entre la première femme vouée aux travaux ménagers, et les femmes secondaires, compagnes des hommes et partageant leurs obligations, on se souviendra que Magalhães de Gandavo fait allusion à une catégorie de femmes, en vérité célibataires, mais qui prennent part à l'activité masculine[3].

Toutes ces observations nous autorisent à tracer un parallèle entre l'extension de la relation de « beau-frère » chez les Nambikwara, et une coutume, très voisine semble-t-il, des anciens Tupi. Citons d'abord Yves d'Évreux : « On dispersa une partie des Français par les villages pour y vivre suivant les coustumes du Pais, qui est d'avoir des *Chetouasaps* c'est-à-dire hostes ou compères, en leur donnant des marchandises au lieu d'argent ; et cette hospitalité ou compérage est entre eux fort estroicte : car ils vous tiennent proprement comme leurs enfans, tandis que vous demeurez avec eux, vont à la chasse et à la pesche pour vous, et d'avantage leur coustume était de donner leurs filles à leurs compères »[4]. Il parle plus loin des « Français qui sont logez par compérage en ces villages »[5]. L'institution indigène est confirmée par Jean de Léry[6] : « il est à noter que ces mots *Atourassap* et *Coton-assap* diffèrent, car le premier signifie une parfaite alliance entre eux et entre eux et nous, tant que les biens de l'un sont communs à l'autre. Et aussi qu'ils ne peuvent avoir la fille ou la sœur du premier nommé ». Le « *Coton-assap* » est par conséquent, à l'inverse du précédent, privilégié pour deux formes de mariages : celui avec la sœur de son partenaire, qui fait de lui un « beau-frère », et celui avec sa fille, c'est-à-dire une admission au nombre des oncles maternels, faisant de lui un frère théorique de l'épouse, qui aboutit au même résultat.

[1] Pedro de Magalhães de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, *The Cortés Society*, New-York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

[2] Nobrega, *Cartas do Brazil*, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148 ; — Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil*, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII. p. 133 ; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

[3] Gandavo, *loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89. On trouvera d'autres indications sur l'organisation familiale des anciens Tupi chez : A. Métraux, *La religion des Tupinamba* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim ; — Lafone Quevedo, *Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization* (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440 ; — P. Kirchhoff, *Die Verwandschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15, p. 189).

[4] *Voyage dans le nord du Brésil*. Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig et Paris ; II, 14.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, XXVIII, 109.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133 ; cf. également, Cardim, *Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

Il faut noter une autre analogie de la relation entre beaux-frères chez les Nambikwara et chez les Tupi. Tous les textes que nous avons cités concordent pour admettre l'existence, chez les Tupi, d'une sorte d'autorité exercée par les jeunes hommes sur leurs sœurs. Le mariage des cousins croisés semble résulter d'un échange mutuel de sœurs entre des hommes qui ont entre eux ce rapport de parenté; on peut en dire de même, quand le père cède sa fille au frère de sa femme. Ainsi, les beaux-frères actuels ou potentiels sont liés par une relation d'une nature spéciale, fondée sur un échange de services d'ordre sexuel. Nous avons vu qu'une telle relation existe aussi entre les beaux-frères Nambikwara, avec cette différence que, chez les Tupi, ces services portent sur des sœurs et des filles, tandis que (en plus de la forme précédente) les beaux-frères Nambikwara échangent directement les prestations sous forme de relations homosexuelles, qui suppléent à l'absence de sœur disponible.

Nous pouvons maintenant conclure. Les anciens Tupi connaissaient deux formes d'union préférentielle : mariage des cousins croisés, et mariage avunculaire. Le premier apparaissait normalement sous la forme d'un échange de sœurs entre deux cousins croisés; le second résultait d'un privilège sur la fille de la sœur exercé par le frère de la mère, ou concédé à celui-ci par le mari de sa sœur. Dans les deux cas, le mariage se fonde sur un pacte entre cousins croisés, beaux-frères de droit ou de fait — ce qui est la définition même que nous avons retenue pour les termes Nambikwara *taríte* ou *iópa*. En outre, cette relation de «beau-frère» pouvait être instaurée, sous le nom de *chetouasap* (Yves d'Évreux) ou *coton-assap* (Léry) entre des individus qu'aucun lien de parenté n'unissait auparavant, ou parents d'une autre manière ou de façon plus lointaine, et même entre étrangers (comme c'était le cas entre Français et Indiens). Le but était de rendre possible les intermariages, et d'amalgamer des familles ou des groupes, jusqu'alors hétérogènes, en une nouvelle unité sociale. On reconnaît le procédé que nous avons décrit à propos de la fusion des groupes Sabané et Tarundé[1].

On objectera que les vieux auteurs peuvent avoir interprété des observations douteuses à la lumière des faits européens. Comme nous proposerons

[1] La pratique sud-américaine d'utiliser des relations de parenté pour traduire, et établir, des liens sociaux est attestée par Von den Steinen (*Unter der Naturvolkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), que les Bakairi avaient décidé d'appeler «frère aîné» et les Mehinaku «oncle maternel». Nous venons d'établir l'équivalence des termes «beau-frère» et «oncle maternel» dans un système de mariage entre cousins croisés joint au mariage avunculaire. Quant à l'emploi du terme «frère aîné», il appelle deux observations. En premier lieu, le système de parenté des Bororo, qui ne sont guère éloignés du Xingu, dédouble chaque génération en deux étages dont l'un (aînés) est assimilé aux cadets de la génération antérieure et l'autre (cadets) aux aînés de la génération suivante. Dans un tel système, un «frère aîné» peut être, en fait, un véritable oncle et un beau-frère potentiel. Le second point vise la différence logique entre deux types de solidarité, l'une, mécanique et exprimée par le terme frère, et l'autre, organique exprimée par le terme beau-frère. Nous y avons fait allusion plus haut, p. 71.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

le nom de *compérage* pour désigner une institution que nous croyons être authentiquement indigène, il ne sera pas inutile de nous arrêter un instant sur cet aspect du problème.

Sans doute les faits analysés plus haut, et l'institution européenne du compérage, offrent-ils de frappantes analogies. A l'origine, le compère et la commère étaient liés l'un à l'autre, et tous les deux aux parents de l'enfant, par le lien mystique du parrainage. Mais la relation s'est vite sécularisée dans toutes les petites communautés rurales, ou, plus exactement, partout où le groupement familial a le pas sur le groupe social étendu; la relation est alors employée pour instaurer un lien artificiel de parenté, ou même, comme cela se produit chez les Nambikwara, pour traduire en termes de parenté un simple phénomène de contiguïté spatiale[1]. L'étranger, le nouveau venu, sont adoptés grâce à l'usage réciproque des appellations de compère et commère qu'ils reçoivent de — et retournent à — leurs contemporains. D'autre part, l'étranger s'assimile habituellement en prenant femme dans sa nouvelle communauté, et les termes de compère et de beau-frère deviennent si rapidement synonymes que les hommes alliés par mariage ne s'interpellent plus que par le premier. Dans les villages de l'Europe méditerranéenne et de l'Amérique Latine, le compère ou «compadre» est un beau-frère actuel ou potentiel. Que, dans certaines régions d'Amérique centrale ou d'Amérique du Sud, l'analogie entre les institutions indigène et européenne ait aidé la première à se fixer et à se moderniser, cela n'est pas douteux. Ainsi, au Mexique, l'institution primitive du *moste*, c'est-à-dire l'obligation, pour les chefs de famille, d'échanger périodiquement des présents, fonctionne maintenant dans le cadre des relations de «compadres», le terme espagnol offrant une traduction commode de l'ancien Otomi[2]. Mais l'analogie formelle des deux institutions ne saurait déguiser leurs caractères véritablement opposés. Dans la société latino-méditerranéenne, le lien, jadis mystique et maintenant social, de compérage, peut être transformé par mariage en lien de parenté réelle. Chez les anciens Tupi, et chez les Nambikwara, c'est, au contraire, la parenté concrète qui fournit son modèle à un type de lien utilisé pour établir des relations plus vastes.

Cela étant posé, il y a deux raisons pour lesquelles nos auteurs ne peuvent avoir élaboré une pseudo-institution indigène d'après un modèle européen. En premier lieu, des hommes aussi familiers avec les problèmes religieux que l'étaient Yves d'Évreux, Cardim et Léry, n'auraient pu assimiler une relation dont la première conséquence, et l'objet probable, était de permettre de nouveaux types de mariage, à la relation entre parrain, marraine et parents qui, surtout depuis le XIIIe siècle, entraînait un renforcement très sévère

[1] Cette dérivation est bien mise en lumière par l'étymologie : en anglais, *god-sib* donne *gossip*.

[2] Jacques SOUSTELLE, *La famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique central*, Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1937.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

des prohibitions du mariage. A l'époque où ils écrivaient, la question était d'actualité, puisqu'elle était inscrite au programme du Concile de Trente, où les règles anciennes devaient être quelque peu adoucies. Mais nous avons un argument plus décisif : dès l'arrivée des premiers missionnaires, les deux institutions, européenne et indigène, devaient évoluer côte à côte, surtout chez les Indiens baptisés. Or, ni eux, ni leurs prêtres européens, n'interprétèrent jamais le parrainage chrétien dans les termes du compérage indigène. Au contraire, et de façon bien plus logique puisque l'institution nouvellement introduite apportait des restrictions au mariage, ils la traitèrent comme une modalité de la relation de paternité : ils assimilèrent le parrain à un père classificatoire : « Ainsi, ils (les enfants qui viennent de recevoir le baptême) regardaient leurs parrains comme leurs véritables pères et les appelaient *Cherou*, c'est-à-dire « mon père », et les Français les appelaient *Cheaire*, c'est-à-dire « mon fils », et les petites filles *Cheagire*, « ma fille » ..... »[1].

Nous pensons donc avoir rassemblé assez d'indications convergentes du caractère fondamental de la relation entre beaux-frères dans la société sud-américaine pour qu'on puisse voir en elle le noyau d'une institution originale de compérage, qui paraît encore vivante chez les Nambikwara, et dont les documents présentés ici suggèrent la très vaste distribution dans l'Amérique indigène d'autrefois[2].

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

LA VIE SOCIALE.

Il est évidemment impossible, quand on étudie l'existence de petites bandes nomades dont tous les membres sont reliés, entre eux, ou d'une bande à l'autre, par une relation de parenté, de tracer une ligne de séparation nette entre la vie familiale et la vie sociale. Beaucoup de traits qui relèvent de cette dernière ont été signalés au cours des pages précédentes. Nous n'examinerons donc, dans ce chapitre, que certains des aspects de la vie sociale, qui intéressent la collectivité comme un tout, soit dans son existence propre, soit dans ses relations avec des groupes voisins.

[1] Yves d'Evreux l. c., II, I, p. 234.

[2] Une version anglaise de ces observations a été publiée sous le titre : *The social use of kinship terms among brazilian indians*, American Anthropologist, vol. 45, n° 3, 1943. Dans un intéressant article consacré au système Tupi (Notas sobre a interpretação sociologica de alguns designativos de parentesco do Tupi-Guarani, *Etnografia e lingua Tupi-Guarani*, n° 9, São Paulo, 1946), J. Philipson me reproche d'avoir limité la relation de

LE COMMANDEMENT.

Chaque bande reconnaît la direction d'un *chef* (*johéru, a1/2; u̯ilikā́de, b1/2; u̯elikápara, c*); celui-ci commande le groupe, ou plus exactement l'ensemble des hommes adultes qui sont ses «compagnons» (*nukənájore, b1/2*); ceux-ci se chargent de faire respecter les consignes par leurs épouses, qui sont rarement mises en cause; les femmes se conforment aux décisions masculines, mais elles n'en sont pas, sur le plan collectif, les exécutrices directes; elles y participent seulement à l'intérieur de leur groupe familial, dans les limites de la division sexuelle du travail telle que nous l'avons précédemment décrite. Les attributions du chef sont diverses; les principales et les plus permanentes consistent dans l'administration du groupe. C'est le chef qui décide des occupations saisonnières, du début de la période nomade,

27. *u̯ilikā́kəmaniene ájtnaseneje* (*b1*)
le chef commande : tout le monde en route!

du moment et de l'endroit où l'on se fixera pour les pluies, des travaux de jardinage et du choix des plantations, de la construction des huttes, des itinéraires de voyage et des temps d'arrêt, des expéditions de chasse, de cueillette ou de ramassage, de la conduite à tenir vis-à-vis des groupes voisins. Son rôle est généralement résumé par la formule :

28. *u̯ilikā nádəna éenate* (*b1*)
le chef marche en avant [1].

Il se déplace aussi beaucoup plus fréquemment que ses compagnons, pour un ou plusieurs jours, accompagné d'une ou deux de ses femmes polygames qui l'assistent dans ses entreprises [2], afin de découvrir des graines ou fruits,

compérage à l'Amérique du Sud, et il invoque l'exemple de nombreuses tribus Nord-Américaines. C'est me prêter trop d'ignorance : il est bien certain qu'il existe, dans le monde entier, des cas innombrables de relations spéciales entre beaux-frères, tantôt cordiales et tantôt hostiles. Mais en entassant pêle-mêle tous ces exemples, on retomberait dans les errements de la vieille sociologie comparée. Par le terme de «compérage» j'ai voulu identifier un complexe institutionnel précis, où interviennent en corrélation un système de parenté particulier, des règles du mariage bien définies, et certaines attitudes psychologiques traditionnelles. Il est possible, et même vraisemblable, qu'on puisse retrouver cet ensemble dans d'autres régions du monde. Mais aucun des exemples invoqués par Philipson n'en relève clairement.

[1] Ainsi, la philosophie du Pouvoir ne semble guère s'être modifiée chez les Indiens brésiliens, depuis le jour lointain où, à l'occasion d'une rencontre faite à Rouen, Montaigne apportait ce témoignage : «Sur ce que je luy demanday quel fruit il recevoit de la superiorité qu'il avoit parmy les siens (car c'estoit un Capitaine et nos matelots le nommoient Roy), il me dit que c'estoit marcher le premier à la guerre...» (*Essais*, éd. de la Pléiade, Paris, 1939, ch. 31 «Des Cannibales»).

[2] Vide *supra*, p. 60 sq.

des bosquets de *piquy* (une sapindacée), de caju (*Anacardium sylvestre*), des têtes de sources fréquentées par le gibier, où conduire son groupe, toujours à la recherche de moyens de subsistance. Son rôle est aussi de maintenir la discipline intérieure, et de s'opposer à la mauvaise volonté des récalcitants :

29. *odnanjenə ụátənje hútənto igəlágatjene* (*b1*)
Paresseux, je t'ordonne, c'est assez, au travail!

L'unique sanction qui soit à sa disposition est d'obtenir l'accord de ses compagnons pour l'expulsion de celui qui s'est rendu coupable d'une faute[1] ou qui se montre rebelle à la vie collective. Mais cela n'est possible que dans le cas où un seul membre du groupe témoigne d'indiscipline. Et le chef doit déployer un talent continuel, qui tient plus de la politique électorale que de l'exercice du pouvoir, pour maintenir son groupe, et, si possible, l'accroître par de nouvelles adhésions. La bande nomade représente en effet une unité fragile. Si l'autorité du chef se fait trop exigeante, s'il accapare un trop grand nombre de femmes, s'il n'est pas capable, aux périodes de disette, de résoudre les problèmes alimentaires, des mécontentements se créent, des individus ou des familles font scission, et vont s'agglomérer à une bande apparentée dont les affaires apparaissent mieux conduites : mieux nourrie grâce à la découverte d'emplacement de chasse ou de cueillette, ou plus riche par des échanges avec des groupes voisins, ou plus puissante après des guerres victorieuses. Le chef se trouve alors à la tête d'un groupe trop restreint, incapable de faire face aux difficultés quotidiennes, ou dont les femmes sont exposées à être ravies par des voisins plus forts, et il est obligé de renoncer à son commandement, pour se rallier, avec ses derniers fidèles, à une faction plus heureuse : la société Nambikwara est ainsi dans un perpétuel devenir; des groupes se forment, se défont, grossissent et disparaissent et, à quelques mois de distance parfois, la composition, le nombre et la répartition des bandes deviennent méconnaissables. Toutes ces transformations s'accompagnent d'intrigues et de conflits, d'ascensions et de décadences, le tout se produisant à un rythme extrêmement rapide.

En échange de l'autorité qu'ils lui reconnaissent, ses compagnons se montrent d'une très grande exigence à l'égard de leur chef; et si une décision prise par lui place le groupe dans quelque difficulté, on le laisse seul à trouver les moyens de la surmonter. Nous nous souvenons ainsi d'un voyage entrepris de concert, rendu plus laborieux qu'on ne le pensait par la nécessité de découvrir un nouvel itinéraire par où nos mulets et nos bœufs de portage fussent susceptibles de passer. Les provisions de manioc se révélèrent insuffisantes et un matin la petite bande se trouva sans rien à manger; nos propres tentatives pour abattre quelque animal furent vaines, et la plus grande mau-

[1] Cf. plus bas, p. 111.

vaise humeur se mit à régner, le chef du groupe étant ostensiblement tenu pour responsable d'une affaire que nous avions, lui et moi, combinée. Au lieu d'entreprendre une expédition de chasse ou de cueillette, chacun décida de se coucher à l'ombre des abris, et on laissa le chef découvrir seul la solution du problème. Il disparut, accompagné de l'une de ses femmes (sa première femme *a2*, à l'inverse de l'habitude; mais *a3* et *a4* participaient à l'irritation générale) et vers le soir, on les vit tous deux réapparaître, leurs lourdes hottes emplies de sauterelles qu'ils avaient passé la journée entière à récolter. Bien que le pâté de sauterelles (*dákunosu, a1*) ne soit pas un plat très apprécié, tout le monde mangea de bon appétit et retrouva sa bonne humeur. On se remit en route le lendemain.

Mais on attend du chef autre chose encore que ces secours exceptionnels. il faut qu'il chante et danse volontiers et bien, et soit capable d'animer la vie collective. Il faut qu'il organise les travaux de la façon la plus rationnelle pour éliminer les fatigues et les efforts inutiles. C'est ainsi qu'à la veille d'un départ, *B1* commente pour nous son ordre de marche :

30. *mãdórige mãdohádhudne hajtehádige nãnjehnile yietnonãnahara jãnehara kanahanindeere hinkənaha ïnáamnjẽ ákeena ïnãmnjẽ ihikəro ihikəro.* (*b1*)
Quand il fait chaud, on est fatigué, on a faim, les enfants marchent mal; quand on marche à l'aube, on marche bien, à l'aube, il faut marcher, changer de route, marcher; en route! en route!

Il doit aussi se concilier ses compagnons par de nombreux cadeaux. D'après *B1*, qui s'attendrit volontiers sur les servitudes du pouvoir, la générosité joue un rôle fondamental pour déterminer le degré de popularité dont jouira le nouveau chef, et les compagnons se livrent, entre eux, à toutes sortes de spéculations :

31. *yiliká ahéni ájnire tunun?éntutnə yiliká agnháhare tunúrjani* (*b1*)
Le chef s'en va; celui qui vient me donnera beaucoup. — « Chef! Sois généreux! Donne-moi! »

Les présents ainsi escomptés consistent en nourriture, ou en objets que le chef aura fabriqués lui-même, avec l'assistance de ses femmes polygames, ou qu'il se sera procurés par des échanges bien conduits avec des bandes voisines, ou encore, qui proviendront d'un butin de guerre. Souvent, semble-t-il, il est incapable de satisfaire à des exigences croissantes, et doit refuser avec fermeté :

32. *hinde hóta agnəre hóta* (*b1*)
Donner, c'est fini! Etre généreux, c'est fini!

ou même poser la question de confiance :

33. *duhiri (gi) dnịẽ tununadịẽ tunún?entine háknereịanc* (*b1*)
Emporte! C'est fini de donner! Qu'un autre soit généreux [à ma place]!

Mais il dépend évidemment de son habileté et de sa mesure que ces refus maintiennent les exigences de ses compagnons dans des limites raisonnables, ou provoquent le mécontentement, et les ruptures consécutives. Dans ces conditions, les relations que le chef parvient à nouer avec le monde extérieur : autres bandes Nambikwara et tribus voisines, ont une extrême importance. Le chef a beaucoup voyagé; il a visité, sur les limites de son territoire, des tribus différentes de la sienne et que ses compagnons ne connaissent qu'à travers ses récits. Nous-mêmes avons eu l'impression d'être utilisés à des fins politiques : nous avons raconté précédemment quelles étaient les réactions de *A1* vis-à-vis de l'écriture[1]. Il voulut, sur cette base, tenter une vaste opération, et réunit, dans le but de nous rencontrer, plusieurs bandes apparentées, en nous priant, sans explication, de différer les échanges d'objets avec les indigènes; cette attitude énigmatique dura jusqu'au jour où, assemblant tous ses hôtes en cercle, il exhiba une feuille de papier couverte de lignes sinueuses, et feignit, pour chaque individu, de lire dans la prétendue liste la nature et l'importance du présent que j'étais censé remettre à chacun. Tout cela avec ma complicité, évidemment stupéfaite et immédiatement acquise. Plus impressionnés encore étaient les indigènes. Le plan, tel que nous avons pu le comprendre, consistait à fortifier son pouvoir en se présentant comme l'introducteur et le protecteur du visiteur blanc, dont il était en même temps censé connaître les secrets. Mais la carte de la civilisation, ainsi jouée, s'est avérée vaine. Six mois plus tard, nous avons retrouvé *A1* à la tête d'un groupe sévèrement réduit, et sans illusion sur l'échec de ses vastes projets; il nous vit partir avec une réelle tristesse, comme s'il perdait, avec nous, le dernier gage de son prestige.

Les charges du commandement se présentant sous des couleurs aussi peu séduisantes, on peut se demander ce qui conduit un individu à les accepter. Il ne nous a pas été possible de déterminer avec précision quelles sont les modalités de la désignation du chef. Un seul point est clair : ces fonctions ne sont pas héréditaires. Quand le chef en exercice tombe malade, ou devient trop vieux pour assumer sa charge, il désigne, parmi les membres du groupe, celui qui sera son successeur, sans doute influencé dans son choix par l'opinion collective; il rend décision publique par la formule : *héị ụilikắde* (*b1*) : « celui-ci sera le chef », et ainsi la continuité du pouvoir se trouve assurée :

34. *ụilikaa dórerige tịáhílikínerage nlaụre ụilikắde* (*b1*)
Quand le chef meurt, à sa place vient un autre chef.

[1] Vide *supra*, p. 40 sq.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

Mais il arrive que l'intéressé, peut soucieux des lourdes responsabilités qui l'attendent, décline l'honneur qu'on veut lui faire :

35. *ũtnjane ũntyilikã ilikãdnere* (*b1*)
Je ne veux pas du chef prendre la place.

et on doit procéder à une nouvelle désignation. Quels sont, alors, les motifs qui peuvent déterminer l'acceptation? Les préoccupations sexuelles jouent certainement un rôle : si le nouvel élu est jeune, au lieu de passer une longue période de célibat, ou d'être réduit à épouser une vieille femme, il se trouvera dans la situation privilégiée d'avoir plusieurs compagnes. S'il est déjà marié, il pourra adjoindre à son épouse les plus jeunes et jolies parmi les femmes disponibles du groupe, ou parmi celles qui seront conquises par la guerre, et, éventuellement, obtenir celles qu'il convoiterait et qui seraient déjà mariées. *C20*, ayant perdu ses femmes par maladie ou pour quelque autre raison, s'était trouvé célibataire; il a alors pris sa jeune épouse (*c21*) d'un autre conjoint, sous le prétexte que ce dernier était « trop jeune pour posséder une femme ». Sans doute faut-il faire intervenir également le goût des responsabilités, le sens du commandement, l'ambition, et le désir d'une existence plus remplie que la vie habituelle. Les seuls deux chefs avec lesquels nous ayons eu de véritables contacts personnels (*A1* et *B1*) étaient l'un et l'autre des individus d'esprit particulièrement vif, et, en donnant au terme le sens qu'il peut posséder dans ces sociétés, plus cultivés que leurs compagnons[1].

Le commandement comporte, en outre, un certain nombre d'attributions déterminées; c'est le chef qui fabrique le poison de flèche; et il préside aux cérémonies d'initiation, de mariage ou d'enterrement, dont nous parlerons plus loin. Il organise les chants et les danses, les fêtes, soit quand elles assument un caractère rituel. soit dans un but de distraction purement profane. C'est enfin lui qui organise les parties de jeu de balle. Le jeu de balle — à la tête — présente une diffusion très large dans le Mato Grosso occidental et septentrional, puisqu'on le rencontre depuis les Paressi jusqu'aux tribus du Bas-Guaporé; chez ces derniers, nous avons pu recueillir des évidences de sa signification sociologique. Il en est peut-être de même chez les Nambikwara; mais, au moins pendant la période de vie nomade, le jeu de balle est pratiqué dans un but purement récréatif; les camps se constituent au hasard des présences et selon l'occasion du moment, et la partie se déroule dans un esprit de complète improvisation.

GUERRE ET COMMERCE.

Les deux points doivent être traités simultanément, les échanges commerciaux représentant habituellement des guerres potentielles pacifiquement réso-

[1] La théorie indigène du Pouvoir a fait l'objet d'une étude plus poussée : C. Lévi-Strauss, *Chief and chieftainship among a primitive tribe : The Nambikwara of Northwestern Matto Grosso*. Transactions of the New-York Academy of Sciences, 1944.

lues, et les guerres, l'issue de transactions malheureuses. Parmi les nombreuses bandes qui croisent à travers la brousse pendant la saison sèche, il faut distinguer celles qui sont apparentées par des liens familiaux, et qui représentent souvent l'effectif d'un village — ou d'un groupe de villages — d'hiver qui a « éclaté » en perspective de la vie nomade. Ces bandes entretiennent entre elles des relations normalement pacifiques, bien que pas nécessairement. Au contraire, les bandes étrangères les unes aux autres, composées de membres non parents entre eux, et dont la localisation géographique est très éloignée, ou qui sont même séparées par des différences de langage, se redoutent en même temps qu'elles se sentent nécessaires les unes aux autres; c'est, en effet, seulement à l'occasion de rencontres qu'elles pourront se procurer des articles désirables que seule l'une d'entre elles est capable d'obtenir ou de fabriquer. Ces articles nous ont paru appartenir essentiellement à trois catégories : d'abord les femmes, que seules les expéditions victorieuses permettent d'enlever. Puis des semences, notamment des semences de haricots, et enfin de la céramique, ou même des fragments de céramique utilisés pour faire les pesons des fuseaux. Le groupe *a1*, dont le niveau culturel est nettement inférieur (surtout par l'ignorance de la poterie) à celui de ses voisins occidentaux et méridionaux, avait, au dire de son chef, mené pendant ces dernières années plusieurs campagnes dans le but de se procurer ces deux derniers articles.

Aussi, l'attitude de deux bandes qui savent qu'elles sont dans le voisinage l'une de l'autre est-elle très significative. Elles craignent la prise de contact, et en même temps elles la désirent. En fait, elles ne peuvent se rencontrer accidentellement, car, depuis plusieurs semaines elles guettent la fumée verticale de leur feux de campement qui s'élève, parfaitement discernable à plusieurs dizaines de kilomètres, au milieu du ciel clair de la saison froide; et c'est un des spectacles les plus impressionnants des territoires Nambikwara que ces fumées, qui peuplent soudainement, vers le soir, un horizon que l'on aurait cru désertique. La bande qui s'approche est-elle amicale ou hostile? On l'ignore, et l'on discute longuement de la conduite à tenir. Pendant des jours ou des semaines on s'évite en maintenant une distance raisonnable entre les feux, puis un jour, selon que le contact apparaît comme inévitable, comme désirable, ou comme nécessaire, les femmes et les enfants se dispersent dans la brousse et les hommes partent pour affronter l'inconnu. Nous avons assisté à l'une de ces « rencontres » (*nakohâtige, b1*). Entre les deux bandes réduites à leurs éléments masculins s'engage une longue conversation (*dejnihotige, b1*), ou plus exactement, les leaders se livrent, chacun à son tour, à une sorte de monologue prolongé, composé d'exclamations proférées les unes à la suite des autres sur un ton à la fois plaintif et larmoyant, où la voix s'élève et traîne de façon nasillarde sur la fin de chaque mot. Le groupe animé d'intentions belliqueuses expose ses griefs; les pacifiques protestent de leurs bonnes intentions. Il ne nous a pas été possible de reconstituer la traduction mot à mot de ces discours; nous en donnons néanmoins le texte indigène, tel que nous avons

pu le recueillir, et sa traduction approximative, afin d'en montrer la construction et le ton spécifique :

36. Un groupe commence : *ni̯aroéndigé ninoku̯é*. — «Nous sommes très irrités! vous êtes nos ennemis!» Et, après une série d'exclamations de ce type, l'autre réplique : *i̯á orau̯é tou̯adeé nuhai̯giʔín núkənaetié núkənai̯ní nu̯kenitenohín moladeringu̯ín nagataʃini̯ot endigu̯é*. — «Nous ne sommes pas irrités! Nous sommes vos frères! Nous sommes amis! Vos amis! De vrais amis! Nous pouvons nous comprendre!» (*b1*)

Après avoir échangé ces protestations pacifiques, les groupes se reforment et un campement commun est organisé, chaque groupe conservant son individualité et réunissant ses feux, et parfois des chants et des danses sont organisés, au cours desquels chaque groupe déprécie sa propre exhibition au profit de celle de l'autre :

37. *tamaín ái̯tne munái̯ti̯ere munái̯ti̯enái̯tiore ni̯aní* (*b1*)
Les Tamandé chantent bien; bien chanter pour moi c'est fini!

Dans un cas dont nous avons été témoins, le ton général s'est très vite élevé avec l'excitation de la rencontre, et la nuit n'était pas encore terminée que les discussions mélangées aux chants faisaient un extraordinaire vacarme, dont la signification nous échappait complètement. Des gestes de menace s'esquissaient, parfois même des rixes se produisaient, tandis que d'autres indigènes s'interposaient en médiateurs. Toutes ces manifestations hostiles sont stylisées, et se ramènent à des gestes mettant en cause les parties sexuelles. La menace ou le geste d'hostilité des Nambikwara consiste, de la part de l'agresseur, à saisir des deux mains sa verge et à la diriger vers l'adversaire en gonflant le ventre et en le portant en avant, et en fléchissant les genoux (ce geste est d'ailleurs aussi plaisamment accompli par les hommes à l'adresse des enfants quand ils veulent se débarrasser d'eux). La seconde étape consiste en une agression sur la personne de l'adversaire, visant à arracher la touffe de paille de *buriti* attachée sur le devant de la ceinture, au-dessus des parties sexuelles. Celles-ci «sont cachées par la paille» et «on se bat pour arracher la paille». Cette action est purement symbolique, car le cache-sexe masculin est fait d'un matériau si fragile, et se réduit à si peu de chose (et souvent d'ailleurs inexistant) qu'il est hors de question qu'il assure une protection ou une dissimulation quelconque des organes. Une autre forme d'agression consiste à s'emparer de l'arc et des flèches de l'adversaire et à les déposer à l'écart. Dans tous ces comportements, l'attitude des indigènes est extrêmement tendue comme s'ils étaient (et vraisemblablement, ils sont) dans un état de colère violente et contenue. Ces bagarres dégénèrent, parfois, sans doute, en conflits généralisés, mais, en l'occurrence, elles se calmèrent à l'aube. Tou-

jours dans le même état d'irritation apparente, et avec des gestes sans douceur, les adversaires se mirent alors à s'inspecter mutuellement, palpant rapidement les pendants d'oreille, les bracelets de coton, les petits ornements de plumes, en marmonnant des paroles rapides :

38. *tõhé tõhé kãhé kãhé munin'iti* (*b1*)
Donne, donne, vois, vois, c'est joli !

Cette *inspection de réconciliation* marque la conclusion normale du conflit. Et, en effet, c'est elle qui introduit le nouvel aspect que vont prendre les relations entre les deux groupes : les échanges commerciaux. Aussi sommaire que soit la culture matérielle des Nambikwara, les produits de l'industrie des différents groupes sont hautement prisés par leurs voisins. Les groupes orientaux ont besoin de poteries et de semences ; les groupes septentrionaux et centraux considèrent que leurs voisins méridionaux font des colliers particulièrement précieux. Aussi, la rencontre de deux groupes, quand elle peut se dérouler de façon pacifique, a-t-elle pour conséquence une série de cadeaux réciproques ; le conflit toujours possible fait place à un marché. Celui-ci présente de très remarquables caractères en ce sens que, si l'on regarde les prestations comme autant de présents, ceux-ci ne comportent aucun remerciement ni témoignage de satisfaction. Et si on les considère comme des échanges, ceux-ci s'effectuent sans aucun marchandage, tentative pour mettre l'article en valeur, dépréciation, ou manifestation de désaccord entre les parties. A vrai dire, on a du mal à admettre que des échanges sont en cours ; chacun vaque à ses occupations habituelles, et les objets ou produits passent de l'un à l'autre, sans que celui qui donne fasse remarquer le geste par lequel il dépose son présent, et sans que celui qui reçoit prête attention à son nouveau bien. Ainsi s'échangent du coton décortiqué et des pelotes de fil ; des blocs de cire ou de résine ; de la pâte d'*urucu* ; des coquillages, des pendants d'oreille, des bracelets et des colliers ; du tabac et des semences ; des plumes et des lattes de bambou destinées à faire les pointes de flèches ; des écheveaux de fibres de palmes, des piquants de porc-épic ; des pots entiers ou des débris de céramique ; des calebasses. Cette mystérieuse circulation de marchandises s'opère sans hâte pendant une demi-journée ou une journée tout entière, après quoi les groupes se séparent, et chacun fait l'inventaire de ce qu'il a reçu, et se souvient de ce qu'il a donné. Ainsi les Nambikwara s'en remettent-ils entièrement, pour l'équité des transactions, à la générosité du partenaire. L'idée qu'on puisse estimer, discuter ou marchander, exiger ou recouvrer, leur est totalement étrangère. Nous avions promis à un indigène un sabre d'abattis comme prix du transport d'un message à un groupe voisin. La commission fut faite, mais au retour du messager, nous avions négligé, occupé à d'autres besognes, de lui remettre immédiatement la récompense convenue, pensant qu'il viendrait lui-même la chercher. Il n'en fut rien, et le lendemain nous ne pûmes le trouver ; il était parti, très irrité nous dirent ses compagnons, et nous ne

l'avons plus revu. Nous en fûmes réduits à remettre le présent à un autre indigène. Dans ces conditions, il n'est pas surprenant que, les échanges terminés, l'un des groupes reparte mécontent de son lot et accumule pendant des semaines ou des mois, en faisant l'inventaire de ses acquisitions et en se rappelant ses propres présents, une amertume qui deviendra de plus en plus agressive. Bien souvent, semble-t-il, les guerres n'ont pas d'autre origine; il existe naturellement d'autres causes, telles qu'un assassinat, ou un rapt de femmes, soit qu'on désire en prendre l'initiative, soit que l'on veuille venger une précédente attaque; mais il ne semble pas qu'une bande se sente collectivement tenue à des représailles pour un dommage fait à l'un de ses membres. Bien plus souvent, étant donné la très vive et permanente animosité qui règne entre les groupes, ces prétextes bons à exciter les esprits sont volontiers accueillis, surtout si l'on se sent en force, soit par l'importance de l'effectif du groupe, soit par une alliance avec des bandes voisines contre un ennemi commun, conclue par l'intermédiaire de messagers agissant comme ambassadeurs. La proposition de guerre est présentée par un individu exalté, ou qui expose devant ses compagnons ses griefs particuliers, sur le même ton et dans le même style où se font les discours de rencontre :

39. *ẽ akinãẽ ẽednãẽ yõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ yalaurijenʔẽ.* (*b1*)

dont le sens, très approximatif, est : « Holà ! Venez ici ! Allons ! je suis irrité ! très irrité ! des flèches ! des grandes flèches ! » Les indigènes s'excitent tellement à l'occasion de ces discours épiques, qu'il n'est possible d'obtenir le commentaire des formules que bien après qu'elles ont été citées, et sans doute de façon très infidèle. Mais la guerre n'est pas une matière à décision purement profane; elle réclame une cérémonie préliminaire qui déterminera si les présages sont ou non favorables. Revêtus de parures spéciales : touffes de paille de *buriti* bariolées de rouge, casques de peau de jaguar, les hommes s'assemblent sous la conduite du chef et exécutent la danse et le chant spécial de la guerre[1]. Un rite divinatoire est ensuite accompli; le chef, ou le sorcier dans les groupes où il existe, va solennellement cacher une flèche dans un coin de brousse. La flèche est recherchée le lendemain. Si elle est maculée de sang, l'expédition est décidée, sinon on y renonce[2]. Beaucoup d'expéditions guerrières ainsi commencées se terminent après quelques kilomètres de marche. L'excitation et l'enthousiasme tombent, et la troupe rentre au logis. Mais certaines sont poussées jusqu'à la réalisation,

[1] Danses et musique feront l'objet d'une publication spéciale.

[2] Cette utilisation symbolique d'une flèche semble typique des cultures situées au nord de l'Amazone. Le fait est intéressant, étant donné les affinités septentrionales de la langue Nambikwara. Sur l'emploi de la flèche comme message de guerre, cf. Rorn, *An inquiry*, etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grunberg, *Zwei Jahres unter den Indianern*, etc., Berlin, 1910, vol. 2, p. 316; Gumilla, *Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco*, Barcelone, 1791, vol. 1, p. 134.

et peuvent être très meurtrières. Les Nambikwara attaquent habituellement à l'aube et tendent leur embuscade en se dispersant à travers la brousse. Le signal d'attaque est donné de proche en proche grâce au sifflet que les indigènes portent pendu au cou. Ce petit sifflet, composé de deux tubes de bambou liés avec du fil de coton, reproduit approximativement le cri du grillon, et pour cette raison sans doute, porte le même nom (*kalélé*) que cet insecte.

MAGIE, RITES ET CROYANCES RELIGIEUSES.

Des croyances de caractère magique et religieux jouent aussi leur rôle dans la vie sociale. La plus importante est la notion de *nánde* (*b1*). Pour l'analyser, nous devons d'abord dire quelques mots des poisons. Les Nambikwara sont des empoisonneurs très experts. Ils fabriquent pour leurs flèches, ou tout au moins pour certaines d'entre elles, du *curare* conservé dans de petits pots de terre[1]. Sans nous étendre ici sur la fabrication du *curare*, il faut noter que cette préparation, bien que réservée aux chefs et aux sorciers, n'est entourée d'aucun rituel, et ne donne lieu à aucune opération magique. Les indigènes confectionnent le *curare* publiquement, en appliquant des recettes et en prenant des précautions qui peuvent être essentielles à l'efficacité du produit ou constituer de simples préjugés, mais, qui, toutes, ont un caractère positif. Leur attitude vis-à-vis de ce poison peut donc être considérée comme scientifique. A côté du *curare*, les Nambikwara connaissent d'autres poisons d'origine également végétale, et qui se présentent sous la forme de poudres contenues dans des petits tubes. Ceux-ci sont faits de tuyaux de plumes, ou de tronçons de bambou ou d'autre bois, évidés et bouchés aux deux extrémités avec un tampon de moelle végétale ou de coton. Certains sont ornés d'enroulements de rubans d'écorce ou de fil de coton, et parfois décorés de points et de traits rouges faits avec de la pâte d'*urucu*[2]. Ces tubes sont habituellement liés en paquets de deux ou trois, ou plus, et sous cette forme, tous les indigènes possèdent une provision de poison dont il leur arrive rarement de se séparer. Nous n'avons rien pu savoir sur la préparation de ces drogues, mais il semble qu'il existe des variétés différentes, utilisées, soit par les hommes, soit par les femmes. Notamment, les poisons dont de très petites doses sont contenues dans des tuyaux de plume, seraient,

[1] L'étude du *curare* Nambikwara a été faite, à l'occasion de notre expédition, par notre ami et compagnon le Dr J. A. Villard. Cf. Villard, *A preparação do curare pelos Nambikwaras*, Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; Communication à l'Académie de Médecine de Paris, *id.* LVIII, 1939, p. 117-118.

[2] Cf. *Rondonia*. Roquette Pinto a recueilli des exemplaires de ces tubes et reproduit l'un d'eux (*Rondonia*, p. 239 et fig. 34), mais semble ne connaître ni leur usage, ni la nature du contenu.

au dire d'un informateur, des poisons de femmes, et aussi beaucoup plus redoutables. Les « poisons de tube » (à la différence du poison de flèche qui n'est employé que pour la chasse, et jamais pour la guerre) jouent un rôle important dans les relations interindividuelles. Ils sont l'instrument courant des vengeances amoureuses ou commerciales. Pour définir ces poisons, on trouve des termes spéciaux selon les dialectes; ainsi le poison de flèche est spécialement nommé : *inára* (*a1*); *dédaru* (*a2*); *tíre*, *náde* (*b1*); *áirare* (*b2*); *iriṗá* (*c*). Mais l'ensemble des poisons de flèche et des poisons de tubes sont désignés par un terme plus général, appartenant au dialecte *b1*, mais qui est compris et utilisé par tous les groupes : *náde*, qu'on pourrait être tenté, à tort, de traduire par *poison;* il faut noter cependant, dès maintenant, que dans le cas des poisons de tube, le terme *náde* désigne à la fois le tube et son contenu.

Mais à côté de ces « vrais » poisons, que nous appellerons scientifiques, il est d'autres substances dont l'action supposée est de caractère purement magique. Certains tubes contiennent, non pas une poudre destinée à être mêlée aux aliments, mais des fragments de résine de l'arbre nommé en portugais « barrigudo » ou « barrigudeira » (*Bombax ventricosus*) et en Nambikwara *sahárudiatru* (*a1/2*), *iridare* (*b1*), *jakiṗa* (*c*). Ces fragments sont utilisés pour des « projections magiques » qui s'exécutent de la façon suivante : un fragment de résine est placé entre le rebord inférieur de la paume de la main gauche tenue horizontalement et l'extrémité de l'index de la main droite verticalement tendu (position appelée *jaṗehére* [*a1*]). En exerçant une forte pression du doigt sur le bord de l'autre main, l'index dérape et lance le menu projectile à une distance pouvant atteindre plusieurs mètres (*asatadidiṗa* [*a1*], *adímdige* [*b1*], *ndímdige* [*b2*]). On considère que la personne atteinte par un fragment lancé de cette manière deviendra semblable au tronc de l'arbre *barrigudo :* étroit à la base et au sommet, et renflé dans la partie médiane; il tombera malade, son ventre se mettra à gonfler, et finalement il mourra. Ce mode de lancer est d'ailleurs souvent employé, surtout par les enfants, comme taquinerie, et pour bombarder un adversaire de petits fruits, de fragments de terre, ou de cailloux; la victime accueille l'attaque dont elle est l'objet avec indifférence, nervosité ou colère selon l'occasion et le moment, mais il n'est pas douteux que, même dans son utilisation profane comme jeu, l'opération magique conserve un résidu spécifique, comme il en est du jeu de « montrer les cornes » chez nos enfants. Néanmoins la « projection magique » constitue une modalité d'action bien différente de l'administration d'un poison d'une efficacité reconnue, par voie sanguine ou buccale, et les indigènes en ont parfaitement conscience. Ils ne mêleraient jamais par jeu du poison de tube à la nourriture d'un compagnon, sachant trop bien quel serait le résultat; tandis qu'ils n'éprouvent aucun scrupule à se livrer à des démonstrations de projection magique au milieu d'une nombreuse assemblée, et ces démonstrations s'achèvent parfois en jeu, tout le monde y prenant

part. Ici le résultat physiologique n'est pas considéré comme impliqué par la nature propre de la substance ou par l'efficacité spécifique du geste. Il est attendu comme le résultat d'un ensemble à la fois physique, psychologique et moteur; il nécessite la malignité de l'intention, en même temps que la réunion d'un ensemble de circonstances essentielles ou accessoires, mais toutes de caractère rituel. Et pourtant la résine, le tube et l'opération elle-même, sont aussi appelés *náude*.

Enfin, une anecdote mettra en lumière un troisième aspect de la même notion. Nous avions emporté quelques-uns de ces grands ballons en papier de soie multicolore que l'on emplit d'air chaud en suspendant à leur base une petite torche, et qu'on lance par centaines, au Brésil, à l'occasion de la fête de la Saint-Jean; et l'idée malencontreuse nous prit une nuit d'en offrir le spectacle aux indigènes. Un premier ballon qui prit feu au sol suscita une vive hilarité, comme si le public avait eu la moindre notion de ce qui aurait dû, en fait, se produire. Au contraire, le second réussit trop bien : il s'éleva rapidement, monta si haut que sa flamme se confondit avec les étoiles, erra longtemps au-dessus de nous, et finalement disparut. Mais la gaieté du début avait fait place, dans l'assistance, à de tout autres sentiments; les hommes nous regardaient avec attention et hostilité, et les femmes, tête enfouie entre les bras et blotties l'une contre l'autre, étaient parfaitement terrifiées. Le mot de *náude* était répété avec insistance. Le lendemain matin, une délégation d'hommes vint conférer avec nous, exigeant d'inspecter toute la provision de ballons afin de voir «s'il ne s'y trouvait pas du *náude*». Cet examen fut fait de façon très minutieuse; et par ailleurs, grâce à l'esprit remarquablement positif (malgré ce qui vient d'être dit) des Nambikwara, une démonstration du pouvoir ascensionnel de l'air chaud à l'aide de petits fragments de papier lâchés au-dessus d'un feu, fut, sinon comprise, en tout cas acceptée. Et, comme à l'habitude quand il s'agit d'excuser un incident (qui aurait pu avoir des conséquences très fâcheuses), on mit tout sur le compte des femmes, «qui ne comprennent rien», «ont eu peur» et redoutaient mille calamités [1].

Deux conclusions se dégagent de ces faits. La première est que le terme de *náude* dépasse de beaucoup la signification stricte du mot *poison*, et qu'il connote tout espèces d'actions de caractère exceptionnel et, par là même, menaçantes, ainsi que les produits ou objets susceptibles de déterminer cette action. Tout objet ou opération *náude* présentent un caractère commun, exprimé par le terme *kakore;* celui-ci désigne les produits ou substances dangereuses, et, en même temps, de nature menaçante ou périlleuse, que peuvent posséder certains êtres vivants à titre spécifique ou seulement temporaire. Ainsi le poison, le serpent, l'araignée vénimeuse, le jaguar, sont *kakore;* mais le sont également une tribu ennemie, ou un indigène (même si c'est un

[1] Plus tard, Al nous réclama des ballons pour faire lui-même une démonstration devant les groupes alliés assemblés par ses soins. Mais, moins oublieux que lui, nous nous y refusâmes obstinément.

parent ou un ami) quand il projette une vengeance ou se trouve dans un état de violente colère. La seconde conclusion est que les poisons, quel que soit le caractère positif et utilitaire de leur préparation, ne sont pas conçus scientifiquement comme des substances provoquant des désordres physiologiques, mais comme des véhicules ou des réceptacles de cette force mystérieuse qui bouleverse l'ordre habituel des phénomènes. Néanmoins, le *nánde* n'est pas conçu sous la forme abstraite d'une puissance; il réside dans, et est indissociable de, certains aspects matériels apparemment reconnaissables. Quand les indigènes examinaient nos ballons de papier de soie, ils y recherchaient quelque chose qui soit le signe concret de leur nature magique et malévolente; et pendant qu'ils procédaient à leur inspection, nous nous demandions avec anxiété quels pouvaient être les caractères spécifiques (heureusement absents) du produit ou de l'objet *nánde*. S'il est donc vrai que le sens du terme *nánde* soit plus complexe que celui du mot poison, il n'en faut pas moins reconnaître que le poison apporte le meilleur exemple et la plus parfaite illustration de la conception indigène : c'est une substance nettement identifiée, et reconnaissable par ses caractères extérieurs, à laquelle correspondent nécessairement des effets maléfiques. Le poison est donc le *nánde* par excellence, bien que celui-ci puisse exister sous d'autres formes, moins précises et plus complexes à la fois. Nous attachons une extrême importance au fait qu'une technique rigoureusement utilitaire de la fabrication des poisons se trouve associée à une théorie qui rend compte de leur efficacité par l'intermédiaire de concepts métaphysiques. La présence, chez les Nambikwara d'un *curare* réduit au produit de base, et dont la préparation exclut tout rituel, associée au très bas niveau de culture de ces indigènes, pose de façon particulièrement impressionnante la question de savoir si ces caractères très primitifs le sont à titre originel, ou constituent les résidus d'une culture appauvrie. Or, il est beaucoup plus vraisemblable d'interpréter la contradiction apparente de la théorie et de la pratique en matière de poison, par la perte des rituels complexes qui sont attachés, plus au nord, à la fabrication du *curare*, qu'il ne le serait d'expliquer comment une théorie de caractère surnaturel a pu s'édifier sur la base d'un traitement, resté purement expérimental, de la racine du *strychnos*.

A côté de la notion de *nánde*, nous devons en examiner une autre, qui fait l'objet d'une élaboration particulièrement poussée dans les groupes orientaux, celle de l'*atésu* (*a1*). *Atésu* signifie animal, mais l'utilisation du terme par les indigènes est complexe. C'est d'abord l'animal pris dans un sens générique, par opposition à l'inanimé : on me présente un gâteau de miel, et désignant un cadavre d'abeille qui s'y trouve encore pris, je demande ce que c'est; on ne me répond pas, «c'est une abeille», mais : *atésu*, «c'est la bête». *Atésu* désigne ensuite des animaux réels, mais sans appellation propre dans le vocabulaire, et de caractère particulièrement redoutable. C'est ainsi que les bœufs sont désignés de ce nom par les Nambikwara qui n'en avaient

jamais vu avant les années 1910-1915, et auxquels ils inspirent une terreur très vive. Nous trouvons ensuite le même terme pour désigner (groupes orientaux) les étoiles, et le même nom est donné au tic-tac de la montre, donc conçus, les unes et l'autre, comme des réalités animées de caractère mystérieux. Enfin, *atéu* est un animal déterminé, d'essence surnaturelle, que l'on voit apparaître dans deux cas : la nuit, sur le chemin, à certains endroits et pendant certaines périodes, et aux approches de la mort. Dans le premier cas, on risque d'être attaqué et tué par l'*atéu* si on ne se défend pas par des moyens appropriés. Ces moyens consistent dans l'épieu (distinct du bâton à fouir), propulsé d'une manière prescrite. L'épieu, une large pièce de bois de forme aplatie et pointue à l'extrémité, est muni d'un manche habituellement orné de tressages d'écorce blanche et noire (épieu : *hideu* [*a1*], *hetéhre* [*b1*], *makalé* [*c*]). Cet instrument est utilisé dans trois circonstances : à la guerre; pour conjurer — ou attirer ? — la pluie en le manipulant selon un rituel approprié, comme si l'on traçait des signes dans l'air en le brandissant; enfin pour tuer l'*atéu*, en le projetant dans la direction de l'apparition par l'intermédiaire d'une dent de jaguar; l'épieu est placé obliquement dans la main gauche, la pointe dirigée dans la direction de l'*atéu*, et la dent, manœuvrée par la main droite, agit comme un crochet de propulseur. L'*atéu* apparaît seulement la nuit. Il peut emprunter la forme du jaguar ou d'autres animaux qui sont alors remplis d'intentions homicides. Lorsque l'*atéu* est atteint dans sa forme terrestre par la pointe de l'épieu, une grande effusion de sang se produit. L'animal « surnaturel » n'est jamais mangé. On abandonne son cadavre aux charognards.

Dans le second cas, on se trouve en face d'une véritable théorie de la mort. Le malade qui voit apparaître l'*atéu* sait qu'il est condamné, et celui-ci l'emporte, en effet, sur-le-champ ou revient le chercher peu après. La version courante de la mort de *A21*, noyé dans une rivière en juillet 1938, était que l'*atéu* l'avait emporté au fond de l'eau. L'*atéu* vivrait dans l'eau; un informateur le décrit comme ayant « une grande bouche et beaucoup de colliers ».

Les groupes méridionaux, centraux et septentrionaux témoignent d'une pensée religieuse plus élaborée. Les notions précédentes sont, chez eux, couronnées par une troisième, qui n'apparaît pas aussi clairement dans les groupes orientaux bien qu'elle y soit vraisemblablement présente, celle du vent et du tonnerre, hypostasiés sous les espèces d'une puissance semi-personnelle nommée *anu*[1]. Dans ces groupes, celle-ci se substitue à l'*atéu*, dans la théorie de la mort, et il est possible de communiquer avec elle par l'intermédiaire de révélations et de visions.

[1] L'origine tupi de ce terme est évidente : on rapprochera *Mundurucu*, *anua* : nuée de pluie; *Nagumèra*, *anu* : nuage; *Campinas Dias*, *anuana* : chute; *Cambeua* (Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, XV, 1890), *anuano* (Oyampi) : pluie; *Kiambeth* (Boesler Archiv, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), *anuna*, *anuan*, *anu* (Tupinapo) : Regen; *Nimuendaju* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI, 1914), *anu* (Lingua Geral) : chute.

THÉORIE DE LA MORT.

La mort distingue entre les hommes d'une part, les femmes et les enfants de l'autre. Les premiers, lorsqu'ils meurent, se transforment en jaguars qui représentent, par conséquent, autant d'êtres humains réincarnés. Les femmes et les enfants, au contraire, disparaissent avec le vent et l'orage, et ne sont susceptibles d'aucune réapparition.

40. *dené dirige yetnatirina ihnadyre lukyindige ndukyindige monink'jadukyindige dené dirige mandyre littige amonetlitige tyadirige yatindige* (*b1*)

La femme qui meurt et l'enfant qui meurt ne se changent pas en bête. L'homme qui meurt se change en jaguar, la femme qui meurt avec l'orage s'en va avec l'orage disparaît.

De là, chez les Nambikwara, la seule prohibition alimentaire parfaitement nette : il en existe théoriquement plusieurs, transgressées chaque fois que l'occasion s'en présente, telles que celles qui portent sur l'épervier, les vers des noix de *bacuiuva*, et il s'y ajoute une répugnance probable vis-à-vis de la viande du *urubu* (*Cathartes* sp.). Les poules et les chiens ne sont jamais mangés, mais leur introduction est récente. Par contre, le jaguar peut être chassé et tué, et sa dépouille est très recherchée puisque le cuir est utilisé pour faire les bonnets de fourrure portés dans le costume de guerre ; mais il n'est mangé sous aucun prétexte :

41. [suite du texte précédent] *lukyindige inkare virige littitirige ihnitidige yirige* (*b1*)

[le défunt] se change en jaguar, un autre le mange, le jaguar l'enlève, à un autre il est laissé pour le manger.

Cette théorie complète les indications recueillies dans le groupe oriental, plus qu'elle n'en diffère. Le jaguar joue en effet le même rôle que l'*atóu* : il emporte aussi le mourant. Mais la théorie centrale ajoute un complément : c'est que le mort s'identifie à l'animal, qui devient ainsi d'une nature surnaturelle. Il n'a pas été possible de savoir si les *atóu* qu'on rencontre dans la nuit sont considérés comme les âmes de morts réincarnées [1].

[1] On reconnaît dans le jaguar anthropophage et doué d'une nature surnaturelle un thème typiquement *tupi*, bien que sa diffusion actuelle soit beaucoup plus vaste. Voir à ce sujet, MÉTRAUX, *loc. cit.*, passim, et NIMUENDAJÚ, *Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani*, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. De même, les *atóu* dont il vient d'être question au paragraphe précédent, évoquent curieusement les *yurupari*, ou *ananga*, génies de la brousse des anciens *Tupi*, contre lesquels on se défend avec un brandon enflammé qui

COMMUNICATION AVEC UN MONDE SURNATUREL : SHAMANISME.

On considère comme possible de recevoir des visions de choses éloignées et des révélations d'événements futurs. Ces communications surnaturelles se produisent habituellement à l'occasion des tempêtes et des orages; elles sont soudaines et imprévues. Tout adulte mâle est apte à les recevoir, car dans ce cas encore, les femmes (sauf, semble-t-il, les plus âgées) sont exclues de la vie spirituelle :

42. *iaiãdãdãi dãsã tamãmatatjãsi nahoe ejãsi ekadjãsi kanahãday yatli ajãpoatlikatãte* (61)

Invisible aux femmes les hommes le voient [le tonnerre] : « Loin je vois, tout près je vois, demain il arrivera, tout près il arrivera. »

(Il s'agit d'une vision prémonitoire de messagers venus d'une autre tribu.)

Ces visions sont attribuées au tonnerre qui les envoie aux hommes sous sa forme semi-personnelle *enã*.

Ainsi les Nambikwara conçoivent trois types de forces surnaturelles : d'abord la puissance abstraite, mais déposée dans des objets ou des substances, du *nãnde*; ensuite des esprits agissant sous la forme d'animaux surnaturels ou semi-naturels, *etãsu* ou jaguar. Enfin le tonnerre, avec lequel il est possible, dans certaines conditions, d'entretenir des relations personnelles. Chaque individu peut, dans une certaine mesure, établir des contacts avec ces forces, néanmoins ce sont les shamans qui détiennent la fonction spécialisée d'intermédiaires entre le groupe humain et le monde surnaturel. Les indications que nous donnerons sur ce point seront très sommaires, car il a été impossible d'obtenir de nos informateurs un traitement cohérent de la question du shamanisme. Aucun des groupes rencontrés ne possédait de shaman, à l'exception d'un seul (groupe *c*) où les pouvoirs de chef et de sorcier se trouvaient

joue donc le même rôle que l'épieu magique (cf. Tastevin, cité par Métraux, *loc. cit.*, p. 61). Enfin, l'*etãsu* lui-même paraît souvent sous la forme du jaguar; et, dans les groupes orientaux ou moins, il joue le rôle de Messager de la Mort que les groupes central, méridional et septentrional confient plutôt au jaguar. Il y a donc, dans le vocabulaire, une connexion étroite entre les étoiles, le jaguar et l'*etãsu*, déjà notée par Claude d'Abbeville (cit. par Métraux, l. c., p. 49) chez les Tupinamba : ceux-ci identifiaient le jaguar et les étoiles. Comme le jaguar « céleste » (Montoya), « anthropophage » (Nimuendaju), le jaguar des Nambikwara présente une ambivalence remarquable : il est sacré, et en même temps, on le tue. Enfin, la linguistique comparée confirme le rapprochement : le terme qui désigne le jaguar dans le dialecte-*sã*, *inãlu* se rattache au nom du jaguar chez les Tupi centraux et méridionaux : *mayuara* (*Emerillon*, Coudreau); *saoruba* (*Guajajara*, Nimuendaju); *jaoruba* (*Tupinapé*, Kissenberth).

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

concentrés sur un seul individu (*C20*). Notre meilleur informateur, *B1*, chef du groupe allié, était catégorique sur le fait que *C20* réunissait les deux qualités de *yelikabala* (chef, *c*) et de *ndáire* (tonnerre, *c*), alors qu'il n'était lui-même que *yalikáde*, chef temporel. Le sorcier serait donc, à la fois, celui qui s'identifie avec le tonnerre, et celui qui communique avec lui sous la forme personnelle désignée par le nom de *amó*. De même, dans les groupes orientaux (*a1* restreint et élargi, et *a2*), il n'a pas été possible de déceler la présence d'un sorcier ou d'un individu en tenant lieu. Le fait peut s'interpréter de trois façons différentes : que les sorciers se soient tenus à l'écart ou aient dissimulé leur nature; que l'institution du sorcier soit, en fait, absente dans certains groupes; ou que, dans ces mêmes groupes, les fonctions de sorcier soient exercées par le chef, et qu'à l'inverse de ce qui se produit dans le groupe *c*, ce soient les fonctions spirituelles qui se trouvent au second plan par rapport aux temporelles. C'est cette hypothèse que nous considérons comme la plus vraisemblable. Dans le groupe *a1*, *A1* fabrique le poison de flèche et traite les malades par succion, fonctions qui, dans le groupe *c*, sont toujours du ressort de *C20*, considéré comme shaman beaucoup plus que comme chef de groupe.

Quoi qu'il en soit, et comme nous venons de le dire, c'est le sorcier qui fabrique les poisons, et c'est lui qui procède au traitement magique des malades, nettement différent de la thérapeutique positive également pratiquée. Les Nambikwara connaissent un assez grand nombre de plantes médicinales, et traitent certaines maladies par leur secours; c'est ainsi qu'ils soignent l'ophtalmie purulente par une infusion de *pao preto* (*ikátu n'ferim*, *a1*), instillée dans l'œil à l'aide d'un cornet de feuilles, de l'extrémité inférieure duquel le liquide tombe goutte à goutte. Mais d'autres maladies, considérées comme le résultat d'un empoisonnement (ou d'un sort; dans les deux cas : *nánde*) sont exclusivement du domaine du sorcier. Celui-ci confectionne des «flèches de tonnerre» (*ndaórnde*, *b1*) en tous points semblables à celles de chasse, sauf leurs dimensions qui sont beaucoup plus restreintes. Le traitement consiste en trois opérations : lancement des flèches autour du malade pour écarter les esprits; succion du corps pour extirper la cause de la maladie; cette dernière est enfin jetée au loin quand elle a été capturée :

43. *ãdige underãdige hadirjéeka ãngwaige tenãndige* (*b1*)
tirer, tirer loin les petites épines sucer avec la bouche, jeter [le mal] [1].

[1] L'informateur précise que, par «petites épines», il entend désigner les «flèches de tonnerre» qui n'ont, en fait, que quelques centimètres. On note la même assimilation dans d'autres régions de l'Amérique du Sud. Ainsi, l'informateur de Karsten dans le Chaco (R. Karsten, *Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco*, Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cite, comme cause de la maladie et moyen de la combattre, une «flèche» ou «écharde» (anglais : *splinter*).

Après quoi le malade est habituellement guéri et peut reprendre ses occupations :

44. *enéndige doéndige enéno déjénige* (*b1*)
être malade c'est fini [on peut] continuer.

Mais le sorcier peut nouer des relations beaucoup plus directes avec les puissances surnaturelles. Pendant notre séjour auprès de son groupe, *C20* disparut, ou plus exactement ne revint pas au campement à l'heure habituelle; les autres hommes, partis à la chasse, ne l'avaient pas vu de la journée. La nuit tomba, et vers neuf ou dix heures du soir, la consternation la plus profonde régnait au campement, et particulièrement au foyer du disparu, dont les deux femmes et l'enfant se tenaient enlacés, en pleurant par avance la mort de leur époux et père. A ce moment, nous décidâmes, accompagnés de quelques indigènes, de faire une ronde alentour. Il ne nous fallut pas marcher deux cents mètres pour découvrir *C20*, accroupi sur le sol et grelottant dans l'obscurité; il était entièrement nu, c'est-à-dire dépouillé de ses colliers, bracelets, pendants d'oreilles et de sa ceinture, et à la lumière de nos lampes électriques, nous pouvions deviner son expression tragique et son teint décomposé. Il se laissa, sans difficulté, soutenir jusqu'au campement, où il s'assit sans un mot et dans une attitude d'accablement tout à fait impressionnante. Peu à peu, son histoire lui fut arrachée par un auditoire anxieux. Il expliqua qu'il avait été emporté par le tonnerre (*amê*), [un orage avait eu lieu la même journée]; celui-ci l'avait enlevé dans les airs jusqu'à un point qu'il désigna, éloigné de 25 kilomètres du campement (rio Ananáz), l'avait dépouillé de tous ses ornements, puis ramené par la même voie et déposé à l'endroit où nous l'avions découvert épuisé. Tout le monde s'endormit en commentant l'événement, et le lendemain matin, *C20* avait retrouvé non seulement sa bonne humeur habituelle, mais aussi toutes ses parures, ce dont personne ne s'étonna, et dont il ne fournit d'ailleurs aucune explication. Mais les jours suivants, une version très différente de l'événement commença d'être colportée par les Tarundé. Ils disaient que, loin d'être entré en relation avec l'autre monde, *C20* était allé entreprendre, sous le couvert d'une disparition magique, des tractations avec une bande d'Indiens Sabané qui campaient dans le voisinage. Ces insinuations ne furent d'ailleurs jamais développées, et la version officielle de l'affaire continua d'être ostensiblement admise. Néanmoins, dans nos relations personnelles, *B1* laissa, à plusieurs reprises, deviner ses préoccupations. Comme les deux groupes nous quittèrent peu après, nous ne sûmes jamais la fin de l'histoire.

Aucune indication n'a pu être recueillie sur le mode de désignation du shaman en tant que tel. Dans la préparation du poison de flèche, *C20* était assisté par son gendre potentiel *C25*.

* * *

A côté de ses attributions surnaturelles, le chef, ou le shaman, joue un autre rôle : celui de « leader » des cérémonies et des fêtes. Les Nambikwara ont trois types de cérémonies : celles qui marquent les moments critiques de l'existence de chacun, tels que naissance, initiation, puberté, mariage, mort; les fêtes saisonnières; enfin, des cérémonies célébrées dans des occasions exceptionnelles : guerre et expéditions de chasse ou de cueillette. Nous avons déjà fait allusion aux rites de guerre, et nous parlerons plus loin des cérémonies du premier type. Nous nous bornerons donc, ici, à de brèves observations sur les autres.

Les fêtes saisonnières ont lieu au début et à la fin de la saison des pluies, et marquent vraisemblablement l'ouverture et la clôture des travaux agricoles. Elles consistent en festins, avec danse, chant et musique. Plusieurs jours à l'avance, des expéditions de chasse vont à la recherche du gibier, et on se livre aussi à de grandes parties de pêche. Le poisson semble, en effet, jouer un rôle de premier plan dans les activités rituelles [1]. D'autres indigènes partent, parfois à de longues distances, pour trouver dans les forêts qui longent le bord des rivières ou qui occupent les dépressions, le gros bambou dont ils couperont des tronçons pour en fabriquer les flageolets rituels. Ceux-ci sont longs d'environ 70 centimètres et percés de quatre trous plus le trou d'air. Un conduit d'air est ménagé à l'extrémité supérieure dans le bouchon de cire qui clôt l'orifice. Ils ne sont utilisés qu'à l'occasion de ces cérémonies et sont joués à l'unisson par groupes de trois, l'un d'eux, gravé d'une raie blanche longitudinale, étant nommé *jomóte ɣilikáde*, « flageolet chef », et joué par le chef. Un résonateur, fait d'un tronçon de bambou muni à l'extrémité inférieure d'une calebasse évidée, les accompagne habituellement (*dútonde, b1*). Les flageolets sont dits « mâles » et les résonateurs « femelles ». Assez curieusement, ces flageolets sont nommés par les groupes centraux, septentrionaux et méridionaux *jomóte* (*b1/2*) et *jamaká* (*c*), c'est-à-dire du même terme (*jamaká*) dont les Paressi désignent le même instrument, alors que les groupes orientaux, qui sont pourtant les seuls voisins immédiats des Paressi, emploient un terme tout différent : *kaigetáu* (*a1/2*). Les indigènes décrivent ainsi ces fêtes :

45. *háidone*
ɣkuérige dɟdnige iɣarhaɟdne ungerage dɲɲugerage
cacher souffler jouer [du flageolet] faire la fête pêcher du poisson.
nahundage tátige niɣattahérige káde káde káde ká aɟténdige
apporter griller faire la chicha lune lune lune cette lune danser
jukɣohdɲdige mihádage komjégerage
et une autre fois jouer [le mois suivant] plus de pluie tout est sec

[1] Voir plus loin, p. 109.

mʔādage tutəhaịhaịkụ́irige
la pluie est finie laisser transporter [les flûtes?]

háịntendige halehái̯dnige denṓ horátige eịétéende
faire le champ festoyer les femmes sont cachées elles ne le voient pas

alāgena háịtige (*b1*)
sur la place chanter.

Une très stricte prohibition porte en effet sur les flageolets. Seuls les hommes adultes peuvent en jouer :

46. *ụ́itnore ụ́itnịa imágəre.*
les enfants ne savent pas jouer du flageolet.

Et la vue des instruments est rigoureusement interdite aux femmes :

denaátịe ịatịaeninínena ednaṣo ịáịneni (*b1*).
les femmes ne peuvent les voir, les hommes seuls voient.

Ces flageolets sont donc fabriqués en grand mystère, sur le lieu même où l'on a trouvé les bambous convenables. Si l'expédition musicale rentre de jour, elle cache les flageolets dans les branches d'un arbre non loin du campement ou du village. On ne les sort que la nuit, au moment du concert, et les femmes doivent alors se retirer dans les huttes ou sous les abris, et s'entourer la tête de leurs bras. Si l'une d'elles violait l'interdiction, elle serait, dit-on, poursuivie par tous les hommes et tuée à coups de bâton. Il ne nous a pas été donné d'assister à l'une de ces fêtes, mais comme nous désirions recueillir le répertoire musical des flageolets, nous avons pu obtenir, assez difficilement d'ailleurs, qu'une mission fût envoyée pour chercher du bambou et fabriquer les instruments à notre intention (il fallut aller à 15 kilomètres environ). La troupe, partie le matin, revint au milieu de la nuit, et jusqu'au jour, nous fîmes de la musique à quelque distance du campement, afin d'éviter toute indiscrétion féminine. Comme chaque instrument sonne d'une façon légèrement différente des autres, il se dégage du jeu à l'unisson une illusion d'harmonie qui s'ajoute au charme, par lui-même très réel, de la mélodie.

Il se peut que tous les instruments de musique des Nambikwara soient liés à des activités de caractère économico-social. Des témoignages, dont il n'a pas été possible d'obtenir la confirmation décisive, présentent les flûtes nasales (*arátasu, a2*) comme destinées à assurer une récolte fructueuse du fruit *piquy*. La saison du *piquy*, qui pousse en abondance dans les savanes, est en effet une période impatiemment attendue par les indigènes : les fruits sont admirativement soupesés et dits avoir « beaucoup de graisse ». De même les flûtes de Pan (*asinʒu, a1; ịuaụʒere, b1*) seraient employées dans des rites préalables aux expéditions de chasse. Dans le cas des flûtes nasales, une double analogie a été soulignée par certains informateurs, entre leur forme et celle

du noyau de *piquy*, et entre leur nom et le nom du *piquy* (*ahâru, a1/2*); cette dernière analogie n'existe que dans le dialecte oriental (*arâtasu-ahâru*), et le rapprochement reste suspect, les Nambikwara ne dédaignant pas les calembours[1]. De même pour les flûtes de Pan, parfois appelées *du?ùru* (*a1/2*) *du?ùnde* (*b1*) qui serait aussi le nom de l'agouti (*Dasyproctas aguti*). Il n'en est pas moins vrai que plusieurs des chants recueillis ont été indiqués comme des chants de chasse ou de collecte. Un soldat de la Commission Rondon, prisonnier des Nambikwara pendant assez longtemps, a décrit à Roquette Pinto[2] une cérémonie composée de danses et de chants qui aurait suivi une chasse au tapir. Et un thème musical nous a été spontanément signalé comme le chant de la chasse au tapir.

DE LA NAISSANCE A LA MORT.

La femme Nambikwara accouche (naître : *talîttige, b1*) en position accroupie et prenant appui sur le sol par le moyen d'un bâton vertical auquel elle se tient avec les deux mains; une compagne lui verse, pendant ce temps, avec une petite calebasse, de l'eau froide sur la poitrine et sur le ventre. Le cordon ombilical est coupé ras et cautérisé avec une braise, puis recouvert d'un emplâtre de cendres chaudes.

47. *dósu sajkédutu ?akedâtelusu alósu usiinkedjutu inkétu jakesdjutu ire ire iagékediutu* (*a1*)

[Quand] la femme accouche le placenta dans la brousse est enterré; elle est malade, elle ne mange pas [pendant] une lune, une lune [et ensuite] elle mange de nouveau.

Après la cérémonie de l'ensevelissement du placenta, par conséquent, la femme resterait pendant deux mois frappée de prohibition et condamnée à un jeûne relatif. En réalité, une situation d'exception se prolonge beaucoup plus longtemps, la couvade étant observée par le mari et la femme jusqu'au moment où l'enfant est sevré, ou tout au moins jusqu'au moment où il cesse d'être exclusivement alimenté par le lait maternel.

Pour décrire l'état de couvade (*inkâtu*, « on est malade » [*a1*]; il n'existe pas de terme spécial), nous ne pouvons mieux faire que de transcrire nos observations faites au jour le jour relativement à la famille du feu 6 composée de *A21, a22* et *a23*. *a22* se distingue nettement de ses compagnes :

1° Elle ne porte aucune parure, ni ornement;

[1] Par exemple, A1 se moque de moi qui suis en train de fumer : Kúkedetu úkedetu : un fumeur est un paresseux!

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 234-235.

2° Elle ne touche à la nourriture, ni pour la récolter, ni pour la ramasser, ni pour la préparer, ni pour la cuire;

3° Elle ne parle à personne, et on ne lui adresse pas la parole;

4° Elle évite les groupes et quand la curiosité l'attire vers notre cercle, elle assiste aux distributions de présents et aux échanges, de loin et silencieusement. Si on lui donne, ou à son mari, un présent quelconque (par exemple des perles), celui-ci est aussitôt remis au bébé;

5° Elle reçoit tous les jours sa nourriture de sa mère (*a18*), qui la lui remet sans parler, et s'occupe aussi de certains soins à donner au bébé comme de l'épouiller;

6° Elle ne prend pas de bain de rivière, mais se lave avec de l'eau qu'elle va puiser elle-même dans une calebasse;

7° Elle s'absente parfois pendant des journées entières avec son mari, et, au départ, le suit de loin sans dire un mot; à ces occasions, elle emmène son bébé.

A 21 se comporte de façon similaire :

1° Il n'accompagne pas le groupe masculin quand celui-ci part à la chasse ou au jardinage;

2° Il ne s'absente que rarement, et en ce cas avec sa femme. Le reste du temps il se tient étendu sans se livrer à aucune activité artisanale; on le dit « malade » (*inkâtu*);

3° Dans la mesure où lui et sa femme se livrent aux activités les plus indispensables, il n'existe entre eux aucune division du travail. L'un ou l'autre, indifféremment, enterrent les excréments du bébé, ou placent dans les cendres le manioc reçu par *a22* de *a18* et qui constitue leur seule nourriture. L'un et l'autre sont d'une extrême maigreur, et apparaissent d'une grande faiblesse; leurs cheveux n'ont pas été coupés ou nettoyés depuis longtemps.

Vers le 20 juin 1938, ce comportement se modifie; trois jours de suite, *A21* et *a22* disparaissent pendant la journée entière; sans doute pour chasser, car, après plusieurs retours infructueux, ils reviennent (le 23 juin à 15 h.) avec le gibier suivant :

a. Une *irara* (*Mustela sp.*);
b. Trois chauve-souris;
c. Deux lézards et leurs œufs.

Irara et chauve-souris ont déjà été passés à la flamme pour brûler les poils. *a22* se met immédiatement — et pour la première fois — à nettoyer et râper une petite quantité de manioc et elle installe hâtivement une galette sous les cendres. Elle y place en même temps les œufs de lézard cassés directement, et

les retire à peine cuits; elle les partage aussitôt entre son bébé et elle-même. Pour la première fois, elle échange quelques mots avec ses voisins en riant.

Pendant ce temps, *A21* a vidé l'*irara*. Il donne l'estomac, le gros intestin, l'intestin grêle à *a2* (sœur de la femme); celle-ci, aidée par sa fille *a5*, nettoie les intestins, les met à cuire et commence à les manger avec *a5* et *a3*.

A21 coupe la queue de l'*irara*, la fait rapidement cuire, et la mange avec sa femme et son bébé.

Les trois chauve-souris ont été données à *a2* (sœur de la femme) et *a14* (sœur), qui partage son lot avec son fils *A16* et son beau-fils *A15*. *a22* fait cuire les lézards et les viscères (foie, cœur, poumons, rate, reins de l'*irara*). Elle remet l'ensemble à son mari, qui donne un morceau de foie au bébé et partage le reste avec sa femme.

Toutes ces opérations se sont déroulées très rapidement avec une sorte de hâte, et sont terminées au bout d'une demi-heure. A 15 h. 30, *a22* allume un feu différent de celui dont chaque ménage se sert, et y place l'*irara*. Elle va alors prendre son premier bain de rivière, et rapporte de l'eau dans une calebasse pour laver le bébé. Vers 16 h. 15, l'*irara* cuite est retirée du feu par *A21*. A ce moment, tout le monde est rentré au campement et a pris son emplacement habituel. *A21* et *a22*, assises auprès du nouveau feu, occupent une position centrale. *A21* découpe l'*irara* en cinq morceaux et le répartit entre la famille, comme il a été dit précédemment [1].

Dès lors, *A21* et *a22* reprennent une activité normale et ne se distinguent plus de leurs compagnons.

La couvade se caractérise donc par un isolement relatif du couple intéressé, lequel se trouve en même temps frappé d'un certain nombre de prohibitions (contacts sociaux, bains, préparation de la nourriture, parure, consommation de certains aliments). Elle se termine au moment où l'enfant prend son premier repas non exclusivement lacté (en l'occurrence des œufs de lézard et du foie d'*irara*). Ce repas fait partie d'un festin de chasse offert au groupe par les parents jusqu'alors frappés d'interdit. Mais l'atmosphère dans laquelle se déroulent ces opérations mérite d'être notée. Aucune solennité ne les entoure, et les intéressés y procèdent avec la même routine et le laisser-aller qui caractérise les activités quotidiennes. Il ne s'agit donc nullement d'une cérémonie, avec les implications psychologiques que ce terme comporte, mais d'un ensemble d'actes qui doivent être accomplis, et le sont, avec un minimum d'attention accordé à leur caractère exceptionnel.

A partir de ce moment, la vie de l'enfant Nambikwara se déroule telle que nous l'avons décrite, et sans comporter de grande différenciation selon le sexe. Ces différences ne commencent à paraître qu'aux approches de la puberté. A ce moment, les fillettes adoptent un comportement tout à fait nouveau; elles se permettent de grandes libertés, parlant brutalement à leur entourage et se

[1] Cf. plus haut, p. 74 sq.

complaisent dans des propos obscènes. C'est que la cérémonie de la puberté, qui coïncide avec le mariage, marque dans sa vie un changement décisif et c'est d'ailleurs à cette occasion qu'elle reçoit son nom. Les femmes Nambikwara se marient très rapidement après leurs premières règles. La polygamie des chefs crée un déficit permanent de femmes, et la nouvelle épouse disponible est impatiemment attendue. D'après nos informateurs, c'est la jeune fille qui indiquerait à ses parents celui de ses maris potentiels qu'elle désire épouser. Elle dit qu'elle « veut se marier vite » (*ikindurige*, *b1*); le terme du dialecte *a1* pour « se marier » étant *oyénaɲkititu* littéralement : « faire mari », il semble bien que, comme on nous l'a affirmé, l'initiative appartienne à la jeune fille :

48. *inka* (*ni*) *durednɲẽn* *durénɲe* (*b1*)
« Je veux me marier vite » [dit la fille]. « Marie-toi », répond la mère] (?)

En fait, il semble que le mariage soit décidé dès l'enfance par un accord entre les parents. Des parents prévoyants doivent préparer longtemps à l'avance le mariage de leur fils, sinon celui-ci risque de ne pas trouver de femme disponible. Des beaux-frères nous ont souvent indiqué que leurs enfants sont promis l'un à l'autre.

Au moment de la puberté, la jeune fille est isolée complètement pendant une période de deux à quatre mois; elle habite un abri construit spécialement à quelque distance du village, et y vit seule, astreinte à un ensemble de prohibitions alimentaires et sociales; pendant cette période, sa mère la nourrit et prend soin d'elle. La période de ségrégation terminée, des chants et des danses ont lieu; on abat son abri et « la mère ramène son enfant ». C'est alors que prend place la cérémonie du mariage proprement dite. Elle est préparée par des expéditions de chasse et de pêche et se déroule au milieu des chants et des danses :

49. *ɲirige aɲtúngnerage denano inɲira ɲikira ɲiknira tadta halonoo tatlikta ɲindage hntimbáta ɲirige imágora imágora* (*b1*)
Aller prendre du poisson, les femmes arrivent, arrivent, griller sur la place [le poisson] sortir, chanter, siffler, jouer du flageolet, jouer du flageolet.

L'union des conjoints est prononcée par le chef qui place dans la bouche de chacun d'eux un gros morceau de poisson[1].

[1] On a déjà suggéré (Kuhike, *Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas*, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) que le poisson pourrait être un symbole sexuel chez les Indiens sud-américains. Tastevin a vigoureusement critiqué cette hypothèse (*Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud*, *id.*, IX, 1914, p. 405-417). Pourtant, le rituel Nambikwara du mariage semble confirmer la première théorie. Au surplus, le poisson est directement traité comme le symbole des rapports sexuels dans la légende où Maire-Pochy rend une fille enceinte en

Il n'existe pas de cérémonie de puberté pour les jeunes garçons : celle-ci est remplacée par un rituel d'initiation qui prend place vers la neuvième ou la dixième année, semble-t-il. Il comporte deux opérations essentielles, l'imposition du nom, et le percement de la lèvre et du septum nasal pour y placer les labrets de bois. La première est accomplie directement par le chef, la seconde par un compagnon qu'il désigne à cet effet :

50. *u̯étnoā́dige ioónādige u̯ilikade u̯elikādelíkinere nukeáj̯ore i̯udótige i̯uróṣenj̯e nikamā i̯uroj̯ótige* (*b1*)

Quand l'enfant a grandi le chef, le chef lui donne un nom. Un compagnon perce sa lèvre pour mettre le labret. Il [le chef] commande de faire le trou [du labret].

*
* *

Dúremṓdednige (*b1*), disent les hommes Nambikwara; «c'est une bonne chose de se marier». Mais cela n'est pas facile. Le mariage idéal est celui qui donne une «jeune et jolie femme» (*monodu̯inuṣere, b1*) et dont on aura la virginité (briser l'hymen : *tau̯orótige, b1*). Mais de telles femmes sont précisément celles qui sont prélevées par les chefs ou les shamans, et quelques jeunes hommes seulement auront la chance d'en obtenir de semblables. Les autres sont condamnés à une longue période de célibat, qu'ils tromperont en ayant des relations sexuelles avec leurs beaux-frères, ou bien ils épouseront une «vieille femme» qui ne peut avoir des relations sexuelles (*tiroanebj̯íṣere, b1*), veuve ou répudiée, et dont personne ne veut. De tels mariages ne sont pas exceptionnels chez les Nambikwara, et s'expliquent par le rôle économique fondamental du couple que nous avons déjà souligné. Mais ils ne sont pas définitifs. Dès que le jeune homme sent sa position dans le groupe s'affermir, ou qu'une meilleure occasion se présente, il abandonne (*amnj̯ótige, b1*) sa vieille femme pour en prendre une autre (*ulamtunj̯ótige, b1*), plus jeune et plus séduisante. Il arrive qu'un homme épouse ainsi successivement trois ou quatre femmes différentes avant de se considérer comme satisfait[1]. La femme

lui faisant manger le poisson qu'il a lui-même pêché. Comme l'origine de ce conte tupi est certainement andine (Kunike, l. c.; Métraux, l. c., p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, *Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Myth bei den Naturvolkern Südamerikas*, Congrès International des Americanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) nous avons là une indication supplémentaire de l'affinité des Nambikwara avec les cultures du Nord et de l'Ouest.

[1] Ici encore, les documents du XVIe siècle relatifs aux Tupi supportent la comparaison : «... as vezes tomam, alguma velha de que não esperam filhos, porque não acham outra, somente para que lhes faça de comer, porque se acertam de não terem mai ou irmas que tenham cuidado d'elles, são coitados, e contentam-se por então com qualquer velha, com que estão bem agazalhados sempre com olho en tomarem outras de que tenham filhos, como depois fazem, ou deixando a primeira, ou retendo-a, si ella quer, para o effeito sobredito» (Anchieta, l. c., p. 260-261).

répudiée va avec ses parents s'ils vivent encore, s'unit à un autre homme si elle en trouve l'occasion, ou même, reste au foyer de son ancien mari dont elle partage l'existence, et aux travaux duquel elle participe, mais dans une position légèrement inférieure. Telle est la situation de *b3* au foyer de son ex-mari *B1*. Une autre méthode, pour obtenir la jeune femme convoitée, consiste à la séduire, même si elle est mariée. L'adultère, et plus généralement les intrigues sentimentales, sont très fréquents chez les Nambikwara, qui semblent être susceptibles de passions violentes. Nous avons connu un indigène qui, pendant notre séjour, s'enfuit avec une indienne Paressi, et vécut avec elle pendant plusieurs mois, caché dans la brousse et fuyant le mari lancé à leur poursuite. Voici dans quel terme un informateur (*B15*) raconte une ancienne aventure; il reconstitue un dialogue avec la femme aimée :

51. *ai̯ndarini̯ḗ — otendni̯ḗ — ai̯dotēha ái̯dakəni̯ai̯ni ṣutnadai̯ḗ ai̯rhai̯ tasi̯índige tamintedni̯ḗ* (*b1*)
Veux-tu faire l'amour? — Je ne veux pas. — Tu ne vaux rien! Je veux faire l'amour ou je t'assomme! Dehors, allons copuler.

Très anxieusement, la femme répond :

higekanhiḗ u̯ai̯rirḗ u̯aĭridedni̯ḗ eti̯ēdahḗ dungəraj̯eni (*b1*)
Fais vite, mon mari sera fâché, il me battra...

Il n'existe pas de sanction sociale contre l'adultère; mais le mari lésé peut se venger de façon redoutable et c'est dans des circonstances de ce genre que le poison, utilisé soit contre la femme, soit contre l'amant, trouve son rôle. Pour éviter des accidents, les compagnons s'interposent entre les adversaires et conseillent au séducteur de disparaître pendant un certain temps :

52. *ii̯ehetni̯ē ai̯ku̯akatedni̯ā́ni eku̯úde eku̯úde eku̯úde eku̯úde eku̯úde eku̯úde eku̯úde eku̯úde kai̯ā́dodni uái̯knəreniani* (*b1*)
Pars. — Je m'en vais loin. — Quand cette lune finira, et celle-là, et celle-là, et celle-là, et celle-là, et celle-là, et celle-là, et celle-là, alors, celle-là, tu pourras revenir.

Nous avons connu un indigène (*C11*) dont la femme disparut un jour, partie avec un membre de son groupe. Il songea d'abord à se venger, mais ses compagnons s'entremirent, et il fut finalement décidé que l'amant garderait la femme et donnerait en compensation un chien. Quelques mois plus tard, l'amant mourut (si ce fut de mort naturelle ou accidentelle, nous ne pûmes le savoir) et la femme revint à son mari, qui se déclarait enchanté d'avoir conservé aussi le chien. Cette anecdote ne doit pas être interprétée dans le sens d'une équivalence, conçue par l'esprit indigène, entre une femme et un chien. Nous avons trop longuement insisté sur le rôle fondamental de la femme dans la vie Nambikwara pour devoir y revenir ici. Mais dans des groupes où le commerce

existe sous une forme aussi primitive[1], les échanges de biens ont, comme fonction consciente, d'apporter des compensations psychologiques incommensurables entre elles, plutôt que d'établir des équivalences de valeur.

Les Nambikwara connaissent deux formes d'enterrement. Les groupes orientaux pratiquent la double inhumation. Les corps sont d'abord placés en position accroupie (*āriu̯aerekititu, a1*) dans une fosse circulaire (*sinitákurisu, a1*) de sept pieds de profondeur, comblée avec de la terre et des branchages. Pendant deux mois, on chante, on danse et on pleure autour de cette tombe provisoire, jusqu'à ce que le corps soit décomposé. On amène alors les ossements à la rivière où on les lave soigneusement; puis on les rapporte dans un panier pour les inhumer définitivement au village. Celui-ci est alors abandonné, mais le site est souvent visité :

53. *au̯regande aṣunikere kadúkərage i̯au̯órige énde énde énde inare inaretai̯re ṣinoribate* (*b1*)
creuser la tombe, la fermer, attendre une lune, une lune, une lune, extraire les ossements, les enfouir au village.

Dans les groupes centraux, au contraire, les cadavres seraient ensevelis (*aotʔeníkere, b1*) en position allongée (*i̯ótarige, b1*).

Les rites funéraires distinguent entre les biens mobiliers et immobiliers. Les premiers sont minutieusement détruits; on brise et on brûle les armes; on effile les perles et les colliers.

Le jardin du défunt, s'il en cultivait un, est, par contre, seulement abandonné, et peut être repris ultérieurement :

54. *doṣore dúrige aórede au̯tadátige au̯dotahā́mdige au̯dotaāmde odenehéi̯rē odunhínde ni̯aótumni̯ē narai̯nidánde narái̯dúrige aíredugei̯óttige dén dén dén nagi̯aōde ai̯re dugi̯otige ti̯atugi̯ótige* (*b2*)
On casse ses flèches, il faut tout casser on effile ses perles, les perles du défunt, le champ du défunt est abandonné une lune, une lune, une lune, et quand on a oublié, un autre prend le champ.

Mais il faut, sur ce point, éviter une confusion. A proprement parler, il n'existe pas de propriété foncière chez les Nambikwara. Le chef invite ses hommes à se grouper pour la culture des jardins, mais parfois, tel ou tel individu décide de défricher pour son compte. Ces appropriations personnelles ne donnent pas lieu à incident, la terre cultivable dépassant, de beaucoup, les besoins collectifs. Pourtant, un jardin représente une valeur, en raison du travail considérable passé au défrichage, surtout pour des gens qui n'avaient jamais vu d'outils de métal il y a seulement trente ans. Aussi la règle de destruction des biens du défunt respecte-t-elle le jardin, sous la réserve, d'ordre

[1] Cf. p. 93 sq.

psychologique et moral, qu'on attendra, pour prendre possession, que « le souvenir du mort ait été perdu ». Cependant, ce mode semi-juridique d'accession à la terre n'implique pas l'existence d'un droit d'héritage. Les proches ne sont pas favorisés, et toute personne peut s'en prévaloir au même titre.

PSYCHOLOGIE GÉNÉRALE ET VIE QUOTIDIENNE.

LES CATÉGORIES.

L'étude linguistique du Nambikwara devant faire l'objet de publications spéciales[1], nous nous en tiendrons ici à quelques indications sommaires destinées à préciser ce que l'on peut inférer des grandes catégories logiques de la pensée, et à situer le groupe Nambikwara par rapport aux autres cultures américaines.

Le trait le plus remarquable du langage Nambikwara, mis particulièrement en évidence par le dialecte central et méridional (*b1*) est un usage étendu des *suffixes classificatoires*. Le caractère systématique de la classification des choses et des êtres n'est comparable qu'à celui qu'on rencontre dans la famille linguistiques Ṣibṣa. Bien plus : si l'on néglige quelques différences secondaires, la division du monde en catégories, en Nambikwara, présente une remarquable similitude avec celle que l'on trouve dans les dialectes Ṣibṣa[2].

Dans une division des choses et des êtres en onze principales catégories logiques, dix se trouvent être communes au Nambikwara et au Ṣibṣa. La catégorie « saison, temps, ciel » semble être brisée, en Nambikwara, en plusieurs suffixes. Inversement, un même suffixe *-are* classe deux catégories logiquement voisines mais distinguées par leurs suffixes en Ṣibṣa : *-nak* (Bribri), « excrétion, sécrétion, résine » et *-dio, -rio* (Bribri), « sécrétion, humide »[3].

Les analogies phonétiques qui apparaissent occasionnellement entre les suffixes classificateurs du Nambikwara et du Ṣibṣa ne nous semblent pas d'une grande portée. Par contre, l'analogie morphologique d'une part, et surtout la répartition des choses et des êtres dans des classes qui ne s'imposent à l'esprit

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss, *Sur certaines similarités*, etc., *loc. cit.*; Paul L. Garvin, *Esquisse du Système*, etc., *loc. cit.*

[2] Les exemples ci-après sont empruntés à Walter Lehmann, *Zentral-Amerika*, 2 vol., Berlin, 1920, I, p. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

[3] Il y aurait, naturellement, un grand nombre d'observations de détails à présenter. Dans les différents langages, les catégories logiques se recoupent partiellement; ainsi, la catégorie Nambikwara *-kare* correspond partiellement à Bribri *-kal*, et en même temps à *-Xkuo*. Le suffixe *-kare* exprime plutôt la résistance, et le suffixe *-kate*, que nous lui avons associé, la forme.

par aucune nécessité interne, ne nous semblent pas susceptibles de résulter d'un pur phénomène de convergence. Nous y voyons, au contraire, une raison suffisante pour affirmer une affinité linguistique entre les groupes Ṣibṣa et Nambikwara[1].

CATÉGORIE LOGIQUE.	NAMBIKWARA.	RAMA.	BRIBRI.	TERRABA.	GUATUSO.
Espèce, famille, groupe.....	-ánde -énde -ónde		-ŭak	-ˇuah	
Cheveux, poils, plumes.....	-uette	-ulis	-kŏ, -kō -tsa	-zok -so	-iisa -ko-a
Piquer, percer, orifice.....	-ire	-sik			-kali -ka
Dur, raide, rigide, bois, allongé	-kere -kate	-kat	-kāt	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Mou, souple, allongé.....	-gere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, graine, objet arrondi...	-kenínde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
Ce qui pend, s'ajoute, orne, tremble.....	-gere	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Plein, gonflé, liquide.....	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-dío -río -ri, li	-rio	-ko-ri
Saison, temps, ciel.....	-inde -are -ere		-kā -kō	-shco	
Écorce, cuir, peau, revêtement, qui accompagne.....	-ore	-úuk	-Xkŭŏ	-cuota -cuo	-lēn
Chair, substance.....	-unde	-kās	-tškā́	-sho	

[1] Déjà, dans son livre *Durch Central-Brasilien*, Von den Steinen avait suggéré, par une carte de la distribution septentrionale et occidentale du mot *sisi* (soleil, feu), la constitution d'une aire linguistique s'étendant de la Colombie à la Bolivie septentrionale. On peut rapprocher du terme *sisi*, en Nambikwara : siisu (*a1*), siise (*b1*) : hutte ronde, rond.

LES NOMBRES.

Les Nambikwara n'ont, à proprement parler, que trois noms de nombres : un, deux, et beaucoup. Mais ils sont capables de composer ces termes pour former, par addition, des nombres plus élevés. Nous avons pu ainsi obtenir des comptages allant jusqu'à 5, 6 et 8. Pour compter « un », les indigènes rabattent avec la main gauche tous les doigts de la main droite sauf le pouce. Pour compter « deux », ils rabattent le pouce, l'annulaire et l'auriculaire en ne laissant dressés que l'index et le médius. Pour compter « trois », ils rabattent tous les doigts sauf l'annulaire ; en effet, comme il n'existe pas de mot spécial pour ce chiffre, « trois » n'est pas autre chose qu'une unité ajoutée à deux. Dans le dialecte central et méridional on trouve un terme spécial *ba*, pour désigner un duel ou une paire.

NOMS DE NOMBRES.

NOMBRES.	DIALECTES *a 1/2.*	DIALECTE *b 1.*	DIALECTE *b 2.*	DIALECTE *c.*
Un	*kənáge.*	*nágəna, kanákero.*	*naįúkənada-iṣaore.*	*améro.*
Deux	*searu.*	*nabaám, baā̃do.*	*baā̃ṣore.*	*baléne.*
Trois	*nunesearekənage.*	*nabágəna.*	*uáįnṣore.*	*balaámero.*
Quatre	*desanu.*	*nabaṷõda.*	*naįdnáįṣore.*	
Cinq	*dasarénere.*	*nmba-nmbanagena.*	*nikṷáįnṣore.*	
Six	*anere.*		*ṷáįdna-áiṣore.*	
Sept	*toáįdenere.*			
Huit	*uakesaṷnúnere.*			
Beaucoup	*sáklaere.*	*ṷáįgnine, kṷáįntege.*	*deįndariṣore.*	*álele.*

Dans le vocabulaire *a 1/2*, les termes indiqués pour le comptage de «quatre» à «huit» représentent vraisenblablement, moins des noms de nombre que des termes descriptifs de l'opération qui consiste à rajouter une nouvelle unité à un tout. Dans le vocabulaire *b 2*, le mot original employé pour «trois» se rattache apparemment à la même origine que celui du dialecte *b 1* signifiant la pluralité. Les termes utilisés pour «quatre», «cinq» et «six» sont probablement descriptifs de la manipulation.

Dans la conversation, des formes exclamatives sont utilisées, par exemple dans les discussions entre hommes au retour de la chasse :

55. *nā́gənaarenįani baánenįani baánegərenįani bā́debā́denįani báabáakənaánįani.* (*b1*)
«Un seul moi j'ai tué — deux, moi — trois, moi — quatre, moi — cinq, moi».

LES COULEURS.

La différenciation des couleurs a été étudiée sur onze échantillons pour lesquels nous donnons ci-dessous la liste des termes indigènes.

Les groupes *a* et *b* présentent des caractères communs. Ils distinguent le blanc, le noir, le rouge, le bleu, et réunissent dans une seule catégorie le jaune et le vert [1]. Mais, tandis que le groupe *a* étend cette assimilation à l'ocre jaune, le groupe *b* l'arrête au jaune clair et classe l'ocre jaune avec la terre de Sienne brûlée dans une même catégorie, désignée par le terme du dialecte *a 1* pour «noir» [2]. Le groupe *c* distribue les couleurs de façon très différente : une même catégorie réunit les rouges et les jaunes (ce que suggère d'ailleurs la gamme de la teinture d'*urucu*), tandis que les bleus sont rattachés, à la fois, au vert et au noir.

Les couleurs les plus appréciées sont le noir et le blanc, sans doute parce que ce sont les couleurs des parures faites de fragments nacrés de coquillages fluviaux et des sombres noix de palmier. Ensuite vient le rouge, puis le jaune. Le vert et le bleu sont peu goûtés.

[1] Le terme qui désigne le vert et le jaune affecte la forme singulière d'un pluriel reduplicatif. Cet aspect morphologique se retrouve en Ṣibṣa : Ainsi en Bribri, vert = tspa-tspa, jaune = kölö-kölö ; en Guatuso, jaune = mari-mari ; en Rama, jaune = nugnugna, vert bleu = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435.)

[2] En accord avec le jugement anthropologique des indigènes qui ne se distinguent pas des «blancs» comme des «jaunes», mais comme des «foncés» des «clairs» :

(56) ṇái ʔanįena táįkednįena (*b1*)
Tu es clair, moi je suis foncé.

COULEURS.	DIALECTE a 1.	DIALECTE a 2.	DIALECTE b 1/2.	DIALECTE c.
Blanc	*ahéndesu.*	*ahéndesu.*	*deʔénde.*	*pā́te.*
Noir	*ǰundne.*	*atwū́disu.*	*ɣáre, dédene.*	*tapū́te.*
Rouge vermillon	*ehednékenesu.*	*aheʔéndutu.*	*eʔédne.*	*ǰereǰerájnte natope* (= urucu).
Rouge carmin	*ehéndutu.*	*aehʔéndutu.*	*eʔédne.*	*ierájnte, natope.*
Bleu de cobalt	—	*asɣisɣéndisu.*	*ǰiǰɣídne.*	*tapū́te, tikɣalénte.*
Bleu d'outremer	—	*asɣisɣéndutu.*	*ǰiǰɣídna.*	*tapū́te, tikɣalénte.*
Vert Véronèse	*ǰidiǰide.*	*asetesedeéndutu.*	*ǰedeǰedédne.*	*pasénte.*
Vert émeraude	*ǰideǰidedne.*	*asetesedeʔéndutu.*	*ǰedeǰededne.*	*pasénte, kɣalénte.*
Jaune de strontium	*ǰideǰidedne.*	*asetesedeʔéndutu.*	*ǰedeǰededne.*	*natopeǰerájnte, kɣalénte.*
Ocre jaune	*ǰideǰidedne.*	*asetesedeʔéndutu.*	*húndne.*	*ǰerájnte.*
Terre de Sienne brûlée	*ǰideǰidedne.*	*asetesedeʔéndutu.*	*húndne.*	*natopeǰerájnte.*

CONNAISSANCES RELATIVES À L'UNIVERS.

Les Nambikwara du groupe oriental appellent les étoiles *ikitásu*, *atásu* (animal surnaturel) ou *iɣinitu atásu;* ceux du groupe central et méridional les nomment *tā́gore* (classificateur : *-gore*, ce qui pend, orne, tremble) et les distinguent en étoiles, «petites étoiles» (*tā́gonɣíkore*, *-nɣíkore* étant un diminutif) et «planètes» (*tā́gorare;* classificateur : *-are*, plein, gonflé, liquide). Aucune indication n'a pu être recueillie sur les constellations. Le soleil se

homme *otjenkhiru*, *utenkhiru* (*a1/2*), *tjinde* (*b1/2*), *kâtu* (*c*); la lune *kru*, *irekhiru* (*a1/2*), *hdjende*, *hdjetende* (*b1/2*), *hdjâtu* (*c*), et l'on distingue :

La pleine lune : *orâdiatiuoa* (*a1*), *ojedimoiena* (*b1*), *tjedjokotu* (*c*);
La lune à son (premier ou dernier) quartier : *ogejâ'inoa* (*a1*), *ogemirakende* (*b1*), *tjedjokotu* (*c*).

L'année est divisée en deux périodes : les pluies (*nakirage*, *b1*), durant approximativement 5 mois, et la saison sèche (*kemirige*, *b1*) s'étendant sur 7 mois. Le temps se compte en lunes et en nuits, et on énonce le terme *lune* ou le terme *nuit* autant de fois qu'il est nécessaire pour arriver au total de mois (lunaires), ou de jours, que l'on désire mentionner. Cette énumération donne une teinte savoureuse au langage (cf. cit. 6 et 52) : « *hêtende, hêtende...* » ou *kanâdeo, kanâdeo...* etc. Une source de confusion provient souvent de ce que l'indigène emploie le terme *Ka* (abrégé de *kanadero*), « un seul », en sous-entendant la période de temps impliquée; on se trouve alors devant l'énumération « *Ká, Ká, Ká...* » etc., sans savoir s'il s'agit de nuits, ou d'une (lune) une (lune), etc.

On distingue « aujourd'hui » (*nêdnukare*, *b1*) de « demain » (*kinadairukare*, *b1*), d'« hier » (*kitnare*, *b1*), et d'« après-demain » (*kanâdiare*, *b1*, — « encore une autre nuit »).

Le jour est divisé en 6 phases (dialecte *b1*) :

L'aube : *littene*, « il sort » (le soleil), *nainde*, « il monte »;
9 heures : *nikolaena*, « il éclaire »;
Midi : *nakakitjere*, « la mauvaise heure »;
15 heures : *nejedikige*, « il tourne »;
17 heures : *kidê'igiena*, « il tombe »;
Le crépuscule : *kanalitere*, « la nuit vient ».

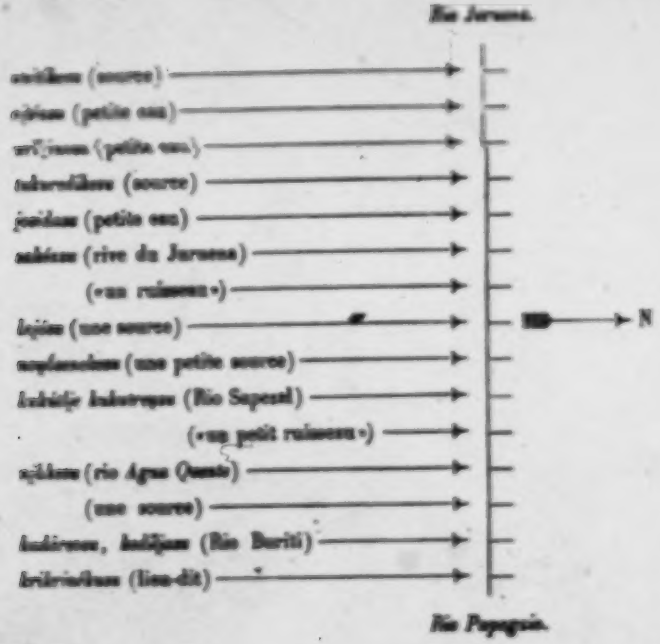
Les Nambikwara reconnaissent quatre directions de l'espace, dont deux correspondent à l'axe du mouvement apparent du soleil et deux à la direction des rivières, en effet approximativement perpendiculaire au précédent :

Le Nord : *jakenare*, « vers le bas »;
Le Sud : *ikenare*, « vers le haut »;
L'Ouest : *tyingâtere*, « le soleil baisse »;
L'Est : *tyaliritere*, « le soleil sort » (*b1*).

57. *nakenerikkikate nejenâ nejikê* (*b1*)
Il n'y en a pas d'autre, c'est assez !

Les territoires sont connus et repérés à des distances pouvant atteindre 200 ou 300 kilomètres; les sites, les sources et les cours d'eau ont des noms, et les indigènes (ou tout au moins certains) sont capables de tracer sur le sable

des cartes sommaires d'itinéraires avec l'indication des principaux points de repère. Voici comment *A1* marque les étapes du voyage de son groupe depuis le rio Papagaio jusqu'à l'affluent de la rive droite du rio Juruena sur lequel se trouve son village :



TRADITION.

Les Nambikwara ont un sens aigu de la tradition. On a lu plus haut (p. 50) une remarque de B1, qui le montre mélancoliquement conscient du déclin de sa race. Les coutumes et les techniques sont généralement considérées comme un legs des « ancêtres » :

58. *irétaore ikâtage yitige.*
« Les ancêtres nous ont appris à l'enrouler [le ruban de caoutchouc destiné à faire une balle] » (*b 1*).

Une seule légende a pu être recueillie relativement à l'origine de l'univers.

C'est celle du Déluge, dont nous avons déjà donné la version infantile [1]. Voici maintenant le texte à l'usage des adultes :

59. *narúdne kā́yihire*
narukánihire naukauíṣaure
nakútende kájngorage naukā́de uíṣere toādige
l'eau était descendue l'eau inondait tout [tous] mourir
déinhe nájkena kanayapéndige
une vieille femme seule un jour (?) s'échapper
nándige éjdende kéninde
pleurer [elle monte sur un palmier buriti] buriti coco
iotúrige tanáamdage jáy jáy jáy
jette [dans l'eau] attendre attendre attendre [l'eau]
dehándige untahárige nihuníndige tarahínarige yitte
sécher dormir le matin naître accoucher enfant
talíttige tothəndige ikātoténdige ikā iōndige
tomber [du ventre] grandir très vite grandir très vite grandir
ndayre tamíndige bādige útaytu
[avec sa] mère copuler deux jumeaux être nés
níindage ejntalíkero
du mariage [et] étant tombé de nouveau
joni déjnhajnenúnkero
d'un homme et d'une femme mariés de nouveau
yétnarotunkero tátalíkero nliin
d'un enfant grosse de nouveau qui tombe de nouveau les frères
kítunkero dejnla ṣíina
se marier de nouveau autre village
taminúkero bā́kyenaa
[ayant fait] ayant copulé de nouveau deux jumeaux
dyenúkero délaynifíikero ajninúnkero
de nouveau étant nés faire un autre village de nouveau habiter encore
yéheni núnakero bā́tyininukero nlidnja
faire des enfants encore deux enfants faire encore les frères
tununjúkero éjnikye táminu táminu
se marier encore autres hommes engendrer engendrer
déjndla ṣíina játəre tamínṣayre tamin?ótige
autre village construire engendrer engendrer
ájndige dyinúkero ṣiinúkero
faire l'amour avoir des enfants encore autre village encore
akyájndige akyájkero dejdlayni ṣíinta
s'en allant s'en allant encore autres villages

[1] Voir plus haut, p. 69.

*kɨ̀ɨ̀ɨ̀

LES ATTITUDES PSYCHOLOGIQUES.

Les Nambikwara offrent à l'observateur une physionomie psychologique et morale très particulière, et que nous n'avons retrouvée, ni chez leurs voisins immédiats — Paressi, tribus du Guaporé, et Tupi du Gi-Parana — ni chez d'autres tribus sud-américaines. Elle mérite qu'on tente de dégager ses caractères principaux. Peu de primitifs sud-américains témoignent d'autant de spontanéité et de liberté dans le comportement. Peu manifestent une telle aisance dans les relations psychologiques, et une telle grâce dans leur expression. Ainsi, dans leurs rapports avec l'ethnographe, les informateurs introduisent des formules qui constituent de véritables inventions sociologiques pour répondre à une situation nouvelle, de la part d'individus qui, dans leurs propres relations sociales, n'utilisent ni formule de salut, ni de congé :

60. *tai wadjetaj̃ tã ejkiradaj̃ wãj jiwa wadiñaj̃ tatjwa wãj iwitjawi.* (*bl*)
Moi je vais dormir, je m'en vais, toi va dormir, moi je reste, toi tu t'en vas.

Ou pour mettre fin à un interrogatoire dont ils sont las :

61. *iajĩ wa ewaneraj̃ hãkwaruwa iãtjwa wadiñaj̃ kwakiday halitaj̃.* (*bl*)
Cela ne va pas, il faut laisser; on ne voit plus clair, cela ne va pas, laissons; demain nous parlerons.

Ou encore :

62. *nakwajãajawi nãkã nakiajawi.* (*bl*)
J'ai oublié, attends que je me rappelle.

Leur vie quotidienne est pleine d'exubérance. Ce n'est pas seulement dans les parties de jeu de balle que l'on entend fuser les joyeuses exclamations :

63. *tenikaj̃ tenikaj̃ utenãtiri* (*bl*).
A moi ! A moi ! Lance !

Mais l'artisan à son travail fait aussi participer sa femme, son enfant, son voisin à l'exécution de l'ouvrage dont il commente gaîment les péripéties :

64. *tikaj̃ tawiraj̃ dajã... dwi... kidaka... wanaj̃'ina... kidjawa... nanya... tahwa?!... nãkã... ikwai... wãjawa.* (*bl*)
Tiens-la [la corde] pour que je la torde... lèche-la ! Elle est tombée !... Ça va !... C'est dur !... C'est fini !... Ça te convient ?... C'est laid !... Non, c'est joli !

La dernière formule est rituelle, c'est elle que l'on emploie à la fin des chants et des danses; les protagonistes s'exclament : «c'est laid»; et l'auditoire répond : «Non, c'est joli !»

Cette politesse ne va pas toujours sans malice, et les compliments cachent parfois des tentatives de duperie. Nous avons cité plus haut la formule employée par un groupe pour déprécier ses danses par comparaison avec celles de leurs compagnons de rencontre[1]; mais quelques heures auparavant, dédaignant un présent de perles que j'offrais et qui étaient peu appréciées à cause de leur couleur, on me donnait le conseil :

65. *mpétin majmájndé tunuhénde* (*b1*).
Garde-les aux Maimandé pour les donner.

Une vente qui nous fut faite un jour (par le groupe *a2*) de tubes de poison décrits comme si dangereux que nous devions nous abstenir de jamais les ouvrir, sous peine de tomber morts sur place, et qui s'avérèrent vides, témoigne d'une grande ingéniosité si la mystification fut improvisée à notre intention; en tous cas, elle jette une lumière curieuse sur les relations entre groupes voisins.

Fig. 19.

Dessins Nambikwara :
à gauche : un homme; *au centre* : un singe; *à droite* : croquis fait par *A1* en expliquant sa généalogie (c. p. 60, n. 1).

C'est que les apparences purement gracieuses et parfois enfantines recouvrent des attitudes qui, sans être contradictoires avec les précédentes, n'en sont pas moins très différentes. L'histoire du groupe oriental, au cours de

[1] Cf. p. 92.

ces dernières années, est très significative à cet égard. L'installation de la ligne télégraphique fut marquée, de 1909 à 1920, par des conflits périodiques alternant avec des contacts cordiaux, mais en 1925, 7 travailleurs de la ligne furent conviés à visiter (pour la première fois) les villages de la rive droite du rio Juruena où nous devions pénétrer à notre tour en 1938, et ils y disparurent. A partir de ce moment, les contacts du groupe oriental avec les postes de la Ligne Rondon s'interrompirent, mais en 1933 une mission protestante vint s'installer non loin du poste de Juruena; il semble que les relations furent, dès le début, assez aigres, les indigènes n'étant pas satisfaits des présents, très insuffisants, dit-on, par lesquels les missionnaires récompensèrent leur aide pour la construction de la maison et la plantation du jardin. Quoi qu'il en soit, en 1933, un Indien fiévreux se présenta à la mission, et reçut publiquement deux comprimés de «Cafiaspirine» qu'il absorba, après quoi il s'en fut prendre un bain de rivière, eut une congestion, et mourut. En praticiens experts, les Nambikwara conclurent aussitôt qu'il avait été empoisonné; une attaque de représailles fut soigneusement préparée et déclanchée, au cours de laquelle *A1* et *A6* se distinguèrent. Les 6 personnes composant la mission furent assommées à coups de bâton ou percées de flèches, y compris un bébé de 2 ans. Seule une femme fut retrouvée vivante par une expédition de secours partie de Cuiabá. La version qu'elle donna des événements coïncide très exactement avec celle que nous avons nous-mêmes recueillie des principaux protagonistes de l'autre camp.

Le poison devait encore jouer un rôle dans l'existence de *A6*, et cela pendant notre séjour. Nous nous trouvions l'un et l'autre en visite (août 1938) chez un groupe voisin (*a2*), et les relations se tendirent assez rapidement entre *A6* et nos hôtes, sans doute pour des questions de femme, si bien qu'il prit l'habitude de venir à mon campement chercher une atmosphère plus cordiale, en même temps d'ailleurs qu'il partageait mes repas. Le fait fut remarqué, une délégation de quatre hommes vint un jour me trouver et, sur un ton assez menaçant, me demanda de mêler du poison (que l'on m'apportait en même temps) au prochain plat que j'offrirais à *A6*; on estimait indispensable de le supprimer rapidement, car, me dit-on, il est «très méchant» (*kakore*) et «ne vaut rien du tout» (*ajdotiene*). J'eus les plus grandes difficultés à me débarrasser de mes visiteurs sans leur opposer un refus qui m'eût — à mon tour — exposé à une animosité dont je venais d'apprendre qu'il était préférable de se garder, et je considérai comme le meilleur parti d'exagérer mon ignorance de la langue, et de feindre une incompréhension obstinée. Après plusieurs tentatives, mes visiteurs se retirèrent fort désappointés. Je prévins *A6* qui disparut aussitôt. Je devais le revoir seulement quatre mois plus tard.

Ces incidents sont caractéristiques de la psychologie Nambikwara. Les Nambikwara sont très ouverts, confiants et spontanés, mais ils témoignent d'une extrême susceptibilité, et réagissent avec une grande violence aux décep-

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

tions ou aux contrariétés. Peu de primitifs sont d'un abord aussi facile; peu donnent aussi libéralement accès à leur vie intime, à leurs croyances, à leurs actes quotidiens, à leurs pensées et à leurs sentiments. Mais malgré cette aisance et cette cordialité, le visiteur — que celui-ci soit un ethnographe ou un membre d'une bande voisine — doit constamment être sur ses gardes et surveiller ses actes; car la moindre imprudence, la plus légère maladresse, peut susciter chez ses hôtes des réactions difficiles à évaluer, et dont des événements récents sont toujours là pour rappeler qu'elles peuvent être extrêmes. *A6* offrait un parfait exemple de cette confiance et de cette spontanéité, alliées à de brusques manifestations de violence et d'irascibilité.

Ainsi, le caractère Nambikwara présente alternativement deux aspects, ou, plus exactement, témoigne d'une double nature : l'une que nous appellerons positive, et qui va beaucoup plus loin, dans ce sens, que chez beaucoup d'indigènes en contact depuis des siècles avec les blancs; et l'autre, d'orientation métaphysique, et dont la rigueur et l'exaltation évoquent parfois le mysticisme des Indiens d'Amérique du Nord. Comme exemple du premier aspect nous citerons : la préparation publique et « scientifique » du *curare*; le développement de certaines thérapeutiques telles que le traitement des ophtalmies par instillation; la souplesse de la division sexuelle du travail; la vie sexuelle en général; l'atmosphère des rites de couvade; l'attitude rationnelle en face des prohibitions alimentaires. Quelques remarques sur ce point éclaireront la psychologie indigène. Les larves blanches (*enaim, a1*) qui se trouvent fréquemment dans les noix du palmier *kaciuru* ont été indiquées comme non comestibles. Ultérieurement nous avons vérifié qu'elles étaient mangées clandestinement par les enfants : ainsi *a8* les trouve en cassant des noix et les donne à sa petite sœur *a9*; et furtivement, elle aussi mange une larve. Son geste est remarqué par *a3* et *a4* qui la couvrent de sarcasmes. Mais un jour de disette, *A1* dévore un plat de larves que sa jeune femme *a4* a recueillies à son intention, et fait tristement remarquer que, faute de viande, il en est réduit à cette pauvre chère. La même observation s'est présentée à propos de l'épervier. Nous avons montré plus haut quel est le fondement métaphysique de la prohibition alimentaire portant sur le jaguar. Mais l'interprétation courante est tout autre :

66. *wɨtɨtɨdaɨ́ wiŋ?a* (*b1*).
Je n'en mange pas, ça sent mauvais!

Placés devant des situations nouvelles, les indigènes réagissent généralement sans mysticisme. Ainsi, *A1* devant le problème de l'écriture[1]; d'autre part, les Nambikwara manifestent une indifférence totale vis-à-vis de la photographie, même quand ils ont compris son but; nous n'avons jamais rencontré

[1] P. 340 sq. et p. 89.

d'indigènes qui tolérassent, avec une aussi complète insouciance, la participation de la camera aux moindres détails de leur vie intime.

Mais le passage aux positions irrationnelles se fait avec la même brusquerie qui caractérise les deux attitudes, presque simultanées, d'hilarité bon enfant devant le spectacle, pourtant inusité, d'un ballon gonflé qui s'enflamme, et d'appel à une magie malfaisante quand un second aérostat réussit à s'élever [1]. Jamais la tendre indulgence dont les hommes entourent leurs compagnes [2] ne laisserait supposer la véritable malédiction métaphysique dont les femmes sont frappées dans la culture Nambikwara : exclues, sous peine d'être assommées, des cérémonies collectives, sourdes et aveugles aux voix de l'Au-Delà, et condamnées à l'anéantissement après la mort comme des enfants non initiés. Nous avons décrit la tendre camaraderie qui préside aux rapports entre les sexes, et l'harmonie générale qui règne au sein des groupes. Mais dès que celles-ci s'altèrent, c'est pour faire place aux solutions les plus extrêmes : empoisonnements et assassinats. Ce n'est pas sans raison que les informateurs soulignent spontanément le rôle de l'oubli dans les rites mortuaires [3]. Car le contraste est frappant entre la joyeuse ironie avec laquelle on répond à celui qui est assez ignorant pour s'informer d'un parent mort depuis longtemps : «*ilútu, ilyétu*» (*a1*), «au sable! dans le sable!», et l'horrible apparition de l'*atásu* que l'on évoque avec des sanglots rituels.

Les rites Nambikwara ne semblent être, en aucune façon, symboliques; l'état squelettique de *A21* et *a22* à la fin de la période de couvade en fait foi; et si les cérémonies sont rares, elles sont poussées fort loin; les informateurs parlent de périodes de trois mois pour l'isolement de la jeune fille pubère, et d'un bain de rivière durant une nuit entière comme préliminaire au mariage. Autant le comportement est souple et sans complication dans la vie quotidienne, autant les intrusions du surnaturel (dans les visions et les révélations, les séances de shamanisme, les danses de guerre, etc.) se manifestent par le passage à une atmosphère de tragédie. Aucun groupe sud-américain, à notre connaissance, ne traduit, de façon aussi sincère et spontanée (car on ne se sent jamais dans l'ambiance théâtrale du shamanisme *Tupi* ou *chaquéno*), des sentiments violents et opposés, dont l'expression individuelle semble indissociable d'une stylisation sociale qui ne les trahit jamais.

* * *

Il est très loin de notre pensée de vouloir assigner une cause exclusivement économique à ce dualisme. Pourtant, il est frappant de constater que le dualisme psychologique va de pair avec l'organisation de l'existence sociale autour

[1] P. 97.
[2] P. 56 sq.
[3] P. 112.

de deux pôles opposés : d'une part la vie sédentaire, agricole, fondée sur la double activité masculine de la construction des huttes et du jardinage, de l'autre, la période nomade, pendant laquelle la subsistance est principalement assurée par la collecte et le ramassage féminins, l'une représentant la sécurité et l'euphorie alimentaire, l'autre l'aventure et la disette. A ces deux formes d'existence, l'une hivernale et l'autre estivale, les Nambikwara réagissent de façons très différentes. Ils parlent de la première avec la mélancolie qui s'attache à l'acceptation consciente et résignée de la condition humaine, à la morne répétition d'actes identiques; tandis qu'ils évoquent l'autre avec l'excitation, et sur le ton presqu'exalté, de la découverte. Ecoutons un informateur (*B1*) décrire le double cycle de la vie annuelle :

D'abord la vie sédentaire :

67. *nɛdɔ̃tãtage kanaaday hájndige ɣedɔ̃tánkero, ɣatlirikero*
Demain chasser arriver de nouveau
ɣakɣdnkero dánkero unddkero
griller de nouveau se coucher encore dormir encore
najɔ̃gikero ajrelikero ajkɔnkero
le jour encore faire le champ encore cultiver le champ encore
ajɔ̃gɔnkero dɔnkero nundkero ɣinɨnúnkero
cultiver encore laisser encore manger encore
nɔ̃gikero dɔnunkero taórige táɣ táɣ táɣ
le jour encore couper du bois couper couper couper
telɔnúkero [telɔ́ndige] mbári mbári mbári
finir encore attendre attendre attendre
porónkero ɣatɔnndtaɣe [ɣatɔnúkero] litnutjét
brûler encore le froid vient [encore le froid] des plantons
dɔnúnkero ɣayaarɨɔnunkero ɣaɔnɨnúnkero
encore aller en chercher encore retourner encore
irónkero kakɣdídnatɣe [kajkɣándi] hikɔrage kúkero
beaucoup planter creuser encore
ikɔrɔnukútige litnurónkero
pour planter creuser des plantons couper encore
telɔ́ndɨnkero déjɔterituapónkero ɔyrkájkero
achever encore habiter longtemps encore arracher les racines
etu?i etu? etu?i kónkero
râper râper râper finir encore
nálkɔrahínkero nkɣáplakɔrahínkero átlakero hínkero ɣudtaɣ hikɔninɔ̃ni (b1)
un nouveau champ de nouveau un nouveau planter.

Et maintenant la grande aventure de la période nomade :

68. *nɨkɔnákaje nárɣere trige*
Nous partons à l'aube; [le panier] est fait il attend.

ãgərage tu̯atúrige tu̯a tu̯ikinínkero íkəro
On emballe; on remplit le panier en forêt on voyage on voyage
nahoreda ṓkero nlai̯dínkero ntoraínkero ái̯nkero
à l'eau on arrive on traverse l'eau on traverse en route!
ái̯nkero alorekidírekəro alorairíkəro
en route! On prend la prairie la prairie on traverse
ai̯tu̯aginíkəro (in)ʂíhun lomãnínkəro ái̯kəro
en forêt on voyage une autre fois la colline on descend voyager
ái̯kəro ái̯kəro ai̯ritigəmãnínkəro mãgəlanínkero
voyager voyager la colline on remonte la colline on traverse
kəlakəlatinínkəro erəlorãnínkəro ái̯rikəro
sur la crête on voyage une autre colline on descend encore marcher!
ʂikit(a)tittánərige hai̯tlikəro ʂikitakãlikəro
Dans le sable mou voyager dans le sable mou voyager
ʂei̯nlikəro herhaninúnkəro nungenínkero
on se passe de hutte d'autres gens voyagent on se rencontre
u̯elikátnunde ʂiitlitte (b1)
on se réunit voici les huttes!

Comme on le voit, les deux formes de l'existence ne s'opposent pas seulement, de façon frappante, du point de vue économique et sociologique. Elles constituent deux pôles autour desquels s'agglomèrent des ensembles complexes d'émotions, de sentiments et de souvenirs. Avec la même tendresse avec laquelle ils caressent leurs épouses, les hommes évoquent le type de vie défini par l'abri temporaire et le panier permanent, où les moyens de subsistance les plus incongrus sont parcimonieusement grattés, ramassés, attrapés chaque jour, où l'on vit cruellement exposé au vent, au froid et à la pluie, et qui ne laisse pas plus de durable trace que les âmes, dispersées par le vent et les orages, des femmes sur l'activité desquelles il repose essentiellement. Et presque comme le règne de la nécessité s'oppose à celui de la liberté, ils conçoivent sous un tout autre aspect la vie sédentaire (dont le caractère spécifique et ancien est pourtant attesté par les espèces originales qu'ils cultivent), mais à laquelle l'immuable enchaînement des opérations agricoles confère le même caractère de perpétuité que les âmes masculines réincarnées, la durable maison d'hiver, et le terrain de culture qui recommencera à vivre et à produire « quand la mort de son précédent exploitant aura été oubliée » [1]. Nous ne croyons pas possible de tirer, d'un travail portant exclusivement sur quelques aspects sociologiques et psychologiques de la vie des Nambikwara, des conclusions relatives à la place qu'il convient de leur assigner dans l'ensemble des cultures sud-américaines. Mais les indications précédentes suffisent à montrer sous quelle forme le problème se pose : nous sommes en

[1] Cf. cit., p. 112.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

présence d'une culture qui offre des affinités linguistiques avec le Şibşa, et qui se rapproche des Tupi au double point de vue de l'organisation familiale et des croyances religieuses, tout en rappelant, par sa culture matérielle, les Gé et les Botocudo [1]. En d'autres termes, c'est le problème d'une culture syncrétique, qu'on retrouve si fréquemment en ethnologie sud-américaine.

Quand on se place au point de vue géographique, l'énoncé du problème se reconstitue aisément. On se demandera comment il convient d'interpréter la présence d'un noyau de basses cultures placé dans une position symétrique, par rapport aux affluents de la rive droite de l'Amazone, à celui qui occupait, et occupe encore, l'est brésilien. Sous les deux ailes de ce « T » que dessine la distribution des cultures incomparablement plus évoluées de la vallée de l'Amazone et du Madeira avec la large zone verticale qui s'étend du Xingu aux Tocantins, les bas niveaux Gé à l'est, et les Nambikwara à l'ouest, se font équilibre, comme des îlots isolés. Dans le cas des Nambikwara, un problème supplémentaire se pose : celui de la dualité de leur culture et de leur genre de vie; celle-ci peut être expliquée, soit en prenant pour base la forme la plus élémentaire d'adaptation, et en assumant l'emprunt de la vie agricole à des groupes de culture plus évoluée, soit, en partant de la forme supérieure, comme un appauvrissement déterminé par l'isolement culturel, ou par le refou-

[1] Nous ne mentionnons pas les Botocudo au hasard. Le terme « Nambikwara » semble être un surnom d'origine Tupi, avec le sens de « grandes oreilles » (Nhambikwara); pourtant les indigènes qui le portent n'emploient pas la « bodoque » ni aucun autre ornement amenant la même déformation. Mais il se pourrait que le nom ait été primitivement appliqué à une tribu — ou groupe de tribus — différente de celle qui l'a finalement hérité. En 1931, le poste télégraphique de Parecis, situé à 80 kilomètres de Diamantino, fut attaqué et détruit par des Indiens inconnus descendus d'une région inexplorée, quelque part entre le rio Ariños et le rio do Sangue. Depuis lors, ils ont répété leurs sorties à intervalles irréguliers, si bien qu'il fallut déplacer la piste allant à Utiarity (sur le rio Papagaio) d'environ 80 kilomètres au sud de la ligne télégraphique. Les feux de campement indigènes étaient clairement visibles lors de notre passage à Pārecis, en janvier 1939. Grâce à deux têtes coupées, rapportées il y a quelques années par des *garimpeiros* (chercheurs de diamants) qui eurent maille à partir avec ces indiens, on sait que ceux-ci portent dans le lobe de l'oreille et dans la lèvre inférieure de larges disques de bois léger qui rappellent ceux des Suia et des Botocudo. Pour cette raison d'ailleurs, ils sont maintenant appelés, par les chercheurs de diamants et les ramasseurs de caoutchouc de la région, du nom de *Beiços de Pau*, « Bouches de bois ». L'histoire est surprenante, car on était jusqu'alors convaincu que les Paressi étaient restés les seuls occupants de ces territoires, et eux-mêmes semblaient tout à fait ignorants de la présence de ces dangereux voisins. Nous n'avons retrouvé dans la littérature aucune référence aux « *Beiços de Pau* » depuis le début du XVIIIe siècle; mais à cette date, il y a un témoignage précis : « Adiante d'estas parte outra naçio chamada Mahibares... este so tem alguma differença (*dos Parexis*) em algumas palavras na linguagem, e tem as orelhas com buracos mui largos que em alguns lhe chegam ao hombro, estes sendo vizinhos dos Parecis... e demais trazem umas adagas feitas de pao mui rijo. Este gentio fica para a parte do Norte » (Antonio Pires de Campos, *Breve noticia*, etc., Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, vol. 25, 1862, p. 445). Cf. aussi C. Lévi-Strauss, *The name of the Nambikwara*, American Anthropologist, vol. 47, 1945.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

lement dans des régions particulièrement inhospitalières qui auraient imposé des formes secondaires d'adaptation. Mais c'est seulement en faisant appel à toutes les sources d'information disponibles, et qui doivent comprendre, outre les données sociologiques, l'étude de la langue et celle de la culture matérielle, et par une comparaison avec les groupes vivant dans le même milieu géographique, qu'un effort d'interprétation de ces problèmes pourra être raisonnablement entrepris.

1: Lévi-Strauss SP17 Nambicuara

TABLE DES MATIÈRES.

Introduction.

Historique 1
Le pays 3
Classification des groupes 7
Le genre de vie 13

Liste des symboles phonologiques 17

Première partie : La Vie familiale.

Système de parenté 17
Étude concrète des groupes :
Groupe oriental 36
Règles de résidence 46
Groupe central et méridional 50
Groupe occidental 53
Groupe septentrional 53

Les relations interindividuelles :
Maris et femmes 54
Vie sexuelle 62
Parents et enfants 66
Les grands-parents 74
Collatéraux et alliés 75
Notes sur l'institution du «compérage» 79

Deuxième Partie : La Vie sociale.

Le commandement 86
Guerre et commerce 90
Magie, rituel et croyances religieuses 95
Théorie de la mort 100

Communication avec un monde surnaturel :
Le shamanisme 101

De la naissance à la mort 106

Psychologie générale et vie quotidienne :
Les catégories 113
Les nombres 115
Les couleurs 116
Les saisons et les jours 117
Traditions orales 119
Les attitudes psychologiques 122

Conclusion 126

Société des Américanistes, 1948. Pl. I, p. 132.

1. Aspect caractéristique de la savane pendant la saison sèche. — 2. Un jardin indigène au milieu de la forêt-galerie. — 3. En voyage.

[End Plate I]

Société des Américanistes, 1948. Pl. II, p. 132.

1-2. Sur le site du village semi-permanent du groupe *af* (cf. p. 48). — 3. Halte forcée sur le chemin du même village (cf. p. 87 sq.).

[End Plate II]

Société des Américanistes. 1968. Pl. III, p. 138.

1

2

1. Type féminin du groupe c (on remarquera le petit singe *Cebus* sp. sur la tête, cf. p. 73).
2. Types masculins du groupe c2.

[End Plate III]

Société des Américanistes. 1948. Pl. IV, p. 132.

1. Retour du bain. — 2. L'indigène *C11* partant pour une expédition de chasse solitaire. 3-4. La vie au campement (*cf.* p. 16). — 5. Fillette cherchant des racines comestibles et portant sur la tête un petit singe (*Lagothrix* sp.). — 6. Les deux fillettes *a8* et *a9* (*cf.* p. 62).

[End Plate IV]

1. La fillette 65 et son chien (cf. p. 70). — 2. Trois belles-sœurs s'épouillant (cf. p. 75). — 3-4. Les jeux érotiques (41 et 42) se distinguent mal des parties de lutte amicales où les enfants se joignent volontiers aux épouses secondaires et à leur mari (cf. p. 62 et 69).

[End Plate II]

Société des Américanistes, 1948. Pl. VI, p. 132.

1

2

1. Les beaux-frères (cf. p. 76); au premier plan, B1. — 2. Les deux épouses de C30 (c12 et c21) engagées dans une conversation plaisante.

[End Plate VI]

Vie familiale : .. La femme c27 et son bébé c28 prennent l'état de couvade (cf. p. 126 sq.).
a. Le chaman du groupe c (C29) joue avec une de ses deux femmes (c27).

[End Plate VII]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

000

HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 3

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Inter-departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

[Title page]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Nambicuara* (*Nambikuara, Mambyara, Mahibarez*) have been identified only recently. *Nambicuara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupí* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiços de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondón discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambicuara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambicuara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambicuara* (map 1, *No. 2;* map 2; map 4)[1] is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Guaporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

The first classification of the *Nambicuara* was made by Roquette-Pinto (1938, pp. 216-217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b), using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is undivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kôkôzu, Cocozu*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anunzé*) in the basins of the Camararé and Dose de Otubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

[1] [Not processed for the File. - Analyst]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

101 *Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*,
197 *Tagnoni*, *Tauitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Ikê and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

101 The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara*; one called *Saluma*, *Saruma*, or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú*; another may be the *Tapanyuma*.

161 In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

197 The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but
193 its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha*.

101 *Nambicuara* culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupí-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

133 The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500
134 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes
137 from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

221 In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children,
[224 forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch
222] grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal baboracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catinal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood planks. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumaru bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Siriono*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season, villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepiberiwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass.

The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paressi* nicknamed them *Uaikoakôre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of burity straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and and toucan feathers, or of fur with feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes and duts hanging down from the nape of the neck.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. 302 [386]

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 854

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Arumak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark. 323 [314]

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. 412 [372] [373]

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being presaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Sousa, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
714
534
301
291
302

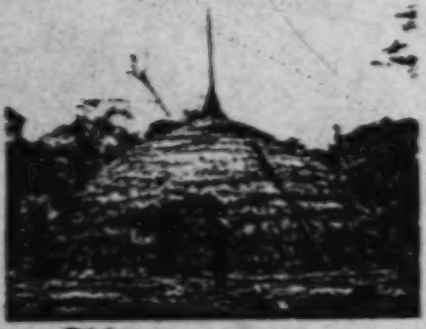
[516]

PLATE 36.—Nambicuara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the nose flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Pasalquan. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except center, left, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 1]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342
306
286
291



[415]

[411]

PLATE 37.—Nambicuara and upper Guaporé Indians. *Top:* Pimenta Bueno hut. *Center, left:* Nambicuara family shelter. *Center, right:* Nambicuara man weaving an armband. *Bottom, left:* Nambicuara family. *Bottom, right:* Woman drilling a mother of pearl earring. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except bottom, left, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

SERIES II

VOLUME 7

[title page]

NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY THE ACADEMY
1945

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

OCTOBER 23, 1944

DOCTOR CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS, École Libre des Hautes Études, New York, N. Y.: *The Social and Psychological Aspect of Chieftainship in a Primitive Tribe: the Nambikuara of Northwestern Mato Grosso.*

000 Few anthropologists would admit today that human groups displaying an extreme primitiveness either in the field of material culture or that of social organization can teach us something about the early stages of the evolution of mankind. Primitiveness in one field often goes on a par with a great sophistication in another, as shown by the Australian refinements concerning kinship. Since these primitive peoples have their own history, it would be a serious mistake to think that it may be discounted because we know nothing of it. The partial similarities which archaeological remains allow us to infer between primitive societies and those of prehistoric man, while they remain sheer hypotheses, do not preclude the tremendous differences which may have existed in fields outside of the archaeologist's reach. The above considerations, which are only a few among many others, have led most anthropologists in recent years to consider each human group as a particular case which should be studied, analyzed and described from the point of view of its uniqueness, without any attempt to use the results for a better understanding of human nature.

However desirable this attitude may have been after the evolutionist orgies, and however fruitful the results obtained, there are many dangers in it which should raise increasing concern. Are we condemned, like new Danaids, to fill endlessly the sieve-like basket of anthropological science; in vain, pouring monographs over monographs without ever being able to collect a substance with a richer and denser value? Fortunately, primitive societies have not to be considered as illusory stages in the evolution of mankind to teach us a truth endowed with a general validity. The fact that they are (at least some of them and all of them in some respect) *simpler* societies than our own does not need to be taken as a proof of their archaism. They still throw light, if not on the history of mankind, at least on some basic forms of activity

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

which are to be found, always and everywhere, as prerequisites for the existence of human society.

The simpler organisms may provide a better field for the study of organic functions than those which exhibit the same functions, although under a more complex form. Simple human groups render the anthropologist the same kind of service without any need of surmising that they represent survivals of older types of organization. Now, to call upon the notion of function in the field of anthropological sciences is no discovery. This notion, first introduced by Durkheim in 1894,[1] has been only too much exploited since then, sometimes in the most abusive way. There are indeed functions of the social life as well as functions of the organic life. But neither in one domain nor in the other does everything correspond to, nor may it be justified by, its functional value. To state the opposite view could lead to only two results: either an anthropological come-back to eighteenth century Providentialism, where culture would play in relation to man the same utopian tutelary part which was attributed to nature by the author of *Paul et Virginie*;[2] or the reducing of the notion of function to a mere tautology—to say, for instance, that the function of the notched lapel on our coats is to gratify our esthetic feeling would be meaningless, since, here, obviously, the feeling results from the custom, and not the contrary. The custom has a history which explains its existence. It does not, under present circumstances, possess any function.

The preceding may appear to be a very ponderous introduction to an address dedicated by its title to the psychological aspects of chieftainship in a small Brazilian tribe. But I do not believe that the data which I am going to present, if considered only as data on chieftainship among a hitherto little known group, would honestly deserve one hour of attention. Similar facts have been recorded many times, either joined or separately. The particular interest offered by the Nambikuara is that they confront us with one of the simplest conceivable forms of social and political organization. Chiefs and chieftainship exist, among all human groups, under very different forms, but it would be vain to assign a special functional value to each of the modali-

[1] In "Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique": "The function is the correspondence between the considered fact and the general needs of the social organism." p. 117.

[2] In his "Etudes de la Nature" (1784) Bernardin de Saint Pierre suggested that Nature devised melon ribs to make the fruit easier to divide on the family table, and that it made fleas black so that they could more easily be caught on white skin.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Oronoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Gardening exists only during the rainy season and does not free the Nambikuara from wandering during the seven months of the dry season, looking for wild roots, fruits and seeds, small animals such as lizards, snakes, bats, spiders and grasshoppers and, generally speaking, anything which may prevent them from starving. As a matter of fact, their geographical surroundings, which are located in the northwestern part of the state of Mato Grosso and include the headwaters of the Tapajos, Rio Roosevelt and Rio Gi-Parana, consist of a desolated savanna with few vegetal resources and still less game.

Had I approached my subject from a point of view other than the one outlined above, I could not have avoided a long discussion in South American cultural history, aimed at clearing up this apparent primitiveness, on the question as to whether the survival of early conditions of life in South America is genuine or whether we should consider it as a more recent—although undoubtedly pre-columbian—result of culture clashes and processes of acculturation. Whatever the answer may be, it cannot substantially change our problem: whether tarriant or recessive, the Nambikuara society functions, in the present, as one of the simplest forms of human society to be conceived. We shall not seek information from the particular history which kept them in their exceptionally crude organization or brought them back to it. We shall only look at the experiment in social anthropology which they now enact under our very eyes.

This holds especially true in respect to their social and political life. For if we do not know what was the material culture of the Nambikuara forty years ago (they were discovered only in 1907), we do know that their numbers became tremendously reduced after their contact with white civilization. General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who discovered and studied them, first stated that their number was about 20,000. This was around 1915. I take this figure as greatly exaggerated, but even if reduced by one half, it considerably exceeds the present number which is hardly more than 2,000. Epidemics have taken care of the difference. What does this mean, from the point of view of our study? During the dry season, the Nambikuara live in nomadic bands, each one under the leadership of a chief, who, during the sedentary life of the rainy months, may be either a village chief or a person of position. General Rondon wrote that, at the time he was exploring the country, it was not rare to see bands averaging two or three hundred individuals. Now, sixty or seventy

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

621 people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves 121 with such questions as the type of political organization in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

[361] Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the 621 gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It 604 does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between [602] two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The [582] Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[1] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown 602 by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage system functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive 621 narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians," American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1943.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

relationship from becoming really operative in the constitution of the band. It can be said that, inside the band as well as between the different bands which are the offspring of the same temporary village, everybody is everybody's kin, in pretty much the same fashion.

Why then the splitting-up process? Two different considerations must be brought forth to answer this question. From an economic point of view, the scarcity of wild food resources and the subsequent high square-mileage needed to feed one individual during the nomadic period make the division into small bands almost compulsory. The real question is not why there is a division but rather on what basis it takes place. I have said that this is done by free choice, but this freedom is not arbitrary. There are, in the initial group, several men acknowledged as leaders (who likely acquired this reputation from their behavior during the nomadic life) and who make the relatively stable nuclei around which the different aggregates center. The importance, as well as the permanence of the aggregate through successive years, depend largely upon the ability of each of these leaders to keep his rank and eventually to improve it. Thus, it may be said that leadership does not exist as a result of the band's needs, but, instead, that the band receives its shape, its size, and even its origin, from the potential leader who antedates it.

There is, however, a continuous function of leadership, although not permanently assumed by the same individual. Among the Nambikuara, chieftainship is not hereditary. When a chief grows old, or is taken ill, and when he does not feel able to fulfill his heavy duty any more, he himself designates his successor. "This one—this one will be the chief . . ." he says. It seems likely that this autocratic power to insure one's own succession is more apparent than real. We shall emphasize later on the small amount of authority enjoyed by the chief and, in this case as in many others, the final decision is probably preceded by a careful survey of public opinion, the designated heir being, at the same time, the one with the greater support from the members of the band. The appointment of the new chief is not only limited by the wishes or disapproval of the band; it needs also to correspond to the plans of the individual to be chosen. Not seldom, does the offer of leadership meet with a vehement refusal: "I don't want to be the chief." Then a new choice must be made. As a matter of fact, chieftainship does not seem to be coveted by many people, and the general attitude of the different chiefs I happened to know was less to brag about their

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

G22 importance and authority than to complain of their many duties and heavy responsibilities. What, then, are the privileges of the chief, and what are his obligations?

When, about 1560, the great French moralist of the sixteenth century, Montaigne, met in Rouen with three Brazilian Indians brought there by some navigator, he asked one of them what were the privileges of the chief (Montaigne said, "the King") in his country; and the native, himself a chief, answered: "To walk ahead on the warpath." Montaigne related this story in a famous chapter of the *Essays* where he wondered a great deal about this proud definition[6]; but it was a greater wonder to me when, almost four centuries later, putting the same question to my informants I was given the same answer. Civilised countries are certainly not accustomed to such constancy in the field of political philosophy! Striking as it may be, this answer is less significant than the name by which the chief is designated in the Nambikuara language. *Uilikande*, the native word for chief, seems to mean "the one who unites" or "the one who joins together." This etymology suggests that the native mind is fully conscious of this extremely important phenomenon which I have pointed out from the beginning, namely, that the leader appears as the cause of the group's willingness to aggregate rather than as the result of the need for a central authority felt by a group already constituted.

Personal prestige and the ability to inspire confidence are thus the foundations of leadership in Nambikuara society. As a matter of fact, both are necessary in the man who will become the guide of this adventurous experiment: the nomadic life of the dry season. For six or seven months, the chief will be entirely responsible for the management of his band. It is he who orders the start of the wandering period, selects the routes, chooses the stopping points and the duration of the stay at each of them, whether a few days or several weeks. He also orders and organizes the hunting, fishing, collecting and gathering expeditions, and determines the conduct of the band in relation to neighboring groups. When the band's chief is, at the same time, a village chief (taking the word village with the restricted meaning of semi-permanent dwelling for the rainy season), his duties do not stop there. He will determine the moment when, and the place where, the group will settle; he will also direct the gardening and decide what plants

[6] Michel de Montaigne. "Des Cannibales." Essais, Livre I, XXXI (End of the chapter).

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

are to be cultivated; and, generally speaking, he will organise the occupations according to the seasons' needs and possibilities. 622

These rather versatile duties, it should be pointed out from the start, are not facilitated by any fixed power or recognized authority. Consent is at the origin of leadership, and consent, too, furnishes the only measure of its legitimacy. Disorderly conduct (according to the native standards) and unwillingness to work on the part of one or two discontented individuals may seriously jeopardise the chief's program and the welfare of his small group. In this eventuality, however, the chief has no coercivitive power at his disposal. The eviction of the bad people can take place only in so far as the chief is able to make public feeling coincide with his own opinion. Thus, he must continuously display a skill belonging more to the politician trying to keep hold of his fluctuating majority than to an over-powering ruler. Furthermore, he does not only need to keep his group together. Although the band lives practically alone and by itself during the nomadic period, the existence of the other bands is not forgotten. It is not enough to do well; the chief must try—and his people count on him for that—to do better than the others. [627]

No social structure is weaker and more fragile than the Nambikuara band. If the chief's authority appears too exacting, if he keeps too many women for himself (I shall later analyse the special features of the chief's polygamy), or if he does not satisfactorily solve the food problem in times of scarcity, discontent will very likely appear. Then, individuals, or families, will separate from the group and join another band believed to be better managed. For instance, this band may get better fare from the discovery of new hunting or gathering emplacements; or it may have become richer in ornaments or implements, through trade with neighboring groups, or more powerful as a result of a successful war expedition. The day will come when the chief finds himself heading a group too small to face the problems of daily life, and to protect his women from the covetousness of other bands. In such cases, he will have no alternative but to give up his command and to rally, together with his last followers, a happier faction. Therefore, Nambikuara social structure appears continuously on the move. The bands take shape, then disorganise, they increase and they vanish. Within a few months, sometimes, their composition, number and distribution cannot be recognised. Political intrigues within the same band and conflicts between bands impose their rhythm upon these fluc- 621 622

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[621] 622 tuations, and the ascent or decline of individuals and groups follow each other in a rather surprising manner.

How will the chief be able to overcome these difficulties? The first instrumental force of his power lies in his generosity. Generosity —an all important feature of chieftainship among most primitive peoples, especially in America—plays an outstanding part even on those crude cultural levels where worldly goods are limited to the most primitive weapons and tools, coarse ornaments made of feathers, shells and bones, and raw materials, such as lumps of rosin and wax, hanks of fiber and splinters of bamboo for arrow-making. There cannot be great economic distinctions between families each of which can pack [462] all of its belongings in the baskets carried along by the women during [558] the long travels of the dry season. But, although the chief does not seem to fare better, in this respect, than the others, he must always have at hand surpluses of food, tools, weapons, ornaments which, while being small indeed, acquire great value because of the scarcity which is the prevalent condition. When an individual, a family or the band itself needs or covets something, the chief is called upon to secure the desired article. Generosity is the quality, much speculated on, which is expected of a new chief. Generosity is the string constantly struck which makes the general consent to one's leadership sound clear or out of tune. There is little doubt that, in this respect, the chief's ability to give is exploited to the utmost. Band chiefs used to be my best informants, and, well aware of their difficult position, I liked to reward them liberally; but I seldom saw one of my many gifts remain in their hands for more than a few days. Each time I took leave of a band, after a few weeks or a few months, its members had time to become the happy hoarders of axes, knives, beads, and so on. As a rule, however, the chief was exactly as poor as at my first arrival. Everything he had received from me (and this was considerably more than the average) had already been squeezed out of him. This collective greediness not seldom drives the chief to an almost desperate position; then the refusal to give plays about the same part, in this primitive democracy, as the threat to resign followed by a vote of confidence in a modern parliament. When a chief reaches the point where he must say: "To give away is over! To be generous is over! Let another be generous in my place!", he must, indeed, be sure of his power and prestige, for his rule is undergoing its severest crisis.

Ingenuity is but the intellectual form of generosity. A great deal

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 and to meet groups too shy to venture forth on the outer fringe. The native band and my own group set out together on a journey supposed to be short; but, because of the animals I had taken, the chief had decided that the usual route through a dense forest could not be used. He led us through the open country, lost his way several times, and we did not reach our destination on the scheduled day. Supplies were exhausted and no game was in sight. The not unfamiliar prospect of a foodless day fell gloomily upon the natives. But, this time, it was the chief's responsibility. The whole project was his own, as well as the attempt to find an easier route. So, instead of trying to discover food, the hungry natives simply lay down in the shadow of the brush and waited for their leader to take them out of this most unpleasant situation. He did not wait or discuss; but, taking the incident as a matter of course, he simply left the camp accompanied by one of his wives. At the camp, the day was spent sleeping, gossiping and complaining. There was no lunch or dinner. But, late at dusk, the chief and his wife reappeared, both heavily laden with baskets filled to the [262] brim. They had hunted grasshoppers the entire day, and, although the expression "to eat grasshoppers" has approximately the same meaning in Nambikuara as the French *manger de la vache enragée*,[1] this food was enthusiastically received, shared and consumed, amidst restored good humor. The following morning, everybody armed himself or herself with a leafless twig and went grasshopper-hunting.

622 595 I have several times referred to the chief's wives. Polygamy, which is practically the chief's privilege, brings him a moral and sentimental reward for his heavy duties together with the practical means of fulfilling them. In the Nambikuara band, apart from rare exceptions, only the chief and the sorcerer (when these functions are divided between two individuals) may have several wives. The chief's polygamy, however, presents special features. It does not constitute a plural marriage but rather a monogamous marriage to which relations of a different nature are added. I have already mentioned the fact that cross-cousin marriage is the usual pattern among the Nambikuara. Another type of marriage also exists, between a man and a woman belonging to the generation following his own, either a wife's "daughter" (true or classificatory) or a sister's niece. Both forms are not uncommon in South America and, together or separately, they have been re-

[1] Closest English equivalent: "to have a rough time of it, to go through the mill."

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

corded among many tribes. Now, what do we find in the chief's case? There is first a monogamous marriage of the cross-cousin type, that is, where the wife belongs to the same generation as her husband. This first wife plays the same part as the monogamous wife in ordinary marriages. She follows the sexual pattern of the division of labor, taking care of the children, doing the cooking, and collecting and gathering wild food. To this marriage are added one or several unions, which, technically, are true marriages, but of a different type. Usually, the secondary wives belong to a younger generation. The first wife calls them daughters or nieces. Besides, they do not follow the sexual pattern of the division of labor, but share indifferently in men's or women's activities. At the camp, they disdain domestic tasks and remain idle, either playing with the children to whose generation they belong or flirting with their husband, while the first wife keeps busy with the food and the fire. On the contrary, when the chief leaves on an exploration, a hunt, or some other manly task, they will accompany him and bring him their moral and physical help. These somewhat "tomboy" girls, elected by the chief from among the prettiest and healthiest of the group, are to him rather "girl-friends" than spouses. They live on the basis of an amorous friendship which contrasts strongly with the more conjugal atmosphere of the first marriage.

This system exerts a tremendous influence upon the whole life of the group. The periodical withdrawal by the chief of young women from the regular cycle of marriages creates a permanent unbalance within the group, between the number of boys and girls of marriageable age. Young men are the chief victims of that situation and must either remain bachelors for several years or marry widows or old women discarded by their husbands. Thus, the right to plural marriage represents a concession of considerable importance made by the group to its leader. What does it mean from the latter's point of view? There is little doubt that access to young and pretty girls brings him a much appreciated gratification, not so much from the physical side (as the Nambikuara share in the quiet dispositions of most South American tribes), as from the psychological and sentimental one. But, above all, plural marriage, together with its distinctive features, constitutes the technical means and the functional device placed at the chief's disposal by the group to enable him to carry out his exacting duties. Left by himself, he could hardly do more than the others. His secondary wives, freed by their special status from the customary

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 595 182 liabilities of their sex, are his helpers, comforters and assistants. They are, at the same time, leadership's prize and instrument. Can it be said, from the native point of view, that the prize is worth the trouble? To answer that question, I shall now have to consider the problem from a broader angle, namely, what does this elementary social structure, the Nambikuara band, teach us about leadership, its basis and its function?

121 There is a first point which does not require great elaboration. Nambikuara data contribute, with many others, to destroy the belief originated by early anthropologists, and temporarily revived by psychoanalysis, that the primitive chief could find his prototype in a symbolical father, and that the simpler forms of the State could progressively have grown out of the family. We have found at the root of the crudest forms of chieftainship a decisive step, which introduced something entirely new in respect to biological relations—and this step consists of *consent*. Consent, we have seen, is at the same time the origin and the limit of leadership. Unilateral relations such as right of age, autocratic power, or others, may appear in groups having an already complex structure. In simple forms of social organization, such as the one I have tried to describe, they are inconceivable. Here, on the contrary, the relationship between the chief and the group can be seen as a perpetual process of arbitration where the chief's talents and authority on the one hand and the group's size, cohesion and willingness, on the other, constantly react on and influence each other. If I had the time, and if it were not so far removed from my topic, I would have liked to show what considerable support modern anthropological observations bring, in this respect, to the analysis of the eighteenth century social philosophers. I am well aware of the fact that Rousseau's "social contract," which is the step by which individuals resign their autonomy in favor of the General Will, is entirely different from the nearly contractual relations existing between the chief and his followers. It remains true, however, that Rousseau and his contemporaries displayed a keen sociological feeling when they understood that cultural attitudes and elements such as "contract" and "consent" are not the result of secondary processes, as claimed by their opponents; they are culture's raw materials, and it is impossible to conceive a political or social organization in which they would not already be present. If I understand correctly, the recent analysis, by modern American

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

anthropologists, of the state-growth significance of military societies among the Plains Indians leads to exactly the same conclusion.[6] 121

My second point is but an exemplification of the first: consent is the psychological basis of leadership, but in daily life it expresses itself in, and is measured by, a game of give-and-take played by the chief and his followers, and which brings forth, as a basic attribute of leadership, the notion of reciprocity. The chief has power, but he must be generous. He has duties, but he is entitled to several wives. Between him and the group, there is a perpetual balance of prestations, privileges, services and obligations. The notion of reciprocity, originated by Marcel Mauss, was brilliantly analysed by Malinowski in his "Crime and Custom in Savage Society." In respect to leadership, he says: "The claims of chief over commoners, husband over wife, parent over child and vice versa are not exercised arbitrarily and one-sidedly, but according to definite rules, and arranged into well-balanced chains of reciprocal services."[7] This statement needs somewhat to be completed. Malinowski is right when he points out that the chief-commoners' relationship, as every relationship in primitive society, is based on reciprocity. In the first case, however, the reciprocity is not of the same type as in the others. In any human society, whether primitive or civilized, two different cycles of reciprocity are constantly at work: first, the chain of individual prestations linking the isolated members of the group; and, next, a relation of reciprocity binding the group considered as group (not as a collection of individuals) and its ruler. In the case we have studied, this is well illustrated by the rules of marriage. Taken in its broadest sense, the incest prohibition means that everybody in the group is obliged to deliver his sister or daughter to an individual; and, conversely, is entitled to receive his wife from the latter (whether from the same man, as in exchange-marriage, or from a different one). Thus, a continuous chain of reciprocal prestations is directly or indirectly set up between all the collective or individual members of the group.[8] This may be called qualitative reciprocity; but incest prohibition also provides the basis for a quantita-

[6] R. H. Lowie. 1927. The Origin of the State: 79-107; New York. K. N. Llewellyn & E. A. Hoebel. 1941. The Cheyenne Way. Part II, ch. 5. University of Oklahoma Press.

[7] B. Malinowski. 1945. Crime and Custom in Savage Society: 46. New York. (Third Printing).

[8] See the late F. E. Williams' remarkable analysis in "Papuans of the Trans-Fly": 167-169. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1936.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

121 tive reciprocity. We may consider it as a "freezing" measure, which, while it forbids the appropriation of women who are at one's natural disposal, prepares the formulation of marriage rules allowing every man to get a wife. Therefore, a close relationship exists in a given society between the forbidden degrees and the extent to which polygamy is allowed. How does the preceding apply to the Nambikuara? If they had cross-cousin marriage associated exclusively with monogamy, there would be a perfectly simple system of reciprocity (from the individual's point of view) both qualitative and quantitative. This theoretical formula is, however, upset by the chief's privilege to polygamy. The withholding of the simpler rule, in favor of the chief, creates for each individual an element of insecurity which would otherwise not exist. Let us state this in other terms: the granting of polygamous privilege to the chief means that the group has exchanged *individual elements of security* resulting from the monogamous rule for *collective security* provided by leadership. Each man receives a wife from another man, but the chief receives several wives from the group. In exchange, he offers to guarantee against need and danger, not to the individuals whose sisters or daughters he marries; not to those who will be deprived of a spouse by his polygamous right; but to the group, taken as a whole. For it is the group, taken as a whole, which has withheld the common law in his favor. The preceding considerations may have some bearing upon the theory of plural marriage; but, most of all, they remind us that the interpretation of the State, conceived as a security system, recently revived by discussions about a national insurance policy (such as the Beveridge plan and others), is not a modern development. It is a return to the basic nature of social and political organization.

So much for the group's point of view on leadership. What about the chief's own attitude in relation to his function? What is his incentive in assuming duties of which I have given a not too favorable account? We saw that the Nambikuara band leader has a tiresome and exacting role; that he must exert himself without pause to maintain his position. What is more, if he does not constantly improve it, he runs the risk of losing what he has taken months or years to achieve. This explains why many men, as I have already said, shun leadership. But why do others accept and even seek it? It is always difficult to appraise psychological motives; and the task is almost impossible when a culture totally alien to our own is considered. I venture to say,

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

however, that the polygamous privilege, highly valued as it may be from the point of view of sexual gratification, sentimental appeal and social prestige, would not suffice to determine a leader's vocation. Plural marriage is but a technical prerequisite of chieftainship; its individual value can only be residual. There must be something more; and, going over the moral and psychological features of the Nambikuara chiefs I knew, and trying to hold on to those fugitive and irreplaceable glimpses at their intimate selves (of which no scientific approach may certify the accuracy, but which gain, from a deep feeling of friendship and human communication, some sort of intuitive value), I feel imperiously led to this answer: there are chiefs because there are, in any human group, men who, unlike most of their companions, enjoy prestige for its own sake, feel a strong appeal to responsibility, and to whom the burden of public affairs brings its own reward. These individual differences are certainly emphasized and "played up" by the different cultures, and to unequal degrees. But their clear-cut existence in a society as little competitive as the Nambikuara strongly suggests to my mind that their origin itself is not cultural. They are rather part of those psychological raw materials out of which any given culture is made. Men are not all alike; and, in primitive societies, believed by early anthropologists to be overwhelmed by the crushing power of custom, these individual differences are as keenly perceived and worked out as in our so-called "individualistic" civilization. |2|

It is remarkable how far the practical experience of colonial administrators has outgrown, in relation to the previous considerations, anthropologists' theoretical studies. During the past twenty years, Lowie's pessimistic appraisal of anthropological work in the field of political institutions[1] has certainly not lost its value. We have much to learn from the scientifically untrained who deal with native institutions. I shall not here record Lyautey's testimony without reservation: "In every society, there is a leading class born for leadership and without which nothing can be accomplished."[2] What may be true for the simpler structures cannot be considered equally valid when considering the complex ones, where the function of leadership does not manifest itself any more in a "pure" state. But let us listen to Eboué who passed away a few months ago. Himself a full-blooded negro, he

[1] At the beginning of Chapter XIII of "Primitive Society."
[2] Quoted in: Governor-General Felix Eboué's Memorandum on "Native Policy," issued on November 8,1943.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

12/ wrote the following when he was Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa in special relation to those nomadic tribes which, as he put it, "live under a regime of organized anarchy." I quote: "Who is to be chief? I shall not answer, as was the custom in Athens, 'the best.' There is no best chief, there is just a chief;" and further; "the chief is not interchangeable . . . the chief pre-exists."[21] This is precisely what was suggested to us from the start of our analysis of Nambikuara society.

In conclusion, I submit that, when developing the study of political institutions, anthropologists will have to pay more and more attention to the idea of "natural leadership." I am well aware that this expression is almost contradictory. There is no possible form of leadership which does not receive its shape and specification inside of a given cultural context. But this expression can be taken as a borderline case, or as a limit—as say the mathematicians. While the limit can never be reached, simple social structures give us, in the order of their simplicity, an even closer approximation of it. In such studies, we may accordingly foresee a privileged field for close cooperative work between anthropology and individual psychology.

[21] *Ibid.*

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
PUBLICATION NO. 15

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL

by

KALERVO OBERG

WITH APPENDIX

ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE UMOTINA, NAMBICUARA, AND JAVAHÉ, WITH COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER NORTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBES

By MARSHALL T. NEWMAN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE · WASHINGTON · 1953

[p. i]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

050

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., May 31, 1951.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil," by Kalervo Oberg, with an appendix entitled "Anthropometry of the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe, with Comparative Data from Other Northern Mato Grosso Tribes," by Marshall T. Newman, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 15 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE M. FOSTER, *Director.*

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

* * * *

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

1. Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans, by Ralph L. Beals, Pedro Carrasco, and Thomas McCorkle. x+57 pp., 6 pls., 20 figs. 1944.
2. Charles: A Sierra Tarascan Village, by Ralph L. Beals. x+[illegible] pp., 6 pls., 19 figs., 5 maps. 1946.
3. Mocho: A Peruvian Coastal Community, by John Gillin. vii+[illegible] pp., 20 pls., 6 figs., 1 map. 1947.
4. Cultural and Historical Geography of Southwest Guatemala, by Felix Webster McBryde. xv+[illegible] pp., 47 pls., 3 figs., 26 maps. 1947.
5. Highland Communities of Central Peru, by Henry Tschopik, Jr. vii+[illegible] pp., 15 pls., 3 maps. 1947.
6. Respiro's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan, by George M. Foster assisted by Gabriel Ospina. v+[illegible] pp., 18 pls., 36 figs., 3 maps. 1948.
7. Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area, by Robert C. West. vi+77 pp., 14 pls., 6 figs., 21 maps. 1948.
8. Sierra Popolaca Speech, by Mary L. Foster and George M. Foster. ii+[illegible] pp. 1948.
9. The Tarasca and the Cadaveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, by Kalervo Oberg. iv+72 pp., 24 pls., 3 charts, 4 maps. 1949.
10. Nomads of the Long Bow: The Sirionó of Eastern Bolivia, by Allan R. Holmberg. iv+[illegible] pp., 7 pls., 4 charts, 1 map. 1950.
11. Quiroga: A Mexican Municipio, by Donald D. Brand. v+[illegible] pp., 33 pls., 4 maps. 1951.
12. Cruz das Almas: A Brazilian Village, by Donald Pierson. x+[illegible] pp., 20 pls., 13 figs., 2 maps. 1952.
13. The Tajin Totonac: Part 1. History, Subsistence, Shelter, and Technology, by Isabel Kelly and Angel Palerm. xiv+[illegible] pp., 32 pls., 60 figs., 10 maps. 1952.
14. The Indian Costs of Peru, 1760–1940: A Population Study Based upon Tax Records and Census Reports, by George Kubler. v+71 pp., 2 pls., 1 fig., 30 maps. 1952.

[p. ii]

CONTENTS

Preface viii
The Campsite 1
The Upper Xingú Basin and its people 1
The region 1
The people 9
The Campsite as Jeconé Camp and as Trumaí 6
The village (Posto) 10
The house (hut) 13
General observations 15
Agriculture 17
Manioc (bread) 18
Pounding 21
Manufacture (paste) 23
Water (farinha) 25
Peels 26
Cotton (hammock) 26
Urucú 26
Tobacco (pipes) 26
Fishing (pictorial) 26
Hunting 26
Manufactures 26
The bow and arrow 26
The canoe 26
Pots 26
Hammock weaving 26
Mats 26
Basket and pouch 26
Gourd vessels 26
The drum 26
Basketry 26
Pottery 26
Combs 26
The shell (bracelet) 26
The armlet 27
The technology of the Campsite 27
The preparation of food 28
Manufactures of labor 28
Ownership and inheritance 28
Trade 28
Social organization 28
Kinship terminology 28
Marriage regulations 28
Extended family and local group 28
The family 28
The tribe 28
Religious beliefs and ceremonies 28
Origin myths 28

The Campsite—Continued ..... Index
Religious beliefs and ceremonies—Continued
The camarú 28
Rituals 28
Ritual dances 28
The jakui 28
Ceremonial dress 28
Shamanism 28
The life cycle 28
Birth (menstrual) 28
The care of children 28
Puberty ordeales (adjuncts) 28
Marriage (ephebic) 28
Burial (annex) 28
The Present 28
Economy 28
Shelter 28
Equipment 28
Ornaments 28
Subsistence activities 28
Organization of labor 28
Social organization 28
The life cycle 28
Birth (prenatal) 28
Puberty rites 28
Marriage (adolescence) 28
Burial (epochal) 28
Shamanism 28
Games 28
Communication 28
Origin myths 28
The Environment 28
The people and their habits 28
Economy 28
Settlements and shelters 28
Hunting, fishing, and collecting 28
Agriculture 28
Manufacturing 28
Communication 28
Social organization 28
Religious beliefs and practices 28
The life cycle 28
Birth 28
Puberty 28
Marriage 28
Burial 28
The Tapirapé 28
The people and their habits 28

[p. iii]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

	PAGE
The Unotina—Continued	
Economics	[illegible]
Agriculture	[illegible]
Hunting and fishing	[illegible]
Social organization	[illegible]
Religious beliefs and practices	[illegible]
Myths	[illegible]
Charts	[illegible]
Life cycle	[illegible]
Kinship charts	111
Appendix 1. Resources of the Nambicuara	[illegible]
Appendix 2. Bororo kinship system	[illegible]
Appendix 3. Anthropometry of the Unotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe, with comparative data from other northern Mato Grosso tribes, by Marshall T. Newman	[illegible]
Geographical relations	[illegible]
Appraisal of mixture	[illegible]
Appraisal of anthropometric techniques	[illegible]
Appraisal of physical data	[illegible]
Summary	[illegible]
Bibliography	[illegible]
Index	[illegible]

[p. iv]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

(All plates at end of book, following p. 134)

1. General scenes in northern Mato Grosso.
2. Houses and house construction.
3. Manioc cultivation and preparation among the Cunuyurú.
4. Cunuyurú women preparing manioc and flour.
5. Nambikwara economic activities.
6. Nambikwara scenes.
7. Cunuyurú scenes.
8. Nambikwara physical types.
9. Physical types of Uaxitáw men.
10. Physical types of Uaxitáw women.

MAPS

	Page
1. Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil, showing the location of tribes among whom field work was done.	viii
2. Upper Xingú Basin, showing the approximate location of tribal villages in 1948	8
3. Schematic map of approximate tribal locations in relation to topography and drainage systems in northern Mato Grosso	180

KINSHIP CHARTS

1. Cunuyurú, Tupí-speaking	113
2. Aweti, Tupí-speaking	113
3. Beaziri, Carib-speaking	134
4. Calapalo, Carib-speaking	134
5. Culuéne, Carib-speaking	134
6. Waurá, Arawak-speaking	136
7. Yaulapití, Arawak-speaking	137
8. Paressí, Arawak-speaking	138
9. Trumai, unrelated	139
10. Guató, unrelated	139
11. Bororo, unrelated	139
12. Uaxitáw, related to Bororo	139
13. Nambikwara, unrelated(?)	139
14. Iranxe, possibly Arawak-speaking	139

FIGURES

1. Temperature readings taken at Aweti Camp, Upper Xingú	8
2. An Iamurí, which lives in dead burnt trees, represented by arrow in headdress, as drawn by the Cunuyurú	66

PHONETIC NOTE

'=glottal stop, as in oooo'o.
:=lengthened vowel, as in tumá.
ĭ=unrounded back i, as in ihi.
ë=short e, as in pull.

[p. v]

[p. vi is blank]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

600

PREFACE

[p. vii (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

The field work on which this monograph is based was carried out as a part of the teaching and field research program in anthropology conducted jointly by the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution and the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, during June, July, and August of 1947, 1948, and 1949. In 1947, when I visited the Bacairí, Umotina, Paressí, and Bororo, I was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva, then a student of the Escola but presently a graduate student of anthropology at Columbia University. On the Xingú trip in 1948, I was accompanied by Fernando and Kacro Otaga, also a student of the Escola. In 1949, when I visited the Nambicuara and Umotina I was accompanied by Kacro. This field work was in essence a continuation of the research begun in southern Mato Grosso among the Terena and Caduveo in 1940 and 1947, the results of which have been published as Publication No. 9 of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Although the title of the present monograph reads "Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso," it should not be interpreted as covering all the tribes in that vast region, many of which are still unidentified.

[p. vii (8)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

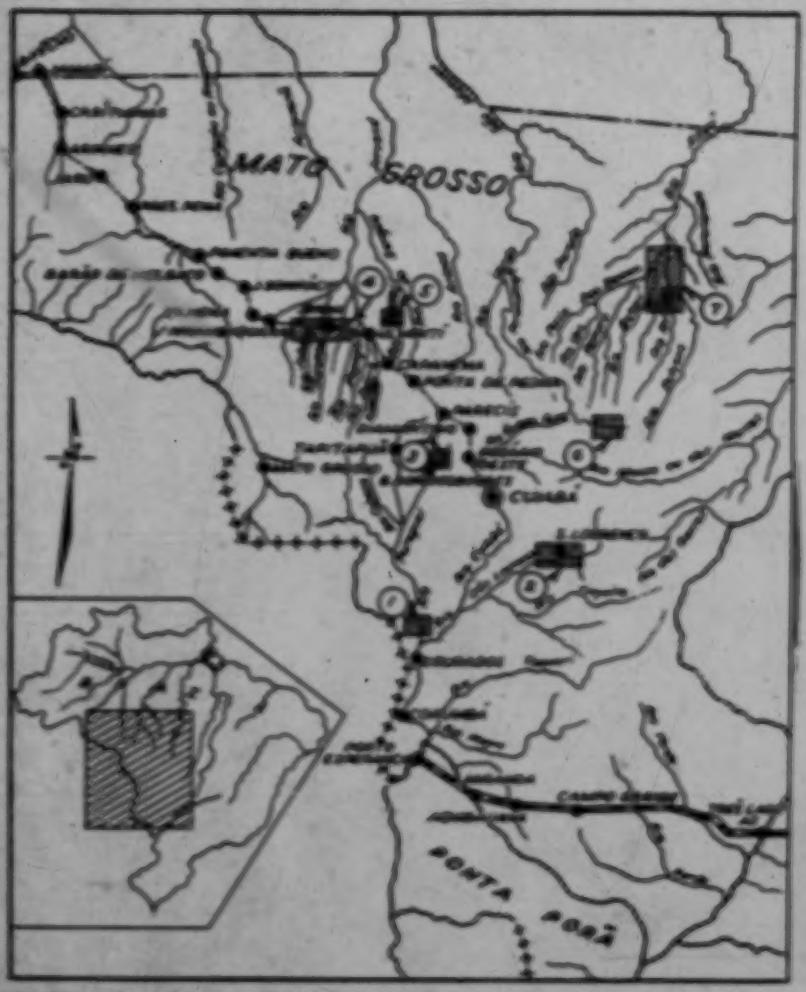
122 I especially wish to thank Dr. Cyro Berlink, the director of the Escola de Sociologia e Política, not only for his enthusiasm and sympathetic understanding of the research program, but for contributing the funds necessary to maintain the students in the field. I also wish to thank the staff of the Escola for their counsel, particularly Dr. Antonio Müller and Dr. Otavio da Costa Eduardo. I am particularly grateful to the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios whose assistance has been of immeasurable help in the field. I wish to acknowledge, too, the help of the personnel of the Fundação Brasil Central for their assistance while we remained at their camp in the Upper Xingú.

ack Finally, I wish to express my appreciation for the assistance and kindness extended to me by the American missionaries who are active in northern Mato Grosso, particularly, Rev. C. Thomas Young, Rev. W. L. Buckman, Rev. Robert R. Meader, and Rev. Emil W. Halvorsen.

And now I wish to thank my wife, Lois, for her critical comments and for typing the draft of this monograph.

[p. vii(c)]

131
133



Map 1.—Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil, showing the location of tribes among whom field work was done. Numbered blocks refer to the following tribes or groups of tribes: 1, The Guaná; 2, the Bororo; 3, the Tuxtina; 4, the Nambicuara; 5, the Iranxe; 6, the Bauairi; 7, the Upper Xingú tribes.

[p. viii]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE NAMBICUARA

[p. 82(A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

The telegraph line which runs from Cuiabá, the capital of Mato Grosso, to Porto Velho on the Madeira River has created a narrow corridor of the known through the vast unknown stretches of northwestern Mato Grosso. Along this line the Government has established telegraph stations manned by telegraph operators, many of whom are Parecsí Indians. A makeshift road, over which trucks can travel, follows the line a few miles past Utiarity to Barity; beyond this the road is no more than a trail along which men ride on horseback and goods are transported by pack oxen. At Vilhena there is an army airfield.

Since 1912, when the line was completed, this corridor has been the highway of men who have sought rubber, diamonds, gold, and Indian souls. No permanent settlements of farmers or stockmen, as yet, occupy this vast hinterland. The rubber concessioner, usually a man from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, or Cuiabá with sufficient funds to buy a truck or two, lays claim to a stretch of "galeria" forest, builds a camp along the road, hires a number of tappers, and goes into business. Each underpaid tapper works an area of trees, bringing his rubber to camp on his back or more rarely on oxback. Food must be brought in from Cuiabá, and as supplies, at best, are precarious, any delay in truck transportation brings scurvy and starvation. Eventually the workers drift away, some it is said dying on the way, and the operation ceases. During the last war the United States Government, through the Rubber Reserve, enabled rubber operations to expand. Good camps were established and the road improved. Today, however, the camps and the road are deteriorating, leaving the field to the shoe-string operator with his second-hand truck. The operations of the gold and diamond miners are still more uncertain. In small groups they enter the area, their scanty supplies carried on oxen and mules. Men unfamiliar with the semiarid wastes easily miss the areas where fodder and water can be obtained, the pack animals die and the stranded men are left to find their way out the best they can. At Utiarity I met a miner who was waiting for food supplies from Cuiabá. He had four oxen and two

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

mules. During the height of the dry season in July his mules died of starvation, for during this period horses and mules must be given at least a pint of maize a day to keep them alive. Just before I left, the miner was willing to sell his emaciated oxen and equipment and leave. The best able to withstand the hardships are the missionaries who come as permanent settlers with adequate stores, put up their buildings, and plant small fields of manioc on the bottom lands.

A brief description of the approximately 400-mile truck journey from Cuiabá to Utiarity will provide the reader with an impression of this part of Mato Grosso. As no regular freight or passenger service exists north of Cuiabá it is necessary either to hire a truck or to wait until someone else plans a trip and to join the party. With gasoline costing one dollar (US$1) a gallon, trips of this length are beyond the means of merely inquisitive travelers, and even to anthropologists with expense accounts, charges of this nature may lead to embarrassing questions. Hearing that two American missionaries were negotiating a trip to Utiarity we joined them by paying a part of the expense.

Thus one afternoon Kaoro Onaga and I climbed on top of one of the two overloaded trucks and headed northwest. The trucks were owned by a Cuiabano nicknamed João Tapuya owing to his Indian ancestry. Being an owner of two trucks, he belonged to that class of people who believe it undignified to work with their hands. Each truck, therefore, had a driver and each driver had an assistant and two loaders; thus, besides the owner, there were 8 men to operate two trucks. Among the passengers, besides myself and my student, there were the two American missionaries, Rev. Lawrence W. Buckman and Rev. Robert Meader, Buckman's wife and 2-year-old son, two other women with children-in-arms, and some half dozen men headed for various points on the way. It was up to each person to find his place on the load and to make himself as comfortable as possible among the bales, sacks, and sheets of corrugated iron, which, with each jolt on the rutted dirt road, shifted position.

That evening we arrived in Rosario some 90 miles north of Cuiabá. On entering the town we

had to cross a shallow river which meant unloading and reloading the cargo. In these parts, although bridges are built, they are not repaired so that there is always a period of several months during which the community has to get along without a bridge. The last truck which tried to cross on the ruined bridge nearby fell into the river and it was said a child was killed in the accident. Although having four or five thousand inhabitants, Rosario has no electric lights, no running water, and no public sewage system. I was interested in this quaint old town with its ancient Catholic church and public square, for it was from here that Von den Steinen, Max Schmidt, and many other anthropologists have headed northeast to the Xingú or northwest to Paresí and Nambicuara country.

We put up at a "pensão" or inn where we ate our evening meal of rice, beans, and dried meat topped off with "goiabada" (a kind of stiff, very sweet jam) and coffee. The inn was lighted by lamps common in the interior—a tin can filled with kerosene with a round wick sticking out through the top. Later everyone slung his own hammock from the hooks which stuck out all around the walls for this purpose. Our rest was far from peaceful, however, for other trucks kept coming in during the night, the truckers demanding food and lodging.

Next morning at dawn we were on the road and were soon winding up the steep escarpment to the top of the great sandstone plateau which divides the watersheds of the Amazon and the Paraguay Rivers. At noon, over an open fire, the two Brazilian women prepared a lunch of boiled rice and dried salt pork stewed in vinegar, onions, garlic, and tomato paste. At 6 o'clock we arrived at Parecis telegraph station where we put up for the night in an empty rubber storehouse. During the night the south wind began to blow, and the morning broke cold and drizzly.

After a small cup of coffee we climbed on top of the trucks, wrapped blankets around us, and pulled a tarpaulin over our legs. Although the temperature was not lower than 60° F., the exposure to the wind and drizzle caused considerable discomfort, particularly because the temperature of the preceding day had been around 90° F.

133 We were now well along on that part of the central plateau known as the Cerra dos Parecis.

132
134 The soil here is sandy and the rainfall insufficient
to support a forest. The vegetation consisted of
136 stunted piqui, mangabeira, fruta de lobo, lixeiro,
137 and other gnarled cerrado trees with the surface
sparcely covered with bunches of wiry grass and
other drought-resistant plants. During the whole
day we saw only four deer and two rheas, which
gives some idea of the poverty of the area. This
000 is public domain and apparently unwanted by
stockmen owing to its poor soil and lack of water.
By now we had left the telegraph line, which
crosses unbridged rivers, and were winding around
the headwaters of the streams. That night we
camped at Socuruina where two palm-leaf-cov-
ered sheds, left by "tropeiros," provided some
shelter from the drizzling rain.

133 The following day the skies cleared and from the
137 tops of the folds in the plateau we obtained
magnificient views of the great plain. What few
312 trees could be seen were no more than 5 or 6 feet
high. A curious phenomena seen along the plateau
are the patches of forest of 5 to 10 acres in extent
which appear to grow straight out of the semi-
desert. Evidently ground water comes near the
surface in these spots, permitting the growth of a
genuine forest. Another interesting sight was the
birth of rivers. In the shallow valleys formed by
the folds, one could first see swampy ground, then
tall grass, then bushes, then short trees, and
finally the tall trees forming a "galeria" forest
which bordered a river winding its way northward
to form one of the headwaters of the Amazon
system.

At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Sacre River where
the trucks had to be ferried across on a raft.
As this operation took until dark we camped for
the night in some vacant buildings left by rubber
workers. Before leaving next morning we visited
the waterfall (Salto Bello) about 200 yards below
the ferry where the Sacre River tumbles over a
sheer drop of about 180 feet. Early in the after-
noon we reached the Papagaio River and after
ferrying the trucks across we were in Utiarity.
Both the Sacre and the Papagaio are deep clear
streams about 100 yards in width at the ferry
crossings. These headwater streams are evidently
fed by underground water, for their level does not
vary appreciably during the year.

000 Utiarity, which was to be our base camp for the
remainder of June and for July, is built on an

1 [on the Serra dos Parecis. - Analyst] [p. 83(8)]

old Parecí Indian village site on the west bank of the Papagaio. It is a division point in the telegraph line, and besides the telegraph operator there is a section boss and a number of Parecí Indian linesmen. As the Nambicuara take whatever wire they feel they need, the linesmen are kept busy repairing the line. There are 12 houses in the settlement proper with the buildings of the Protestant Mission forming one end of the town and the buildings of the Jesuit Mission forming the other.

The line boss, who is also the mayor of the town, gave Kaoro and me a two-room mud-and-wattle house as our quarters. Our mobile we took with the two American missionary families. The Catholic Mission was under the charge of Father Roberto, a Frenchman, and Father João, an Austrian. In addition, there were three sisters in charge of a school. The priests had developed extensive fields of manioc and rice, irrigating the fields by diverting water from the river. They had also set up an electric-light plant, using water as a source of power. There are tremendous possibilities for power development, for Utiarity Falls, situated some half a mile distant, has a drop of about 240 feet. Unfortunately this power resource is located in a practically uninhabited, semiarid region.

The Rev. L. W. Buckman, who has been in the area since 1941, kindly consented to prepare a pack train, using the mission oxen and mules, to go in search of the nearest band of Nambicuara. On the third day after our arrival when our preparations were well along, however, a band of Nambicuara came to Utiarity. In fact they were able to get a ride on João Tapuya's trucks as he was returning from Burity, the end of the truck road. This was Julio's band of some 18 people known by the Nambicuara as the Waklitisu. Their purpose was to bring one of their men who had running syphilis sores to the Jesuit Mission for treatment. This changed our plans, for we now had one of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands in camp, which would give us plenty to do for the limited period of our visit. Also during the first week, Father João returned from the Iranxe village, bringing five men, and offered to assist us in gathering whatever information we could get from them. This we found to be very difficult, as the Iranxe spoke no Portuguese and the mis-

000 sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

621 622 As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakitiau band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio [731] is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótaeu, the members of the band are Wakitiau and related to one another. Julio took the Elótaeu [595 583] woman from the Elótaeu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótaeu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marviano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

164 Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be 515 healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no [513] hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. [291] The Wakitiau wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, [164] makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

181 171 In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

181 Cadiveo, perhaps remindful of their slave-owning
171 past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The Arawak-speaking Terena and Paresi, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Bacairí and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
5% and impolite even to rudeness. On many occa-
609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "raspberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paresi consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

[p.856]

[101] 181 648 The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "criança" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 171 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço
101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. 116, 128-135.-A.]

[p. 85(B)]

101 are their enemies whom they call the Salundé or Salâosú, probably the Apiões whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[197] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into an Eastern and a Western group. Both the
131 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are
101 dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elótasu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Suina River; the Waklítisu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwáisu now including the Hégndisu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindisu on the Kabishí River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Táondisú and Suédndisu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Waklítisu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Waklítisu, Elótasu, and Kitánhlu the Iritoa; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwáisu and Hégndisu are called the Manduca by the local people, and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoa and Manduca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability
621 has arisen from the changes in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite
621 conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

[p. 86(1)]

621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the Eastern Nambicuara are as follows: Waklitisu, 18; Kitánhlu, 45, Elótasu, 17; Chiwáisu, 50. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half [169] as many exist today. It must be remembered that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires de Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hisipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Noticia published in 1746, he mentions the Caviro Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres de Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1800 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixí, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26–51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Paressí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically competent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, 648 small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tolosa on the upper Cravarí River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyreneus de Sousa between Campos Novos and

[p. 86(B)]

648 Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

797 Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tyler and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tyler, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tyler, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To 101 the east and south are the remnants of the 797 Paresí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paresí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

222 Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting 224 agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, 241 game, or fish. What little farming is practiced is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87 (N)]

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes
262 reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.[2]

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Uti-
[131 133] arity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this
132 period the grass withers, the livestock of the white
221 men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, par-
[224] ticularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[805] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season
805 (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon
221 the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadédunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'awadjítsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *áhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *casúru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
621 has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

[1] [i.e., a fish poison — A.] [p. 87 (B)] [2] [See cat. 116, pp. 124-126. — Analyst]

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiôsu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
621 where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
house, each family having its own fire around
[513] which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
[343 in the same way. Houses of this type are from
346] 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
build a small flute hut (*sinedónkisu*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sihdentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*sistáutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
000 carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

[p. 88 (1)]

The Waklitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresí in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Waklitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
574 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[162 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
858 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
[252 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
262 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has
[177] a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and [264] along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot.

[242] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more than one with a small family even though the [251] man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 [251] The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking [264] left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 264 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amusing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

224 264 to me not to say anything. Later that day he returned to the spot, built a fire, roasted the snake, and ate it by himself.

224 Caymans are hunted by first finding their hide-outs under logs or overhanging banks. When one is found under an overhanging bank the hunters peel a number of slender poles and begin to thrust them down through the bank to force the cayman out. Men are stationed above and below the spot, and as the cayman comes out he is shot. When he hides under logs the hunters feel for him with their feet. The hunters are so nimble that few of them get bitten. The large rodent, paca, is also hunted in this way, for it hides in holes under overhanging banks.

The large water snake, anaconda, is hunted in pools where it lies in wait for game. When the hunters have trailed an anaconda to a water hole they keep shooting arrows into the water until they strike it. The first strike then indicates where the snake is, and they continue shooting until the snake weakens and can be pulled out. Sometimes the snake grabs a hunter by the arm, but the others are there to assist if anyone gets into difficulties.

Small anteaters are dug out of holes but the larger kind which does not go into holes is hunted by two men armed with clubs. The men chase it, one on each side, and as the anteater turns on one he strikes it on the nose with his club and then jumps into a tree. The other hunter then strikes it. This continues until the anteater dies.

Monkeys are chased from tree to tree until they tire and come down to hide in a hole in the ground. Dogs can then overtake the monkey or he can be shot or dug out of the hole. Deer usually do not fall when shot, but the hunter chases the wounded deer until he can shoot more arrows into it, especially into the legs.

[278 184] Although the Western Nambicuara are said to use arrows poisoned with curare, the Wakitiu say they do not use curare but that they know how to prepare it and that they formerly used it in raids. As arrows do not penetrate bone, the hunter tries to shoot at an angle so that the arrow will enter the chest cavity, or he will aim between the neck and the shoulder bone.

223 The Nambicuara hunt and eat all birds except the urubú. Large rheas are not hunted because it is difficult to approach them on the open sa-

223 vanna, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs [535] for fear of angering the mother cayman. After a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the ridicule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

226 As the Nambicuara hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacú or matrinchã to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuara claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cutoffs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*hinto*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the woods where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tandru*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

226 Xingú, the Nambicuara timbó fishing appears very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in
[252] leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked. Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nambicuara also claim that they fish at night with
[177] torches along the river banks. This method may have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

241 The principal food crops grown by the Nambicuara are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrowroot, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton, tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and native names of these plants are listed in Appendix 1.[1] In more recent times they are known to produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The dependence upon food crops in relation to game, fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gage. The statements of missionaries, however, appear to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide a year-round food supply and may actually play a minor role as compared with dependence upon noncultivated resources.

Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria" forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most of their hunting and collecting. The Waklitisu band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we have said, lives in a single house while thus occupied. In the past the field (*hxítsu*) was cleared with a stone ax (*stúnsu*) and a wooden
[177] club (*hukwénisu*). Today steel axes and machetes are used, but the method of planting is still the same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the statement that in the past when a new field had to be cleared the people had to work during most of the wet season in order to fell the trees, a task which they now perform in May and June.

Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten down with the wooden club. The Nambicuara
241 had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near
313 the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small trees part way through, then selected a number of large trees as kingpins. When these large trees were felled they knocked down the smaller trees below them. This was continued until they had a circular clearing of the required size on the slope.
241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

[1] [Cal. 116, pp. 124-126. - Rev.] [p. 90 (B)]

241 but the method of felling is the same. All clearing has to be completed by the end of June to permit the felled trees to dry.

In late August, when the cicada begins to sing and the first thunder is heard, the Nambicuara return to undertake their planting activities. At a given signal, men with lighted bunches of dry grass set fire to dry trees and bushes all around the edges of the field. The rest of the people are concentrated at the river's edge at the bottom of the slope, and as animals, such as rats, lizards, and snakes, flee toward the water they kill them.
[222] After the fires have died down the people go through the field collecting grubs, insects, and whatever else that is edible.

Among the stumps and unburnt logs the Nambicuara hoe up hills about 3 feet in diameter into which they stick 6 or 7 pieces of last season's manioc stems, each about 10 inches long. These hills are made about 5 or 6 feet apart. Formerly they used a digging stick (*kadikádeu*) but today the metal hoe (*isakúluou*) is used. Bitter manioc (*wálídneu*) is their most important crop.

After the rains have begun and the manioc is several inches high, they begin to plant maize (*kayátou*) of which the Nambicuara have several varieties. Maize is planted between the manioc hills by making a hole in the ground with a digging stick into which 2 seeds are dropped. As the holes are about 6 inches deep, the seeds are not covered. Whether this is to protect the seeds from birds is not clear.

When the maize has grown tall enough to provide shade they plant beans (*kwí'eu*), sweetpotatoes (*wíeu*), and tobacco (*ótou*). The bean which the Nambicuara grow looks like a large red kidney bean and has a tough skin. Beans are planted one seed to a shallow hole and covered. Sweetpotatoes are planted by placing cuttings in shallow trenches near logs and stumps. When
249 planting tobacco a man places a handful of seeds on a leaf, climbs onto a high stump, and blows the fine seeds so that they scatter over the field. They weed the field only once when the maize is about a foot or two in height. Cotton is planted
248 in the field but urucú bushes and gourds are planted near the houses. After the planting is finished and the field is growing well the people leave on their continuous rounds of hunting, fishing, and collecting.

[p. 91 (A)]

252 The Nambicuara method of processing manioc in comparison with that of the Camayurá is simple and crude. The following describes the method used today: Marciano's wife dug up a burden basket full of manioc from a field belonging to the Protestant Mission. She sat under a tree
[177] and peeled the tubers with an old butcher knife (formerly a piece of bamboo was used). She washed the peeled tubers and placed them in a calabash. She then took a grater made from a piece of kerosene box about 2 feet long and 6 inches wide to which an 18-inch strip of perforated tin was nailed. She placed one end of the grater in a larger copper basin (belonging to the mission) while the other end rested on the edge, and while steadying the grater with one hand she grated the tuber with the other. The tubers did not stand in water nor were they dipped in water during the process of grating.

After the tubers were grated she dipped out a calabash full of mash and began pressing it with her hands and pouring the juice into another calabash. After she had drained off as much juice as possible she picked up a handful of mash (*wiénere*) and rolled it and squeezed it until no more juice could be expelled. This ball she placed in another calabash and continued making balls until the calabash was full. She then patted down the balls to form a round loaf about 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick, which she set out on the bare
[251] ground to dry in the sun. After several days in the sun these loaves get hard and dry and form the storable product (*kinokányere*) from which the edible cake *hi'ínire* (also called *walíánsu*) is baked. The juice (*syáuse*) which was left in the calabash she poured into a slight depression in the ground, and after the liquid had drained off she collected the thin film of starch flour (*akaínisu*) along with some sand, rolled it into a ball, and placed it in
[415] hot ashes to bake. The lack of pottery vessels prevents the Nambicuara from saving and boiling the juice. They know, however, that the juice is valuable, and when they have cooking vessels they boil it to form a thick porridge.

When the Nambicuara wish to prepare a greater quantity of pulp they use a piece of bast for a press. This is a piece of embira bark about 3 feet long and 8 inches wide called *sáru*. A woman rolls a ball of pulp in the strip of bark and twists the bark until the pulp is dry. The balls are then

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *kinokányere* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet *menyú* of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry ball in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*haikánakídutsu*). [262] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are [252] roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*wainrhu*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

[p. 92(N)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

412 415 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes, knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along [264] the way. Whenever they kill some animal or catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 412 177 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the Waklitisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes, two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a [439] few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatíru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo [306] knife (*alkúkwirúkatu*); a hardwood drill (*kákatu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*ddligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'énatu*), used as sandpaper; and a 415 comb (*ka'dlatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *kákisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus species*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

[p.93(A)]

411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small piuva tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with lixeiro leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The siriva bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but [184] the black wood surrounding the center is used. The siriva bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

[283] The bowstring (*haluxaínisu*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with urucú (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*alukwírikutu*), which appears to be cane (*Gadua* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a piuva foreshaft (*ikdikatsutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with sipó vine for about [237] 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akinántsu*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the [284] butt end of the shaft. The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving [237] motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold [284] the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

[p. 93(B)]

411 (1) The *hánguru*, an arrow which is used for shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lashing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft. [223] [224]

[227] (2) The *salditsu*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dínkitsu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptitsu*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrowhead was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *hátitsu*, provides not [306] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers, [254] and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buriti twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

283 on one half while holding the other, thus stripping the fine fiber from the body of the leaf. She then turns the leaf over and stripe the other half. Later she picks off whatever bits of green skin that adheres to the fibers and twirls one end between her fingers to keep the fibers together. From each leaf, therefore, she gets a pale green whip of fiber which forms the raw material for cordage making. A number of these whips are wrapped in embira, the bundle being known as *dóidjusu*, and stored away for future use.

When a man wishes to make cordage he begins to add these whips to existing bits of twine or cord. I never saw a man making a completely new cord. The end of an old piece of cordage is unraveled and three whips are joined to it at intervals of several inches and rolled together on the thigh, the motion being toward the body. This stroke rolls up the fibers into three tight strands. On the downward stroke the three separate strands are "laid up" or rolled together to form the cord. Three new whips are added and the process is repeated until the cord is of the desired length. If the man wishes to make finer cord he separates each whip into a number of parts.

The making of cordage from buriti (*Mauritia vinifera*), *yélaru*, as has been mentioned, is man's work. The man finds a young buriti palm and from the top of it cuts down the shoot which encloses the three leafstalks. This growing part is a tapered rod about 8 feet long and triangular in shape. When twisted this rod cracks open revealing countless fine strands covered with a green skin, each strand having a hard embryonic leaf stem running through the center. First the man peels off the green outer skin and then pulls out the embryonic leaf stem. What he has left is a hank of lemon-colored, soft, grasslike ribbons the length of the original rod and about one-half of an inch in width. These ribbons he coils and places in a pot and boils for about 20 minutes so that the starchy material is loosened. In former times the hank was placed in the hot sand under the fire and sprinkled with water. When the coil is cool enough to handle the man opens it out and begins to rub it between his hands just as does a woman washing a strip of cloth, periodically dipping it into the warm water. As he rubs, the hank gets quite sticky as the starchy material

283 breaks down. After one-half hour the starchy material is washed out and the ribbons begin to separate into fine strands of fiber. The hank is then shaken out and hung up to dry. When of good quality, that is, when the rod is of the right age, the fibers dry out a pale cream color. While the man is occupied at this task the girls make temporary necklaces from the green outer skin and the boys use the thin central stems as arrows for their small bows. These dried-out hanks are [301] a favorite decoration of the Nambicuara when painted with horizontal bands of urucú. They can then be suspended from the neck and allowed to hang down the back, or pieces are attached to the arm bands, leg bands, and in front to the belt.

Cotton twine is used for making arrows, stringing beads, weaving arm bands and the narrow shoulder straps which women use for carrying young children. From the cotton bush (*kúndsu*) the woman picks the bolls (*kúnkisu*) to make cotton twine (*kúnálisu*). As the making of buriti twine is a man's task, so the making of cotton twine is purely a woman's task. After picking the seeds from the bolls she spreads the cotton into flat disks and then into circles. Next she breaks the circles and joins them to form a long rope about an inch in diameter. This rope she winds around her arm, twists the end of it with her fingers, and fastens it to the top of a spindle (*wanikisu*). With a twirl of her fingers she sets it spinning and lets it drop, plucking out the cotton as it is spun. Later she unties the string and fastens it near the whorl and then by spinning the spindle on the ground the twine is wrapped around it. This process is repeated until the cotton rope is used up.

286 The men do the weaving on a true but very makeshift loom. Two forked sticks, roughly a yard long, are thrust into the ground about 2 feet apart and at an angle. One cross bar rests in the forks while another is fastened on near the ground. The warp is wound around these cross bars. The heddle, shuttle, and sword are used in [177] weaving the narrow material. It seems very likely that this type of loom was taken over from the Arawakan Paressí.

The bast strap or band (*sa'am*) is made from embira and is used for pressing manioc pulp, for carrying children or baskets, and, when cut into strips, is used for tying up bundles.

[p. 95 (A)]

ORNAMENTATION

301 The Eastern Nambicuara also make a wide
306 assortment of ornaments from tucum nuts, shell, teeth, and bamboo. From the shell of the tucum nut they make black washers which are strung for necklaces or ear ornaments. The irregular-shaped washers are first ground down to an almost paper-like thinness on a piece of sandstone. They are then strung tightly on a string and the maker begins to rub them against a stone in order to make them circular. He continues rubbing until the washers are no more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, for the smaller the washer the more highly the necklace is valued, as this process takes many weeks.

301 The ear lobes of both men and women are per-
304 forated so that tucum shell washers, beads on a string, and triangular pieces of shell can be suspended from them.

The septum of the nose and the upper lips of men are perforated. Through the hole in the septum they force a slender piece of bamboo about 2 inches in length. These adornments give a peculiar expression to the face, particularly when the man is speaking. Julio was especially proud of these ornaments and claimed that white men were just like women because they did not wear
[292] them. On special occasions a blue macaw feather
[756] about 10 inches long with a bunch of red feathers near the lower end is worn in the nose. Only shamans wear a hat made from jaguar skin.

301 The most popular necklace is made from tucum washers and is worn by men, women, and children. Short lengths of bamboo, monkey teeth, jaguar teeth and claws are also used for making necklaces for men. If very long, any necklace can be worn over one shoulder and under the arm. A special type of necklace for men is made by suspending black mutúm feathers from a string alternating with lengths of bamboo. Generally the feathers also alternate, some being long and some short. A rare but highly valued necklace is made from the shiny black horns of a large beetle.

Arm bands about an inch in width made of woven cotton are worn above the biceps by both men and women. From these, men suspend tassels of buritĺ fiber. This fiber is also worn around the wrists and ankles. Wrist bands are also made for women from the tail of the armadillo.

[p.95(B)]

291 Around the waist both men and women wear a buritî cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a lenth of buritî fiber from the front of the belt.

302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 13) 1/A

619 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar
621 to the band territory. The Waklítisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*waklisu*) in their territory. The Elótasu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*toku*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitánhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tantu*. The Chiwáisu are bee people from the word *waisu*, bee. The Hégndisu are buritî fruit (*héeru*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as it is told among the Waklítisu band, can be sum-
773 marized as follows:

Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *yahaindurukatsu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *oklihâitlisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *oklihâitlisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the piuva bow and taught them how

1/A [Cat. 116, p. 123.—Analyst] [p. 96 (A)]

619 to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them
773 the flute (*uáinrhu*), and taught them how to sing and dance. *Oklihâitlisu* is thus the culture hero of the Nambicuara. In human form he looks like a Nambicuara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucú. Yet today people no longer see *oklihâitlisu*, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

622 Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklítisu band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicuara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*alúnsu*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *alunsáidnara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicuara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicuara believe, depends upon the *alunsáidnara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

619 Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicuara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Inter-
[582] marriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chiwáisu
438 and Hégndisu obtain pots from the Western
619 Nambicuara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pots they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicuara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

[p. 96 (B)]

619 several hundred yards off and messengers are sent
438 out to arrange a meeting. When agreement is reached the visiting band enters the camp, the visiting chief kneels on one knee and holding his bow and arrows above his head with his right hand he makes a speech extolling the hosts and their goods and depreciating the things which his band has brought. The host then makes a similar speech, and trading begins.

Important items are traded by the two chiefs representing their respective bands, while small items can be exchanged by individual owners. In all cases, however, the technique of trading is the same. If an individual wants an object he extolls it by saying how fine it is. If a man values an object and wants much in exchange for it, instead of saying that it is very valuable he says that it is no good, thus showing his desire to keep it. "This ax is no good, it is very old, it is very dull," he will say, referring to his ax which the other wants. This argument is carried on in an angry tone of voice until a settlement is reached. When agreement has been reached each snatches the object out of the other's hand. If a man has bartered a necklace, instead of taking it off and handing it over, the other person must take if off with a show of force. Disputes, often leading to fights, occur when one party is a little premature and snatches the object before the other has finished arguing. The term "boca forte" (strong mouth) applies particularly to trading, for a man with a strong mouth gets what he wants and convinces the other that he, too, has made a good bargain. This method of trading contrasts sharply with that practiced among the Upper Xingú tribes where each party places a pile of goods opposite the article he wants, usually without saying a word. If agreement is not reached, each one eventually withdraws his goods.

619 After a satisfactory exchange of goods the two
583 bands go hunting and prepare a quantity of food and dance as long as the food lasts. During these meetings marriages are sometimes arranged, but more often, when leaving, some strong man will try to steal the wife of some other man. If a fight should occur in which one man is killed the winner will take not only his wife or wives but his children and property as well.

619 Rev. J. W. Buckman gave the following account which reveals something of the tension between

619 the bands. In 1937, the Kitánhlu band met a small group of Chiwáisu out hunting and attempted to trade with them. As the Chiwáisu were the smaller group, the Kitánhlu evidently tried to rob them. In the fight several Chiwáisu were killed. These bands did not meet again until 1941, but the Chiwáisu prowled around the Kitánhlu camp stealing what they could and trying to revenge their fallen comrades. In 1941, both bands happened to meet in Campos Novos, and the old quarrel was renewed. In the Chiwáisu camp there was a child which had been born to a Kitánhlu woman married to a Chiwáisu. A Kitánhlu took the child away by force saying that it belonged to his band. The Chiwáisu retaliated by shooting down a Kitánhlu. A fight followed in which the Chiwáisu were driven out after losing several of their band. For several years the Chiwáisu remained away and were attacked by the Saláunsu, a wild tribe living to the north of the Nambicuara. In the last few years, a temporary peace has been arranged by the Chiwáisu bringing presents of wax and honey to the Kitánhlu.

648 Except at telegraph stations, mission stations, and at the two Indian Posts, the Nambicuara have few contacts with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranxe. The Paressí consider the Nambicuara as their inferiors, and, as far as is known, the two peoples do not intermarry. The Iranxe hold themselves aloof from both tribes.

The efforts of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios to improve the lot of the Nambicuara have not been very successful. Part of this lack of success is, no doubt, due to the poor agricultural possibilities in the region. The Tolosa Post is situated in a barren region where it is difficult to grow sufficient food to maintain more than two or three families. The Nambicuara visit Tolosa, but after the food supply is consumed they move on. The other factor which makes it difficult to settle the Nambicuara in permanent villages is that they are hunters and shifting agriculturists. Lack of good agricultural land does not altogether explain this nomadic pattern of existence. Like the Caduveo who have excellent farming land the Nambicuara persist in continuing their traditional form of economy.

In contrast to the Paressí, who have become satisfactory employees of telegraph stations, mining camps, and mission stations, the Nambicuara

648 only work for the white man when they want an ax, a knife, a gun, or some article of clothing, and once they obtain what they want they wander off. Miners particularly are bitter about the fact that the Nambicuara are unreliable workers.

797 Missionary activity, which has been carried on intensively by both Protestants and Catholics for about 20 years, has been singularly unsuccessful in Christianizing the Nambicuara. The Jesuit priests informed me that only those individuals who have been taken to Diamantino as children and kept there can be said to understand the rudiments of Christianity. The hope is that eventually these individuals can be brought back to the tribe and through their influence their children will be raised as Christians. The Protestants tell the same story. The Indians remain around the mission stations, participate in prayer meetings, and perform little tasks for which they are compensated but they soon become bored and wander off. The Rev. L. W. Buckman told me that he raised a Nambicuara boy at the station and believed that he would remain, but one day the boy got married, left with his wife, and took up the old wandering pagan form of life. None of the Wakitisu band [764] are considered Christians. When Marciano died a few days before I left he was buried according to Indian custom, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries participating in the burial as onlookers. Among this band which has had as much missionary contact as any, there was not a single individual who could speak or read Portuguese. Some of the men, as has been mentioned, used a form of pidgin Portuguese as a means of communicating with their white neighbors.

648 The attitude of the Nambicuara toward the white man is not only one of suspicion and sullen resentment, but one of disdain. They call white people "civilisados" or sometimes "bean eaters." A Nambicuara feels insulted if these terms are applied to himself. He openly boasts of being a "bugre," a slang term widely applied to Indians in Brazil which signifies a sodomite or heathen. While all other Indians that I have met in Mato Grosso objected to this term when it was applied to them, the Nambicuara always use it when talking about themselves. Julio informed me that the Nambicuara always get sick when they visit white people. The missionaries confirmed this fact but added that the Nambicuara have now become

648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

619 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterized by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The relations with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Salâunsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

721

726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any holes in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's *anânsu* and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Elótasu reaches puberty she will return to the

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *toyántasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatahdinisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awínisu* (father) and the term *ahakínisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahaínusu* and mother's brother *asúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akanánusu*, his younger brother *dawáidnisu*, and his sisters *awádnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akiráru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asuétu* and *asíntu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *dazésu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatasáiserawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*azésu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amezáisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*asúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahaínusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Waklítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

627 The chief admon-
[622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakítisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by com-
421 mon agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, pri-
[428] vately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left
[764] on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this
[837] disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Wakítisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and
[782] death. The ghosts of the dead (*aynkodisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to
753 them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*awásu*), be-
[821] longing to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In
776 addition to the ghosts, there is *tauptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *alurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

Tauptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human
[821] bones. This tree (*lálukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tauptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinínuwa*), who lives with *tauptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

776 *Touptú* does not cause illness, but when people get
[753] sick he begins to eat away the flesh and finally kills them and eventually takes their bones to his abode in the sky. The missionaries told me that when the first airplane appeared in Nambicuara territory the Indians ran into the forest and hid because they believed the airplane was *touptú*. Shamans sometimes visit the land of *touptú* by riding up to the sky on the back of
[756] *urutoi*, the night hawk or goat sucker. Julio claimed that his father-in-law, who was a powerful shaman, had visited the realm of *touptú* while in a trance.

776 The Waklítisu fear most of all the spirit armadillo called *ulurú*. When someone sees bits of
756 manioc cake and charcoal floating on the river near the village, he comes back and tells the shaman, who then goes to examine the signs. If the shaman decides that it is *ulurú*, immediate action must be taken to save the world from destruction. The women and children shut themselves in their huts while the men take their wooden sword clubs (*hulúkisu*) and go to the bank of the river. The shaman then digs a deep hole in the bank, into which he is lowered with a rope. When he has grasped *ulurú* by the tail he signals the men on the surface to pull him out. The shaman remains at the mouth of the hole with his arm thrust in, holding *ulurú* by the tail while with his other hand he marks points on the ground which are directly over the head, heart, and stomach of *ulurú*. One by one the men thrust their sword clubs into the ground at the places marked by the shaman. As they push the blades in they twist them to make sure that they kill *ulurú*. After the spirit armadillo has been killed, the men go back to the village leaving the shaman alone with the dead *ulurú*. The shaman then cuts up the spirit armadillo, washes the pieces in the river, and begins to sing. When the ghosts of the dead Nambicuara hear the song they come and eat the pieces prepared by the shaman, after which they go away happy because the Nambicuara have been saved.

776 The Waklítisu say that if they should ever fail to kill *ulurú*, a terrific storm would appear followed
[821] by an earthquake, for when *ulurú* gets under the village he will turn the world upside down, *touptú* will fall down from the sky, and the Nambicuara will be buried again. In short, they will go back

[p. 100 (A)]

776 under the ground from where *oklihóitlisu*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

756 The man who is responsible for guarding the band against evil spirits is the shaman (*wanéngi-*
775 *disu*). In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anúnsu* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*ayánkadisu*). The *anúnsu* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Wakítisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tlíditu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*yonáru*), and cause harm to people.

821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in
756 following game. To pacify the evil *anúnsu*, who
789 has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-shaped bundle (*yakúdenánsu*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*halúnkisu*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yakúdenánsu* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery
754 against individuals in another band by asking their *anúnsu* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sihásntsu*) and

[p. 100 (8)]

756 by singing calls his *anúneu*, who eventually comes
up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúneu*
754 may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is
very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made
from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from
jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the
hat and the necklace to his *anúneu* if he will do his
bidding. If the *anúneu* is satisfied with the sing-
ing and the decorations he will carry out the sha-
man's orders. The procedure followed in curing
755 an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is
much the same. The shaman calls his *anúneu* by
singing and asks that he help him draw out the
object. The *anúneu* enters the shaman, who then
sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the
shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of
severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the
entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*) who live
around the stone mountain from which the Nam-
bicuara came, periodically come to the villages
and camps asking for food. They are not danger-
ous if they are well-treated. When the shaman
says that the *ayánkadisu* are around, the people
prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and
broil meat. They then gather around the shaman
and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman
thanks the ghosts for their singing and they
finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry
and make the children ill. To cure the children,
[755] a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the
ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the
dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made
533 through singing. The Wakítisu do not use to-
bacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the
supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he
hears the song of an *anúneu*, which he later uses
whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper.
Everyone in the band appears to know the songs
which bring the *ayánkadisu*. Shamans practice
[834 continence before important rites, for if the
756] *anúneu* observe sexual intercourse they become
angry and take away all the cotton from the
bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shaman-
istic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more
practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of
which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

[p. 101 (A)]

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

778 The sacred flutes (*wáinrhu*) are associated with *okhiháitlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and
534 chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the
[784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 The *wáinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After plant-
775 ing, the men gather into the flute hut and play the flutes and sing the *weipánsu*. The ghosts of
533 the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *haikánakídutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wáinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

[p. 101 (B)]

534 *kadíneu*, the nose flute, *maitátaneu*, and the five-tube panpipe, *dútu*. The nose flute which is about 4 inches in diameter is made by sticking two round pieces of gourd together with rosin. Three holes are made on one side, two holes providing finger stops, while air from one nostril is blown across the other. These flutes do not appear to have any ritual significance.

771 In reviewing the religious symbolism of the Nambicuara it appears that the following conclusions can be drawn. The *oklihaitlisu* myth explains the origin of the Eastern Nambicuara and their rights to the territory which they now occupy. *Tauptú*, although not the cause of illness, explains why people die. *Tauptú* and *dihnínuwa* also account for the existence of shooting stars and the presence of rain. *Ulurú* appears to represent the ever-present forces of destruction inherent in the physical environment. Within the framework of these ultimate forces the Nambicuara carry on their struggle for existence assisted by and opposed by the members of their own kind. The security of the band depends upon the close cooperation of the kinsmen acting under the guidance of the chief. The *wáiarhu* flutes provide a supernatural sanction for the powers of the chief and thus help in enforcing and maintaining band solidarity. The flutes, furthermore, are a symbol of the common ancestry of the Eastern Nambicuara in that they relate the bands to the culture hero. The ghosts of the ancestors (*ayánkadisu*), like the living members of the band, must be well-treated in order to avoid danger to children and the perpetuation of the band.

619 But actual day-to-day danger to the individual comes from the members of other bands. Disputes over women and quarrels arising from the exchange of goods, as we have seen, lead to bloodshed and death. In the ultimate analysis each [621] band defends itself as a sovereign unit by force. The danger arising from the constant tension and suspicion between the bands is symbolized by the *anánsu* who bring illness, who create the storms which destroy the houses and fields, and who threaten the band with starvation by making hunting difficult. As direct attack by other bands is met with the physical forces of the band, so spiritual attack by the *anánsu* of other bands is met by the assistance of one's own *anánsu*. They help the shamans to draw out the evil objects

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (*winsúenditsu*) as the cause of pregnancy (*halá-*
jitsu). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anúnsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do
[847] not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks
[824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitánrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (B)]

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed [304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks [551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Wakítisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitánrhu are [845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate [848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent development. [845] Crippled or malformed babies are not [847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years 853 old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her 854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of firewood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave 853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation 252 the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

853 252 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination. [462] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 [304] When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present [553] at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her [202] female relatives. The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the [251] camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

[302 314] Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

881 841 278 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Wakítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitanrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

582 585 There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who 584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of 585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

BURIAL

763 When it is seen that a person is about to die the women wail for a while and then they all turn their backs to the dying person and begin
764 to divide up his belongings. The corpse is buried in a grave dug in the village or camp site. The men loosen the soil with sticks and scoop out the soil with gourds until a roughly rectangular grave about 5 feet deep is dug. The men who lower the body into the grave take three balls of soil from the bottom of the grave with which they rub their legs and backs. A man's decorations are placed in the grave with him. In the case of a woman, two or three gourds are placed at her feet. The grave is then covered. A man's bow and arrows are broken and left on the grave. The rest of his belongings are burnt nearby and the people go on a hunt for a few days. A bit of buritĺ fiber is left to mark the grave of a boy, although nothing appears to be left over the grave of a woman or a girl.

775 The ghost remains around the grave for several days and then goes to the sacred mountain where all the ghosts live. In the land of the dead the ghosts have fine necklaces, and nose feathers, and are always painted with urucú. But they do not wish to be forgotten and want the living to give them food. The Nambicuara do not fear ghosts, and like to have them participate in their ceremonies.

764 Two days before we left Utiarity, Marciano died. He was one of our best informants, the least morose and most helpful. A week earlier he caught cold which turned into pneumonia. It was pitiful to watch this naked man lying in the dirt beside a fire slowly gasping out his life. Once in a while he became conscious and tried to sing, calling the spirits to help him. About 9:30 that night he died. As there is something symbolic in his death and burial I would like to end this account of the Nambicuara with an entry from my diary dated July 30, 1949.

This morning we all went to the burial, the Jesuit priests, the Protestant missionaries, some of the Brasilians, and Kaoro and I. We dug a grave at an old Nambicuara camp site about a half a mile from Utiarity. As we walked along the telegraph line bearing Marciano's body the sabiá were singing and the air was full of the sweet odor of the timbó vine. Wrapped in a ragged blanket Marciano was lowered into his grave along with his

764 necklace and a few rusty cans, the grave was covered, and there we left him a few feet from the grave of his first wife who had died in the measles epidemic four years before. Then Julio, the chief, told all his people to gather around the grave and as he walked around it he told Marciano that here he had water and sunshine, and that after a few days he would be with the ancestors around

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

764 the stone mountain at Juruena. The white men had not a word to say. It seemed that we were not burying just an Indian but a race, older and more simple in its way of life than its Arawak- and Carib-speaking neighbors. And the telegraph line beneath which Marciano rests is the symbol of all those forces which destroyed him and are slowly destroying his brothers.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp 8

000

THE UMOTINA

[p. 106 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built
621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
342 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a buriti palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
[834] over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imatá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

301 [237] The principal ornaments used by men consisted of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitúta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pasovó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putúka*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5 534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuíyo*), sweet manioc (*otuíyo biboróno*), maize (*omatáka*), black and red beans (*dumatáka*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatáku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podri*), cotton (*akydmani*), [276] and urucú (*nodókahíriko*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past. 222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the pic[illegible] (*heír*), mangaba (*batorúkwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *kashorúkwa*). 237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*dntho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*boíku*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*ísho*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p. 107 (1)]

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikóna*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden
727 frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishóna*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manundó*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives
591 with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys
[606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were
[627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*wasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[P. 108 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

773 *Aípuku* then made holes in the ears of the *abusé*, but the *uwasé* refused to have their ears pierced. He then asked them to live with him, but they refused. The *abusé* went north, and the *uwasé* went south. *Aípuku* was sad because his children disobeyed him. It is interesting to note that the *abusé* and *uwasé*, who were the traditional enemies of the Umotina, came from the sores in *Aípuku's* legs, were unasked for, and were disobedient. After creating all the people, *Aípuku* and his wife left.

In the old days the Umotina did not have maize. One day when a woman was out in the woods collecting she found some sucurí (anaconda) eggs. She thought that they were birds' eggs and put them in the basket which she carried on her back. The eggs broke, leaked down her back and into her womb. She became pregnant and gave birth to a snake. She liked the snake very much because it was her child and could talk. In order to hide it from her sons she let the snake go into her womb. One day, however, the sons saw the snake as it went up into a buritĭ tree to collect nuts. They asked their mother who it was. At first the woman denied seeing it, but her sons insisted. Finally she said it was her son. The boys were very angry and said they would kill the snake when they saw it again. The snake heard this while he was hiding in the woman's womb. For a long time the woman carried the snake in her womb but one day it came out and went into the woods to collect buritĭ nuts. The woman's sons saw it, killed it, and cut it into pieces. The mother went into the woods and cried when she saw what had happened to her snake-son. She picked up the pieces and buried them and from each piece a maize plant grew up. She gave the ears to the other women in the village who planted them. Since then the Umotina have had maize.

One day a woman caught a "lambarĭ," a small fresh-water fish. She liked this particular fish very much and, as she had no children, she took it home and hid it under a mat. Soon she heard it crying and when she lifted the mat she saw a boy instead of a fish. For a long time the woman hid the fish-boy from her husband, but the boy insisted on going out and following the man when he went into the woods. One day as he was following the man he called out and asked him

[p.108 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

773 to wait for him, but the man would not wait and continued walking and whistling. The fish-child returned home and asked, "Why does my father act like this, he does not like me for he always leaves me behind." The mother then explained, "You are not his son, you are a little fish." The boy was very sad and answered, "As I have no father I do not wish to live." He then went out in the woods, climbed a tree, and began jumping from one tree to another until he became tired and fell down and died. The woman went looking for him and found his body and brought it back to her house. The woman was very angry with her husband and explained who the boy was. The husband was sorry for what he had done and both of them went out and buried the fish-boy. From his corpse grew the following crops: Sweet-potatoes from his testicles, pepper from his eyes, and beans from his ears.

GHOSTS

775 When a person dies his ghost (*arumuntú*) goes into the sky, climbing up on a ladder made of sipo vine. The ladder is guarded by a *cotia*, a rabbitlike rodent, who calls out everytime a ghost is going up or down. Another version states that in the old days the ghosts went up the ladder and later came down as living beings, but one day the *cotia* gnawed away the ladder so that when a person dies today he can no longer go into the sky and return to the earth as a living being but must remain here as a ghost. The *arumuntú* sometimes enter the bodies of birds and animals. The ghost of an old bearded hunter is believed to enter the body of a jaguar or an eagle so that he can continue hunting. When a jaguar is killed the Umotina examine it carefully, for they believe that they can recognize whose ghost lived in it.

Some ghosts are good; others are evil and cause sickness. The good ghosts are those who have a living human representative whose body they can enter during the annual *arduelo* ceremony and who have living relatives who make offerings to them. Evil ghosts are foreign ghosts or the ghosts of Umotina who have died away from the village or who have no relatives to make offerings to them. When a person dies, the relatives in-
764 vite some man from another family to bury the
775 corpse. This man then becomes the ceremonial or spirit father, mother, brother, sister, son, or

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died, and once every year the ghost returns and enters 775 the body of the person who did the burying and [782] dances in the *ardueto*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *ardueto*, which is given every year at the 775 beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities [782] of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *ardueto;* and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male 292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear 796 long mantles made from buritĺ leaves, which reach 775 from the shoulders to the ground. They wear macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritĺ bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritĺ leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the 534 women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and 533 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *ardueto* are those men who have lost relatives since the *ardueto* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambicuara.
[553] The grandparents then give the child a name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with arucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
[431] The family then invites the villagers to a feast. The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*pápurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953 .
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

775 another while living, he might be punished after death by having his ghost killed. There appears, thus, to be a relationship between the life of the ghosts in the spirit world and the tensions existing between the families which were not direct kin with one another. Even while alive the ghosts

[p. 111 (a)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo Sp8

TB punished evildoers. If a man does an injury to another, the injured man's father's or brother's ghost would come at night and beat him. To be sure that one's ghost would survive, the Umotina say a man must be good to his relatives and must not quarrel with the people in the village.

[p. 111 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

KINSHIP CHARTS

000

[p. 111 (c)]

128 Charts 1 to 14 give kinship terms of the Camayurá, Bacairí, Nambicuara, and Umotina, and other northern Mato Grosso tribes. (See pp. 112-128.)

[p. 111 (D)]

AUETO SP6

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

601
197

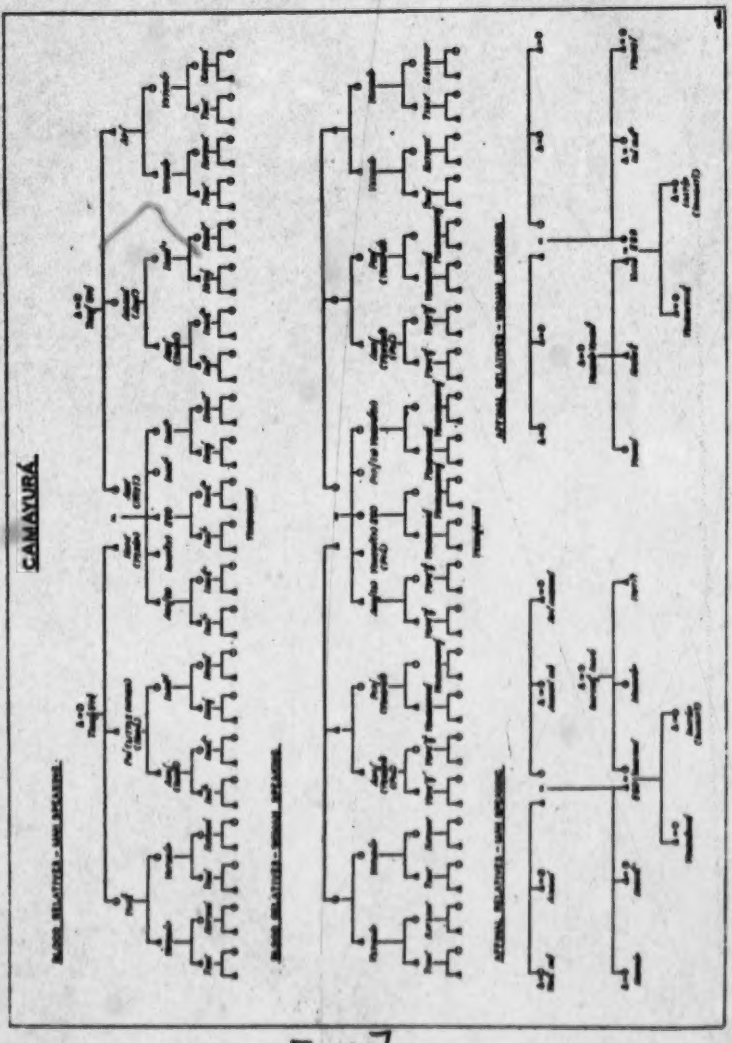


CHART 1.—Camayurá, Tupi-speaking.

[p. 112]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Aueto SP6

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

601
197

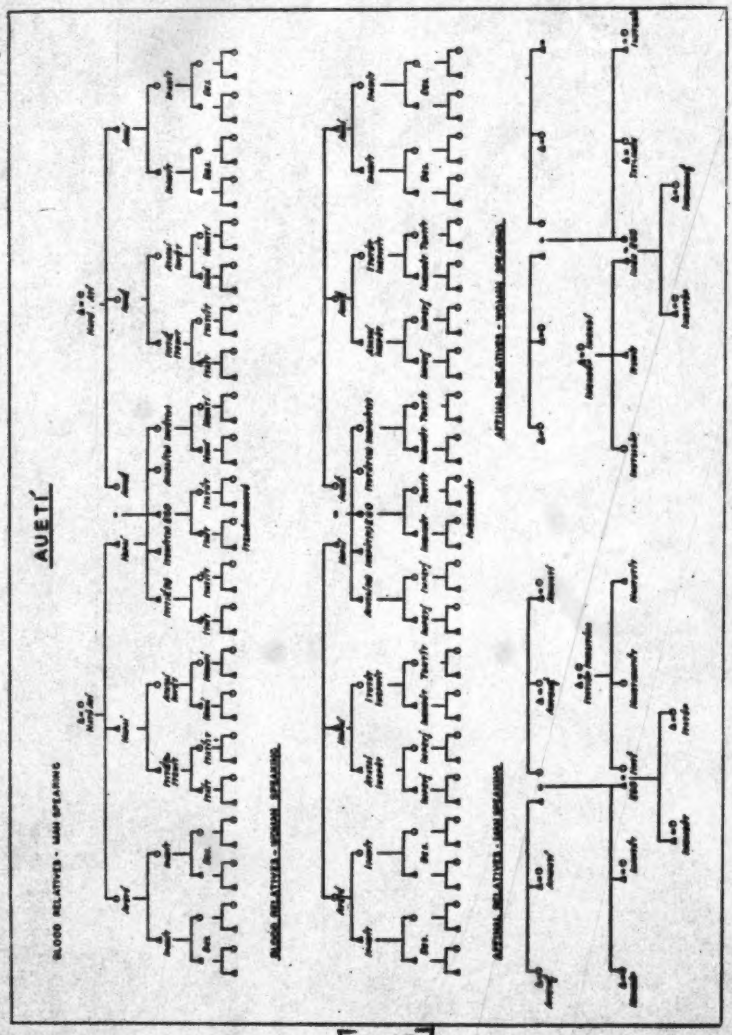


CHART 2.—Auetí, Tupi-speaking.

[p. 113]

BACAIRI SP7

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

601
197

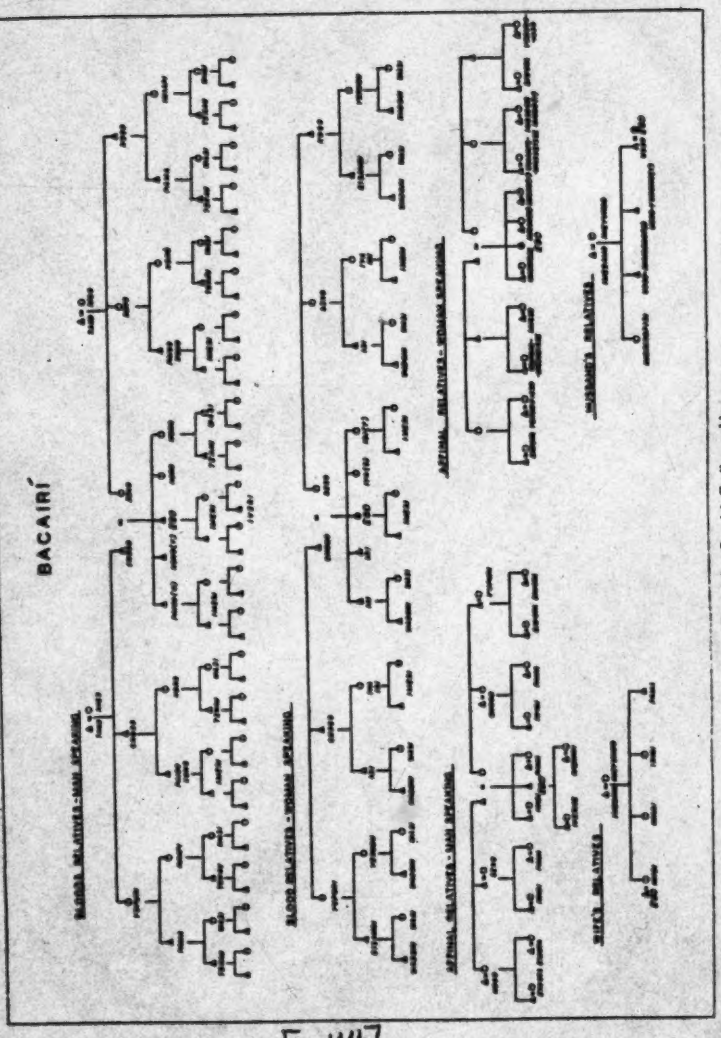


CHART 3.—Ramirí, Carib-speaking.

[p. 114]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
YARUMA SP25

601
197

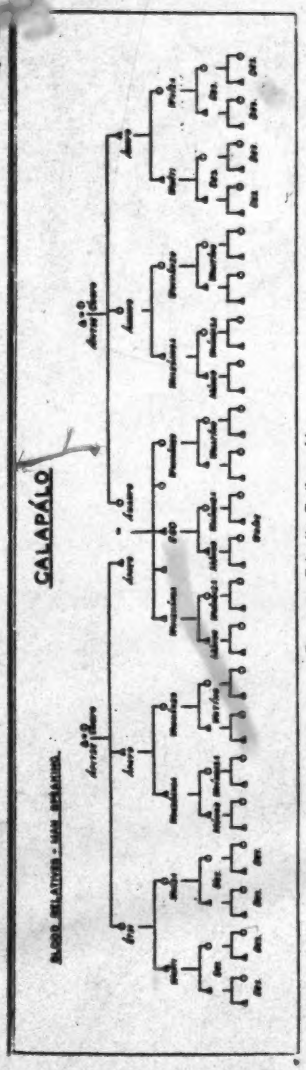


CHART 4.—Calapálo, Carib-speaking.

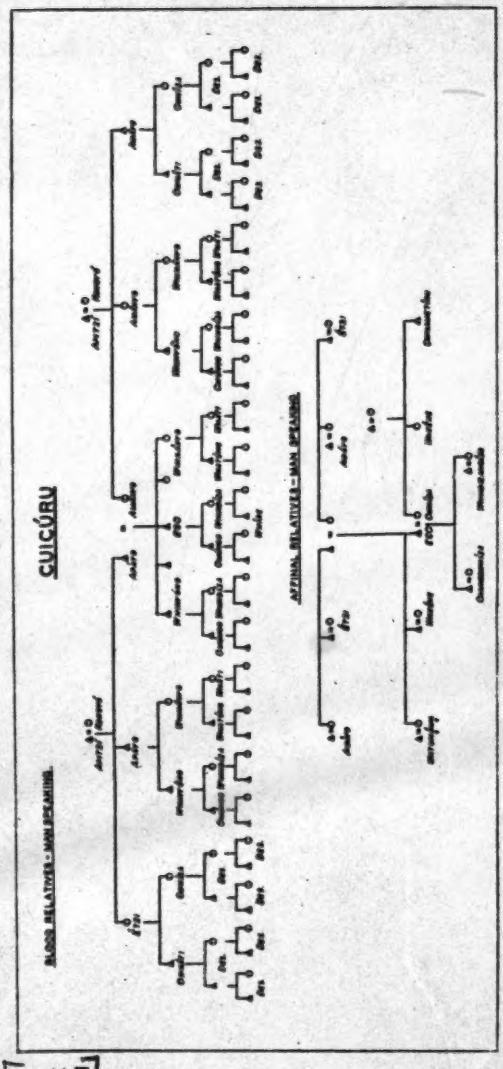


CHART 5.—Cuicúru, Carib-speaking.

[P. 115]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Wau Ra SP18

601
197

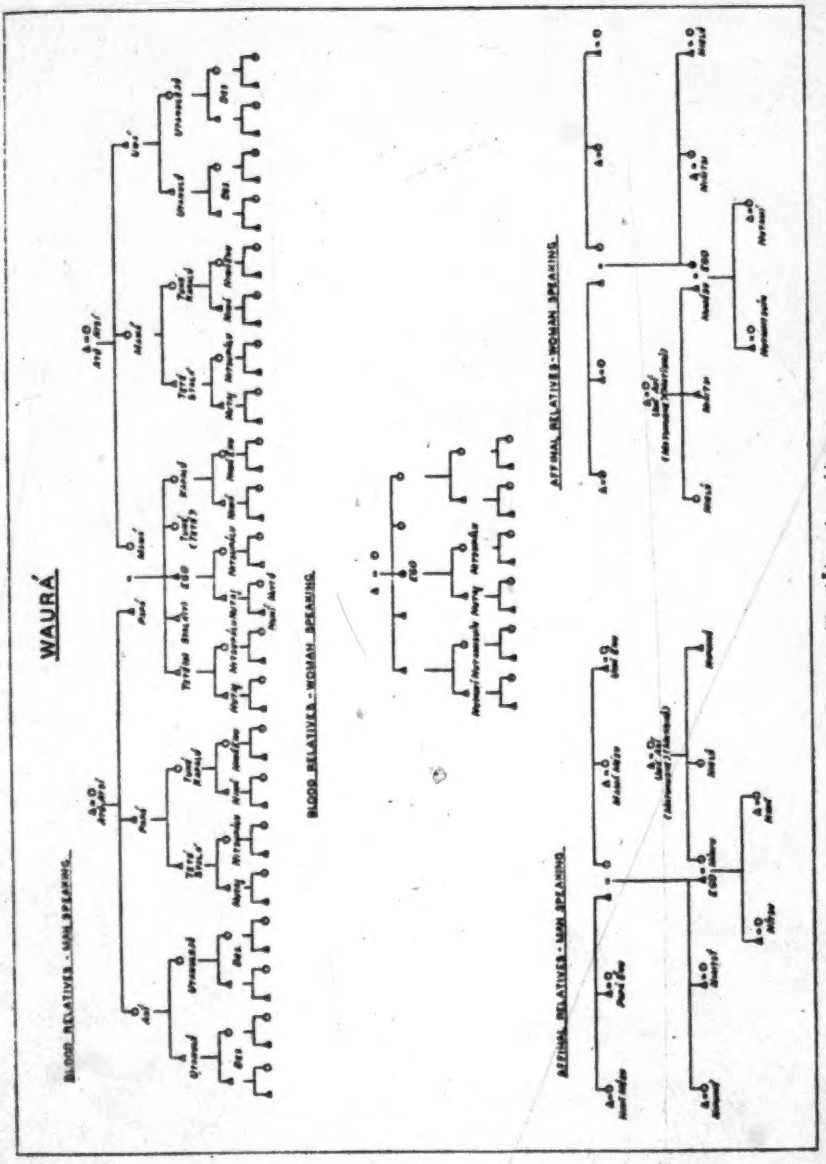


CHART 6.—Waurá, Arawak-speaking.

601
197

CHART 7.—Iwalapeti, Arawak-speaking.

601
1917

Paressi SP19

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY—PUBLICATION NO. 15

[p. 118]

CHART 8.—Paressí, Arawák-speaking. Husband, *Nezanene*. Sometimes *Nedje* is prefixed to *Marini* to designate younger brother or sister. To designate son or daughter, *Enamokasi* (male) or *Okiromokasi* (female) is suffixed to *Natiasi*.

TRVMAI SP23

601
197

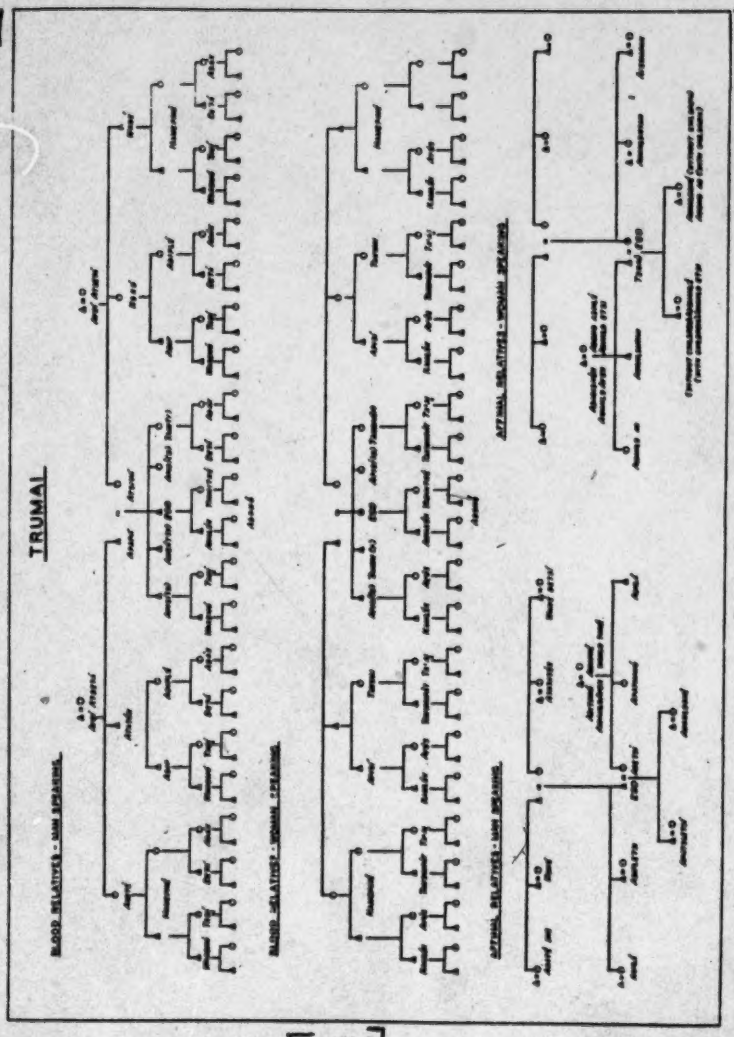


CHART 8.—Trumai, unrelated.

[p. 119]

GUATO SP15

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY—PUBLICATION NO. 15

601
197

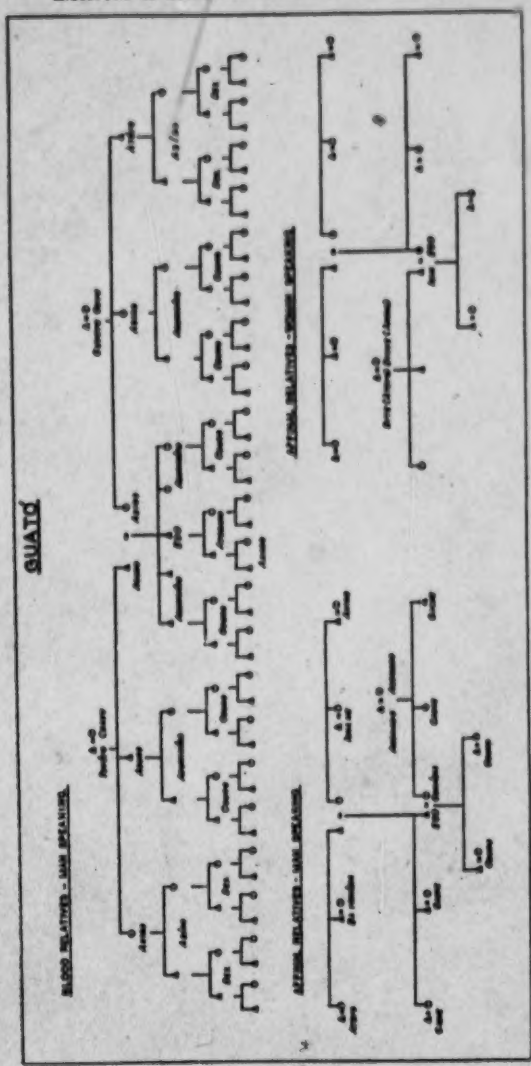
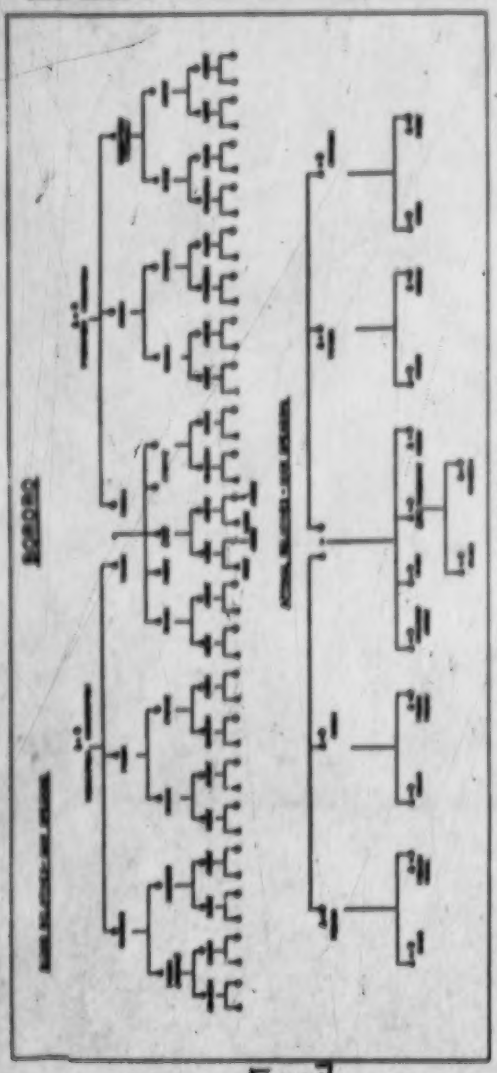


CHART 18.—Guató, unrelated. To designate male and female, gods (male) and gobadis (female) are added to brothers, sisters, cross cousins, sons, daughters, and grandchildren.

[p. 120]

Bororo SPB

601
197



[p.121]

601
1917

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Barara SP8

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY—PUBLICATION NO. 15

[P. 122]

Chart 12.—Umotina, related to Bororo. *Aki* (brother) is considered more respectful than *Awaru*. *Anbiondo* is used to designate younger brothers. *Anbiodo* and *Akaki* designate younger sisters. *Parupo* is added to *Monundé* to designate son or grandson. *Omunadi* is added to *Monundé* to designate daughter or granddaughter.

601
197

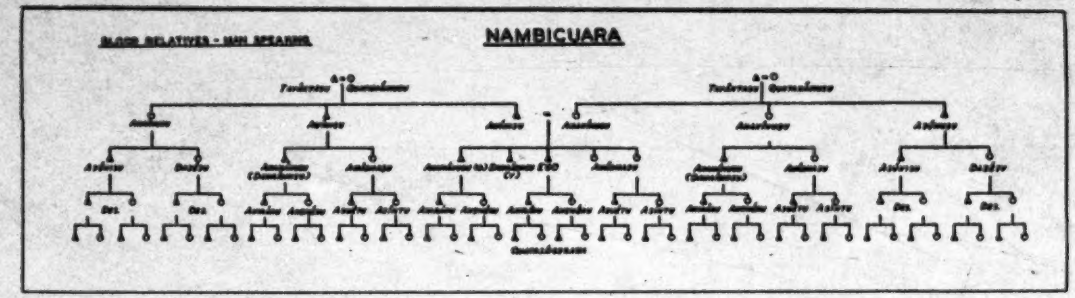


CHART 13.—Nambicuara, unrelated (?). Husband, *Amsedisu*. Wife, *Asesu*. Father-in-law, *Asúnusu*. Mother-in-law, *Ahainusu*.

[p. 123]

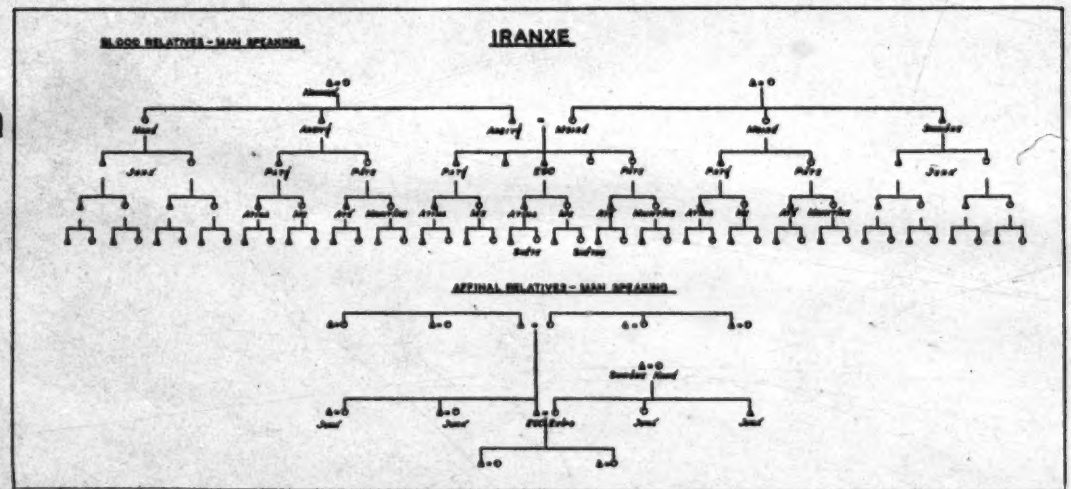


CHART 14.—Iranxe, possibly Arawak-speaking. Husband, *Intúma*.

241
824

APPENDIX 1

RESOURCES OF THE NAMBICUARA

AGRICULTURAL FOOD PLANTS

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Amendoim	Peanuts	*Arachis hypogaea*	Wâlkisu.
Araruta	Arrowroot	*Maranta arundinacea*	Yalósu.
Batata doce	Sweetpotatoes	*Ipomoea batatas*	Whu.
Cará		*Dioscorea sp.*	Ha'kisu.
Fava	Beans	*Phaseolus lunatus*	Kwî'su.
Mandioca brava	Manioc	*Manihot esculenta*	Walkisu.
Milho	Maize	*Zea mays*	Kayásu.

AGRICULTURAL NONFOOD PLANTS

Algodão	Cotton	*Gossypium sp.*	Kdusu.
Fumo	Tobacco	*Nicotiana tabacum*	E'tsu.
Cabaça	Gourd	*Lagenaria vulgaris*	Kad'ê'hatsu.
Urucú		*Bixa orellana*	D'undisu.

WILD FOOD PLANTS (FRUITS)

137
824

Ananás	Pineapple	*Ananas comosus*	Kuñkisu.
Babaçú		*Orbignya martiniana*	Waisañkisu.
Bacaba		*Oenocarpus bacaba, distichus*	Wédnsu.
Bacuiuva		*Acrocomia sclerocarpa*	Halíñkisu.
Buriti (seta)		*Mauritia flexuosa; M. vinifera*	Hésu.
Cajú-do-campo	Savanna cashew	*Anacardium nanum*	E'hsu.
Cajú-do-mato	Forest cashew	*Anacardium giganteum*	Daunlíkisu.
Cumbaré		*Dipteryx odorata*	Najgisu.
Fruta-de-lobo		*Solanum lycocarpum*	Kdnakisu.
Jabuticabeira	Jaboticaba tree	*Eugenia cauliflora*	Alhñisu.
Mangabeira	Mangaba tree	*Hancornia speciosa*	Shlkidligsu.
Marmeleiro-do-campo	Quince tree	*Magrovaea brasiliensis*	Tâshlu.
Marmeleiro-do-espinho	do	do	Kad'l'kisu.
Marmeleiro	do	do	Walíkisu.
Marmeleiro	do	do	Halu'kisu.
Piquizeiro	Piqui tree	*Caryocar brasiliensis*	A'hru.
Pitanga brasileira de arbusto			Aldnyaisu.

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE

Buriti		*Mauritia flexuosa; M. vinifera*	Yêsu.
Cauaiuva		*Guadua sp.*	Kadlñsisu.
Cipó		*Philodendron imbe*	Kasdsu.
Pinva-de-mata (Fardpard)		*Jacaranda copaia*	Hala'su.
Sapé		*Imperata brasiliensis, contracta*	Kaiskidasu.
Seringueira	Rubber tree	*Hevea brasiliensis*	Waiñdkisu.

[p. 124]

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE—Continued

137
824

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Siriva		*Syagrus speciosa*	Dugndúgatsu.
Taquara para ponta de flecha	Bamboo for arrowheads		Kayêasu.
Taquara para flauta secreta	Bamboo for sacred flute		Ka'd'inensu.
Taquara para panpipe	Bamboo for panpipe		Wasingatsu.
Tucum		*Astrocaryum tucuma*	Haló'tsu.

PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON

278

Timbó		*Paullinia pinnata*	Kúuntu.

PLANTS USED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC WAYS

137
824

Lixeira			Kalinasu.
Embira			Sa'hlu.

MAGICAL PLANTS

[789]

Paratudo			Inháukôdãosu.

ANIMALS HUNTED FOR FOOD[1]

136
262
825

Anta	Tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	Alúnsu.
Ariranha	Otter	*Pteronura brasiliensis*	Diwisu.
Bugio		*Alouatta ursina*	Ihru.
Caitetú	Peccary	*Tayassu pecari*	Y'ákisu.
Camondongo	Mouse	*Mus musculus*	Sáuhlu.
Capivara	Capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	O'nsu.
Coati	Coati	*Nasua narica*	Kaisu.
Cotia	Rodent	*Dasyprocta aguti*	Dúhru.
Cuatá		*Ateles ater*	Hósadasu.
Cuxio		*Ateles paniscus*	Kalinsu.
Jaguatirica		*Felis pardalis chibiguasu*	Ianaráwidnsu.
Lontra	Otter	*Lutra paranensis*	Kwantnáisu.
Macaco-prego	Monkey	*Cebus apella*	Hótsu.
Onça parda	Brown panther	*Felis concolor*	Ianaránenensu.
Onça pintada	Jaguar	*Felis onca*	Ianarátasu.
Ouriço		*Coendou prehensilis*	Holoótasu.
Paca		*Cuniculus paca*	Ûlutsu.
Porco de mato			Yákadesu.
Preguiça		*Bradypus tridactylus*	Aláisu.
Rato do chapadão		*Scapteromys gnambiguaras*	Nótasu.
Saguí-piranga		*Midas rosalia*	Takísu.
Tamanduá-bandeira		*Myrmecophaga jubata*	Dfkiisu.
Tamanduá-mirim		*Cyclopes didactylus*	Wáinsu.
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	*Tolypeutes tricinctus*	Núunsu.
Tatú-canastra		*Priodontes giganteus*	Wahrúru.
Tatú-escudo			Sunaisu.
Tatú-liso			A'hru.
Tatú-15-quilos			A'látasu.
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yetáhru.
Veado campeiro (b)	do		Whídisu.
Veado mateiro		*Majama rufa*	Kuáklisu.

[1] Other rats yet unidentified are also eaten.

[p.125]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

136
262
825

OTHER ANIMAL FOODS COLLECTED

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Gafanhoto	Grasshopper	*Saltatórios*	Klósusu.
Jacaré	Cayman	*Caiman*	Wáklisu.
Jabotí		*Testudo tabulata*	Yutánhru.
Jibóia	Boa constrictor	*Constrictor constrictor*	Wáikisu.
Lagartiza	Lizard	*Anisolepsis*	Yenalákadasu.
Lagarto	do		Sinsu.
Larvas de abelha (Jatí)			Waiawénisu.
Larvas de besouro em buriti			Hínasu.
Larvas de besouro em taquara			Alukínasu.
Larvas de besouro em pau podre			Netláhátlasu.
Mel	Honey		Du'su.
Sauva	Ant	*Oecodoma cephalotes*	Sawádnsu.
Sucuri	Anaconda	*Eunectes murinus*	D'ihedasu.
Tracajá	Turtle	*Podocnemis dumeriliana*	Hadíkisu.
BIRDS[1]			
Arara	Macaw	*Ara ararauna*	Alaēsu.
Ema	Rhea	*Rhea americana*	D'a'su.
Gavião (all species)	Hawk		Tauptú.
Jacú		*Cracidos*	Ala'su.
Jacutinga		*Cumana jacutinga*	Kwáyisu.
Jaó		*Tinamus nectivagus*	Wahótasu.
Macuco		*Tinamidas*	Aitsu.
Mutum		*Crax alector*	Witisu.
Papagaio	Parrot		A'hlu.
Perdiz	Partridge	*Rhynchotus rufescens*	Halutchegngisu.
Periquito (grande)	Parakeet		Sawíhru.
Periquito (verde)	do		Kanékisu.
Pombo carijó	Pigeon		Kwasá'su.
Rolinha		*Columbina picui picui*	Wēsu.
Seriema		*Cariama cristata*	Kwalátsu.
Tucano (grande)		*Ramphastidas*	Yeladndasu.
Tucano (pequeno)		do	Yelásu.
FISH			
Peixe	Fish		Áidnsu.
Jaú		*Paulicea lutkeni*	Kwíhru.
Lambarí		*Tetragonopterus jenynsi*	Háru.
	Long-tailed fish		Ayúlunasu.
Matrinchão		*Brycon brevicauda*	Wasíkisu.
Pacú		*Prochilodus*	Kalá'tsu.
Piava			Únklusu.
Robafo (Traira)		*Hoplias malabaricus*	Aidndasu.

[1] All birds are eaten except the wulden (urubú).

[p. 126]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

000

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

[p. 127 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherâide* and *Tugarégede*.
616 A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherâide* moiety *cherâi* and women *cherâre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubûdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubûdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

601 There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

[582] Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If
601 old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That
616 is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imâna*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imânapega* or *yedâga*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedâgapega;* mother's brothers are *yedâga;* father's sister's

[p. 127 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

601 616 daughter's husband is also *yedága*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwiye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. [304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

616 1. Bokodóri.
614 2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Boróteherá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha bũgi wũgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibũ-giwũgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

APPENDIX 3

Anthropometry of the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe, with Comparative Data from Other Northern Mato Grosso Tribes

By MARSHALL T. NEWMAN

Division of Physical Anthropology, United States National Museum

[P. 128 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
N
B1
141
N61

In 1949, Kaoro Onaga, under the supervision of Dr. Oberg, measured 22 Umotina (14 males, 8 females), 13 Eastern Nambicuara (7 males, 6 females) of the Waklítisu band, and 5 Iranxe males. The Umotina were measured at Barra dos Bugres, the Nambicuara and Iranxe at Utiarity. Small as these series are, they represent relatively large samples of the groups from which they are drawn. The total Umotina population is about 65, with 34 adults (see p. 106); the Waklítisu band numbers only 18, and the Eastern Nambicuara together total only about 130 (see p. 86). No figures on the Iranxe are available but they are definitely a remnant group.

N
BI
141
114

The drastic reduction of even the most secluded aboriginal populations in Brazil enhances the value of physical studies already made on them. The present contribution to the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso may be added to the earlier studies by Ehrenreich (1897), Ranke (1910), and Roquette-Pinto (1935). In addition, the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro has unpublished physical data on some of the Upper Xingú tribes, particularly the Camayurá. Vellard (see Imbelloni, 1948, p. 237, ftn.) has unpublished information on three Nambicuara bands. Willems (personal communication) is in the possession of measurements on 40 male Tapirapé. A careful analysis of all these studies should go far in rounding out the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso. In the meantime, I have endeavored to fit the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe series into the existing knowledge of the area.

[p. 128 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
N
BI
101
131

GEOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS

Most of the series measured in northern Mato Grosso are from tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin (maps 1, 3). These are the Auetí, Trumai, Bacairí, Nahuqua, and Camayurá. Their present locations are indicated in map 2, (p. 5), and data on their earlier shiftings are given by Lévi-Strauss (1948, p. 322–323). As Oberg has said (p. 6), the fanlike network of rivers constituting the drainage basin of the Upper Xingú River affords no natural barriers and makes for easy intertribal communication by water. But the limits of the Upper Xingú Basin to the east, west, and south are marked by the sandstone plateaus of the Brazilian Shield. These barriers tend to isolate the Basin from the outside world, thus fostering its development as a riverine cultural unit (p. 7).

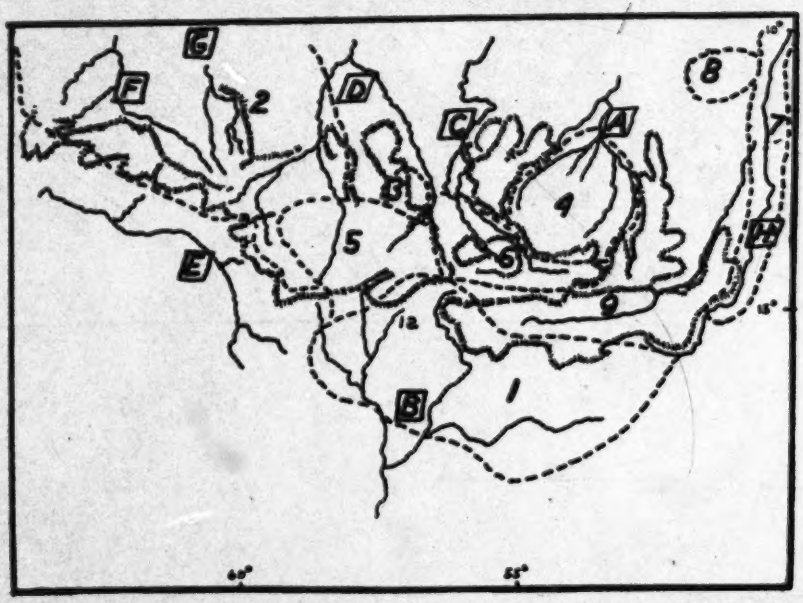
West of the Upper Xingú Basin, on the semiarid plateau, the Serra do Parecís, are the Paressí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara. In earlier times, most of these people were concentrated along the "galeria" forests bordering the headwaters of rivers originating on the plateau. The location of the Iranxe at white contact was immediately north of the Paressí. The Nambicuara were thinly scattered in the less habitable areas west of the Paressí. In contrast to the more populous Upper Xingú tribes, the Paressí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara are now remnant groups.

Across the semiarid plateau, or Planalto do Matogrosense, which forms the southern barrier

[p. 128 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
NBI
101
131

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG



MAP 2.—Schematic map of approximate tribal locations in relation to topography and drainage systems in northern Mato Grosso. Dotted lines indicate tribal boundaries at time of contact (after Steward and Mason, 1950). Hachures indicate the general conformation of the Planalto do Matogrossense. Tribes: 1, Bororo; 1a, Umotina; 2, Nambicuara, 3, Iranxe; 4, Upper Xingú tribes; 5, Paressi; 6, Bacairi; 7, Carajá; 8, Tapirapé; 9, Cayapó. Drainage systems (simplified): A, Upper Xingú; B, Upper Paraguay; C, Paratinga-Verde; D, Arinos-Papagaio; E, Guaporé; F, Gy-Parapa; G, Theodore Roosevelt; H, Araguaia.

[p. 129 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
N
BI
101
131

of the Upper Xingú Basin, lived the Bororo. With the Guató and others, the Bororo occupied the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay River. As a Bororo subtribe, the Umotina formerly lived between the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay and Sepotuba rivers (Lowie, 1946, p. 419). The São Lourenço group of Bororo, measured by Ehrenreich, inhabited the upper and middle reaches of the São Lourenço River.

To the east of the Upper Xingú Basin, along the Araguaia River, are the Carajá. They are included in this analysis less for their geographic position than for their metric similarity to the Umotina.

[p. 129 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Brazilian Indians SL4

APPRAISAL OF MIXTURE

141 144 Oberg (personal communication) has indicated that no subject with detectable neo-Brazilian admixture was included in the series. The Eastern Nambicuara have had occasional contact with neo-Brazilians only since 1912, and appreciable mixture is most unlikely. While the Umotina have been peaceable only since 1913 (Lowie, 1946, p. 419), Oberg indicated there is a possibility of some neo-Brazilian admixture there, but that such admixture could hardly account for their extreme long-headedness (mean male cephalic index 73.0). This is most reasonable since

[P. 129 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

141 Willems (personal communication) indicates that
144 no neo-Brazilian series within his knowledge averages less than about 79, even though the Portuguese are the most long-headed nationality in Europe. However, several of the younger Umotina adults show shorter statures and rounder heads[1] than the rest of the series. This suggests some admixture in the Umotina since 1913. Yet Oberg's morphological descriptions (see p. 134) and photographs (pls. 9, 10) give the strong impression that the Umotina as a whole are unmixed. Blood group analyses, such as Da Silva (1949, p. 8) has made on other Brazilian groups, are needed for confirmation.

144 No specific statement has been made concerning the racial purity of the Iranxe. They are a secluded and little-known tribal remnant, whose status is probably comparable to that of their neighbors, the Paressí.

143 For the Upper Xingú Basin, it seems quite
144 certain that at least those tribes recently blood grouped by De Lima (1950) are unmixed with neo-Brazilians. De Lima studied 377 Upper Xingú Indians—109 Bacairí, 60 Camayurá, 81 Nahuqua, 47 Mehinacu, and 80 Waurá—and found them to be exclusively group O, except for one Bacairí woman with a known neo-Brazilian father. These blood-group determinations, coupled with the secluded position of the Upper Xingú Basin, render it definite that no appreciable neo-Brazilian admixture has occurred there. Furthermore, the Basin was first explored by Von den Steinen's expedition of 1884. Since Ehrenreich was a member of this expedition, his measurements are doubly certain to be of "pure" Indians.

144 Because of the early date of his work, Ehrenreich's measurements on the Paressí and Bororo should represent largely, if not wholly, unmixed Indians, although the Paressí have had contact with neo-Brazilian slave hunters and others since the early 18th century (Métraux, 1948, p. 180). Serological confirmation of the unmixed status of the São Lourenço Bororo, the same group measured by Ehrenreich, lies in their uniform possession of blood group O (Da Silva, 1949, p. 579). The status of the Carajá is less certain. They have been in

[1] In the male series, field Nos. 9 and 11, respectively estimated at 20 and 22 years of age, have statures of 161 and 162 cm., cephalic indices of 76.9 and 80.4. Nos. 6 and 7 of the female series, 19 and 17 years old, show corresponding figures of 152 and 154 cm., and 86.1 and 83.8. From the photographs, No. 9 (pl. 10, c), at least, has the appearance of being mixed.

[p. 130 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

144 contact with neo-Brazilians since 1682 (Lipkind, 1948, p. 180). Golden's (1950) serological work on
143 61 Carajá indicates a really extraordinary fre-
144 quency of the gene for group B. At first glance, this suggests admixture. Since there is some question as to the technical validity of Golden's determinations (Boyd, 1950, p. 92) it is safer not to use his results as evidence of admixture, or for calculations as to the proportions of the mixing populations. It is important, however, to note that Ehrenreich's measurements of the Carajá were made over 60 years ago, when they were presumably less mixed than when Golden studied them.

Whereas neo-Brazilian admixture can be assumed to have little or no effect upon the tribes whose measurements are considered here, the same cannot be said of intertribal mixture. For example, Oberg believes ". . . that a certain amount of admixture has taken place among the Upper Xingú tribes for a long time" (p. 15). At the time of his visit, about 15 of the 110 Camayurá were from other tribes (p. 15). Tribal shiftings within the Upper Xingú Basin occurred both before and after Von den Steinen's visit, and the general trend has been toward tribal intermixture and concentration of population along the river banks (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, p. 323). Over a long period of time, this sort of genetic exchange would tend to level any physical differences originally present among the tribes of the Upper Xingú Basin.

144 Intertribal admixture centering around the Paresí has also been recorded. In fact, one large Paresí subgroup, the Cozarini, ". . . seem to be a mixed tribe formed by a nucleus of Paresí invaders who absorbed and assimilated Indians from other tribes, mainly Nambicuara . . . . As recently as 1910 . . . the Cozarini still fought the Nambicuara and kidnapped the men for slaves and the women for wives" (Métraux, 1948, p. 349). Other Paresí groups may be considered less mixed with surrounding Indians.

No evidence could be located concerning intertribal admixture in the Bororo, although it must have taken place in the past. It is, however, highly unlikely that the Bororo were ever in contact with the Upper Xingú and other tribes directly to the north across the Planalto do Matogrosso. As for the Carajá, they have traditionally accepted captured women and small children as full tribal

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
5P17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians S.A

144 members, and since prehistoric times have maintained themselves against hostile neighbors (Lipkind, 1948, p. 188).

APPRAISAL OF ANTHROPOMETRIC TECHNIQUES

141 Oberg followed Sullivan (1923) in teaching his students to measure, and added head height, minimum frontal and bigonial diameters, sitting height and several other dimensions (tables 1, 2). A Martin-type anthropometer, and sliding and spreading calipers were used. Oberg instructed his students to press the instruments quite tightly over the soft parts in taking a measurement. He periodically checked Onaga's measurements and found they compared very closely with his own.

Oberg suspected that his own location of nasion was low, since he selected the deepest point at the root of the nose. The low means for facial and nasal heights in the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe series bear out this suspicion. Oberg also felt that perhaps he did not achieve a true minimum in the minimum frontal diameter. This seems likely, since the means of the present series are high for this dimension. Head height was taken with the detached segment of the anthropometer from tragion to vertex. For sitting height, the Umotina subjects were seated on a chair, with their feet on the ground. The Nambi-

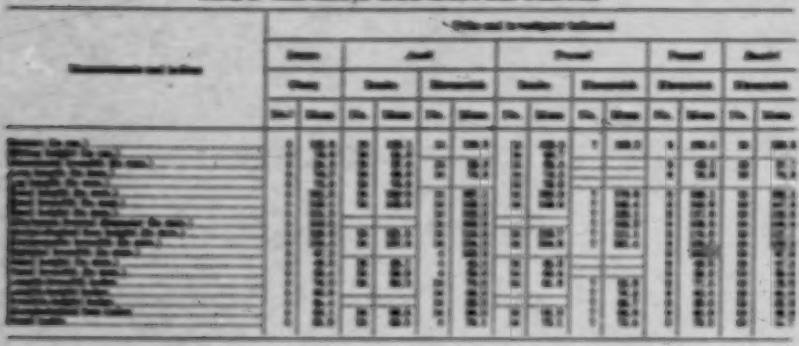
[p. 131 (a)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

cuara and Irantxe sat on a table for the measurement, and presumably had no footrest. In table 1, arm length was calculated by subtracting dactylion height from acromial height; leg length, by subtracting sitting height from stature. The latter, somewhat unorthodox, procedure was used to achieve figures comparable to those of Ranke.

The techniques of the other investigators are more comparable to those of Oberg and Onaga than might be expected. Ehrenreich chose a low location for nasion, on the average of 6 mm. below that of Ranke (1910, p. 96). Judging by Roquette-Pinto's low means for facial and nasal heights (table 1), he also deviated in that direction. It seems most probable that the facial and nasal dimensions measured by Onaga, Ehrenreich, and Roquette-Pinto are closely comparable, although Ranke's higher location for nasion is more in line with orthodox modern procedure. After consulting Ehrenreich, Ranke felt that the only strictly comparable measurements between them were stature, head length, head breadth, bizygomatic breadth, and nasal breadth (Ranke, 1910, p. 96). He considered Ehrenreich's arm lengths overlong and his biacromial breadths overwide, suggesting that Ehrenreich did not get close enough to the bony landmarks. If anything, Oberg's techniques were in the same direction.

[p. 131 (8)]

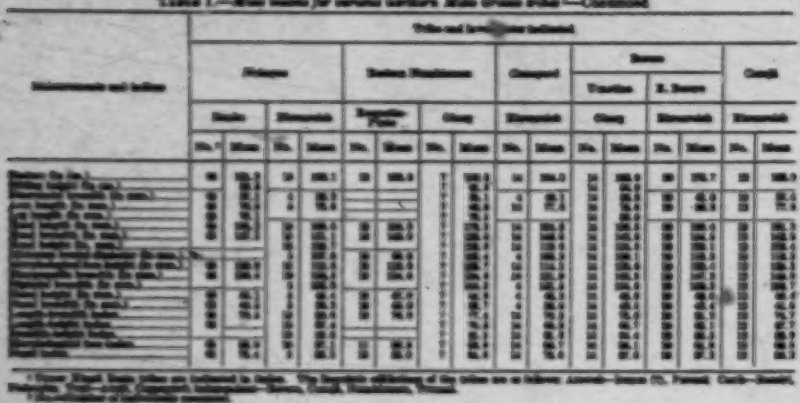


[p.131 (c)]

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY—PUBLICATION NO. 15

141

Table 1.—Male means for various surface Male Group 9-Bar 1—Continued



[p.132 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Brazilian Indians SL4

141 The means for the present series are given in tables 1 and 2. Individual measurements are recorded on microfilm filed in the Division of Physical Anthropology, United States National Museum.

TABLE 2.—*Mean measurements, and indices of Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe series*

Measurements and indices	Umotina		Nambicuara		Iranxe
	14 males	8 females	7 males	6 females	5 males
Stature (in cm.)	168.0	155.6	159.6	148.6	153.6
Acromial height (in cm.)	138.8	128.4	130.8	122.1	127.7
Dactylion height (in cm.)	75.5	69.5	69.8	56.6	57.4
Sitting height (in cm.)	88.0	80.8	78.5	76.3	78.6
Suprasternale height (in cm.)	136.9	127.7	129.7	121.2	127.5
Biacromial breadth (in mm.)	368.1	339.9	350.0	310.0	341.6
Chest breadth	286.9	261.5	269.6	244.8	264.2
Chest depth	231.9	197.6	211.3	201.3	200.4
Maximum hip breadth	287.9	260.9	243.3	230.5	242.4
Head length	196.3	182.1	178.3	171.0	181.2
Head breadth	142.9	137.5	138.0	132.5	143.4
Head height	134.6	130.2	136.0	121.2	121.2
Minimum frontal diameter	109.1	105.9	103.4	105.0	102.8
Bizygomatic breadth	140.3	132.9	134.6	126.5	133.6
Bigonial breadth	104.6	98.0	104.3	98.3	97.2
Morphological face height	120.6	110.1	108.7	102.2	109.8
Nasal height	48.6	43.1	45.6	40.7	48.2
Basal breadth	42.5	37.1	38.7	33.2	39.4
Relative sitting height	50.6	52.0	50.8	51.3	51.2
Relative trunk length	32.0	34.0	32.1	32.8	34.2
Relative leg length	48.5	48.0	48.2	48.8	48.8
Relative arm length	45.0	44.4	43.8	44.2	45.8
Relative biacromial breadth	21.9	21.8	21.9	20.9	22.2
Relative hip breadth	17.2	17.5	15.5	16.0	15.8
Thoracic index	78.4	73.4	78.4	82.7	75.9
Length-breadth index	73.0	75.9	77.4	78.2	79.2
Length-height index	68.7	71.1	70.8	71.0	66.9
Breadth-height index	94.4	94.1	91.5	90.7	84.4
Cephalo-facial index	98.2	95.0	97.8	94.5	98.2
Fronto-parietal index	76.6	76.6	74.9	78.7	71.7
Zygo-frontal index	77.8	78.0	76.9	83.0	77.0
Zygo-gonial index	74.6	73.9	77.5	76.3	72.7
Morphological facial index	86.1	83.0	80.9	80.9	82.1
Nasal index	87.6	86.4	84.6	81.7	81.9

[p.132 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

APPRAISAL OF PHYSICAL DATA

141 Metrically, the tribes of the Upper Xingú Basin appear to be much alike (table 1). This is the more surprising since from the small number of subjects in all but Ranke's Nahuqua (Nahukwa) series one would expect unrepresentative samples and divergent mean figures. It is especially noteworthy that, after due allowances for technical differences are made, Ehrenreich's and Ranke's means for the Auetí, Trumai, and Nahuqua are very similar indeed. Taken as a group, the Upper Xingú series have a mean range in stature of 158–164 cm., with the Camayurá the tallest. The mean cephalic indices cluster closely around 80. All Ehrenreich's series are rather low-headed, with means from 82–87 in the breadth-height index. The highest mean (86.7), possibly a real indication of difference (see below), comes from 7 Trumai males. Ehrenreich's mean facial indices are medium, ranging from 84–87, while Ranke's three series have means of 88 and over, and are probably more correct (p. 131). The same is true of the mean nasal indices, which, for Ehrenreich's series range from 75–78, within the medium category; for Ranke's, from 69–75. The similarities between the Upper Xingú series, on this crude metric basis, suggest that they represent a single racial unit, or part of one. But since Ehrenreich

[p. 132(c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

141 (1897, pp. 90–91), largely on the basis of facial morphology, characterized the Trumai as a people apart, with their closest racial ties probably in the Chaco, they may not properly belong to the Upper Xingú racial unit. Corroborative of Ehrenreich's view is the Trumai claim that they are newcomers from the south (p. 7).

141 146 The uncertain status of the Trumai is hardly clarified by Imbelloni and his student, Paulotti, who themselves are not in agreement. Probably on the basis of Ehrenreich's remarks, Imbelloni asserted that the Trumai, along with other "grupos vestigiales" in upper South America—

> are distinguished no less clearly by their biological characters: by a skin color perceptibly darker than their agricultural neighbors, and in a few cases lighter, by more disagreeable and cruder facial features, the nose with fleshy and puffy alae, and above all, by a perceptible difference in stature, since their means cluster around 150 cm., and are even less in tribes free from contamination [Imbelloni, 1948, p. 225; translation mine].

Table 1, however, indicates that the mean stature of the Trumai is closer to 160 than to 150 cm., and that they are no shorter than their Tupi-speaking Auetí neighbors. Furthermore, neither Ehrenreich nor Ranke credit the Trumai with skin pigmentation different from that of the other Upper Xingú tribes. It is therefore apparent that Imbelloni's generalization goes beyond the evidence at hand. Contrary to this generalization, Paulotti (1948, p. 84 ftn.) selected the Trumai, because of their allegedly low stature and round heads, as an example of the Amazónido physical type in the Upper Xingú basin. This type, according to Imbelloni's (1938, p. 238) examples, is a recent arrival in South America most commonly found in Tupí-, Carib- and Arawak-speakers. Yet in the same footnote, Paulotti discussed the presence of residual and archaic populations (Láguido and Fuéguido) in the Western Amazon, whose characteristically low stature and *long* heads crop out most strongly in the Trumai, among others! Now all we know about the head form of the Trumai lies in Ehrenreich's and Ranke's figures. Combining them into one mean cephalic index for 21 males, the result is 81.8, hardly long-headed.

If there is sufficient validity in Imbelloni's (1938, p. 238–239) Amazónido type, the Upper Xingú racial grouping should be part of it. Imbelloni's concept of the Amazónido type was

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL 4

B 141 144 derived from Von Eickstedt's Brazilide type. Unfortunately Von Eickstedt (1934, p. 756) has also confused the picture by considering the Auetí and Nahuqua representative of the Lagide or Lagoid type. Bracketed with the Auetí and Nahuqua are the Carajá and Cayapó, and, further afield, the Botocudo and Alakaluf. In addition, the Bacairí are said to show Pampide influence (Von Eickstedt, 1934, p. 757). But no evidence for this is offered. Meager as the series in table 1 are, it seems preferable to use them as the basis for tentative conclusions rather than to indulge in the risky short cuts of second-hand impressionism.

Metrically, the Paressí series appears to tie in well with the Upper Xingú tribes, except that it is somewhat longer-headed, due possibly to assimilation of longer-headed Nambicuara. Tentatively, then, the Paressí may be included in the Upper Xingú racial unit, especially since Oberg (p. 69) has noted the close similarity of the Paressí to the Bacairí. Possibly the Iranxe would also fit into this unit, although the present sample does not adequately indicate it.

N B 141 142 The metric position of the Nambicuara is not wholly clear from the present data. The two Nambicuara series are longer-headed than those from the Upper Xingú Basin, and possibly higher-vaulted (for Oberg's series), shorter-faced and narrower-nosed as well. Their skin color is perceptibly darker than the neighboring Paressí; in fact Oberg stated (personal communication) that when seen together swimming in the river, he could easily sort out the Nambicuara children on this basis. It is quite possible that the Nambicuara represent one of the living groups representative of the Lagoa Santa type (Newman, 1951, p. 90), but confirmation of this must await new findings by Vellard [2] and others.

B 141 144 Oberg (p. 69) has noted the decided contrast between the Upper Xingú and other tribes north of the Planalto do Matogrosense and the "large-framed, coarse-featured" Bororo and Guató to the south. This distinction is probably on a full racial level, as already indicated by Von Eickstedt (1934, p. 731) and Imbelloni (1938, p. 239) who place the latter people with the Pampide or Pámpido type of the Chaco and Pampas.

[2] Through Imbelloni ([illegible], pp. [illegible]) we learn that in 1938 Jehan Vellard made physical studies on three Nambicuara bands: The Tagamani, a Roosevelt river group, and the Sabane. Mean stature for 12 male Nambicuara measured by Vellard is 162.9 cm.

[p. 133 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953 Bororo SP8
SP17 Nambicuara
Br Brazilian Indians SL4
141
144

It is curious that the Umotina series is metrically so different from Ehrenreich's São Lourenço Bororo. The former are considerably shorter-statured,[1] longer- and higher-headed, and absolutely and relatively narrower-faced. In these respects, the Umotina are much closer to the Carajá. Yet Oberg noted that the Umotina were lighter in skin color than the tribes north of the Planalto do Matogrosense, while Ehrenreich (1897, p. 79) considered the Carajá the darkest Indians he saw. Because of this and the following description by Oberg, I am hesitant to link the Umotina with people like the Carajá.

Bo
Br
141
142

Oberg describes some of the Umotina as having flat Mongoloid faces combined with long heads. These long heads have prominent bun-shaped occiputs; narrow, sloping, pyramidal-shaped foreheads with no frontal bosses; and heavy brow-ridges. The position of glabella relative to nasion was higher than in the other groups he investigated. The upper integumental lip was long. Pronouncedly shovel-shaped incisors were not found. The Mongoloid fold of the eye was absent in some, pronounced in others (pls. 9, *a*, *d*; 10, *b*, *c*). Eye color was dark brown, but lacked the brightness noted in the Nambicuara and Caduveo (p. 85). Wavy hair was common, according to Oberg, but does not appear evident in the photographs (pls. 9, 10). Gray hair was observed only among the old women. Men past middle age showed a tendency for baldness, with recession of the hairline, and thinning of the frontal and temporal hair. Like the neighboring Guató, the old Umotina men had thin but not straggly beards. For this reason the Umotina have been long referred to as "Barbados" by neo-Brazilians.

These descriptions and the metric data suggest considerable physical variability within the Bororo group. Determination of the actual extent of this variability must await further studies.

SUMMARY

While the Upper Xingú tribes under consideration and the Paressí may have had differing racial origins, the physical data collected over the past 50 years suggest that they now form a racial unit. Possibly the Iranxe could be added to this

Br
141
144

[1] That the São Lourenço Bororo are not a selectedly tall series is suggested by Colbacchini's (1942, p. 142) higher mean stature of 173.6 cm. for an Eastern Bororo group.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953 Bororo Sp8
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

Br 141 144

unit, if there were more information concerning them. Largely because Ehrenreich (p. 132) considered the Trumai a people apart, I have hesitated to include them with their Upper Xingú neighbors. The racial unit proposed here seems to fit best as part of Von Eickstedt's Brazilide or Imbelloni's Amazónido groups. It is characterized by short stature and, in the Upper Xingú Basin at least, by an unusually heavy thorax and very muscular upper arms in contrast to less well-developed legs (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 100). Head form verges on brachycephaly, and vault heights appear rather low for American Indians. Rather narrow faces predominate, and the nose seems medium-narrow, with a straight or convex bridge. Information on unexposed skin color is not available, but chances are that the Upper Xingú Basin people are rather lightly pigmented. Hair form is straight to low waved, with some curly hair, particularly among the Bacairí (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 81). Bacairí men, however, are said to sometimes use wooden hair curlers (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, p. 327). Face and body hair are said to be sparse (p. 15).

N 142 144

The Nambicuara stand apart from the Upper Xingú Basin people in being longer-headed and possibly higher-vaulted, shorter-faced, and narrower-nosed. They are also perceptibly darker in skin color. There is a good chance that the Nambicuara represent a remnant of an old South American racial strain, possibly linking with Lagoa Santa.

Bo 142 144

In their greater stature and more rugged bodies and faces, the Umotina, along with other Bororo subtribes, are strikingly different from the more gracile Upper Xingú tribes and the Nambicuara. The Umotina are metrically much closer to the Carajá of the Araguaia River than they are to the São Lourenço Bororo. If the Umotina measurements are no more than slightly influenced by neo-Brazilian admixture, a greater physical variability exists among the Bororo than hitherto has been recognised. Whether the concept of the Pámpido race is sufficiently elastic to include the Umotina is a question best decided by Imbelloni and his coworkers.

Br 144

Viewed from a geographic standpoint (see map 3), the physical anthropology of the Upper Xingú Basin tribes, the Nambicuara and the Bororo fall into an understandable pattern. The

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

natural barriers forming the Upper Xingú Basin have fostered the formation of a cultural and racial unit, whatever the original differences between the tribes settling there may have been. Probably pertaining to this racial unit are the Paressí to the west. Conceivably the Iranxe, northern neighbors of the Paressí, could be placed in the same unit. West of the Paressí, inhabiting the more inhospitable areas of the Serro do Parecís, are the Nambicuara. With some justification

[p. 135 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

144 they may be considered an archaic remnant surviving in a refuge area. To the south, across the semiarid Planalto do Matogrosense, and living in the Paraguayan rather than the Amazonian drainage, are the Bororo. Racially their ties are to the south—the Chaco and the Pampas. As far as the data go, there is no reason to believe that this tall, rugged physical type extended north of the plateau barriers which bisect Mato Grosso into northern and southern portions.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[p. 136 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

113

ALBISETTI, P. CESAR. *See* COLBACCHINI, P. ANTONIO.

BOYD, WILLIAM C.
1950. Blood groups of South American Indians. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 6, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 6, pp. 91–95.

CARVALHO, JOSE C. M., LIMA, PEDRO E. DE, and GALVÃO, EDUARDO.
1949. Observações zoológicas e antropológicas na região dos formadores do Xingú. Rio de Janeiro.

COLBACCHINI, P. ANTONIO, and ALBISETTI, P. CESAR.
1942. Os Boróros Orientais. São Paulo.

EHRENREICH, PAUL MAX ALEXANDER.
1897. Anthropologische studien über die urbewohner Brasiliens vornehmlich der staaten Matto Grosso, Goyaz und Amazonas (Purus-gebiet). Braunschweig.

EICKSTEDT, EGON FREIHERR VON.
1934. Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit. Stuttgart.

GALVÃO, EDUARDO. *See* CARVALHO, José C. M.

GOLDEN, G.
1930. Distribution of blood groups in South American Indians. Lancet, II, vol. 219, pp. 278–280. London.

IMBELLONI, José.
1938. Tabla clasificatoria de los Indios regiones biológicas y grupos raciales humanos en América. Physis, vol. 12, No. 44, pp. 229–249.
1948. De la estatura humana, su revinidicación como elemento morfologico y clasificatorio. Runa, vol. 1, pp. 196–243.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE.
1948. The tribes of the upper Xingú River. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 3, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 3, pp. 321–348.

LIMA, PEDRO E. DE.
1950. Grupos sanguineos dos Índios do Xingu. Bol. do Museu Nac., n. s., Antropologia, No. 11, Dec. 20, ppl. 1–4. Rio de Janeiro.
See also Carvalho, José C. M.

LIPKIND, WILLIAM.
1948. The Carajr. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 3, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 3, pp. 179–192.

[p. 136 (8)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

113

LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1946. The Bororo. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 1, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 1, pp. 419–434.

MÉTRAUX, ALFRED.
1948. The Paressí. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 3, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 3, pp. 349–360.

NEWMAN, MARSHALL T.
1951. The sequence of Indian physical types in South America. In Papers on the Physical Anthropology of the American Indian. New York.

PAULOTTI, OSVALDO L.
1948. Los Toba. Contribución a la somatología de los indígenas del Chaco. Runa, vol. 1, pp 9–96.

RANKE, KARL ERNST.
1910. Anthropologische beobachtungen aus Zentralbrasilien. Abhandl. K. Bayer. Akad. Wis. München, Kl. 2, vol. 24, Abt. 1, pp. 1–148.

ROQUETTE-PINTO, EDGAR.
1938. Rondonia. São Paulo. Ed. 4. Ed. 3, São Paulo, 1935.

SCHMIDT, MAX.
1942. Estudos de etnologia brasileira peripécias de uma viagem entre 1900 e 1901. Seus resultados etnológicos. Tr. direta do alemão de Catharina Baratz Cannabrava. São Paulo.

SILVA, E. M. DA.
1949. Blood groups of Indians, Whites and White-Indian mixtures in southern Mato Grosso, Brasil. Amer. Journ. Phys. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 575–585.

STEINEN, KARL VON DEN.
1894. Unter den naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Reiseschilderung und ergebnisse der zweiten Schingúexpedition. 1887–1888. Berlin.
1940. Entre os aborígenes do Brasil central. São Paulo.
1942. O Brasil Central; expedição em 1884 para a exploração do rio Xingú. Tradução de Catarina Baratz Cannabrava. São Paulo.

SULLIVAN, L. R.
1923. Essentials of anthropometry. New York.

[p. 136 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Aueto SP6
YATUMA SP25

YAN 133

Y [361 342]

A [501]

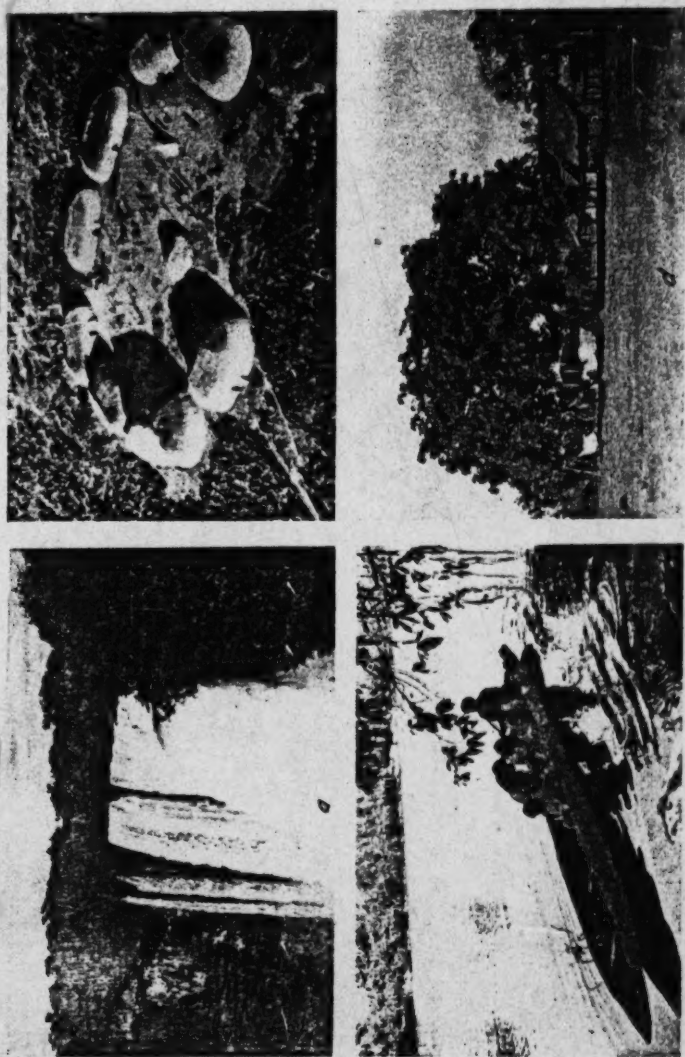
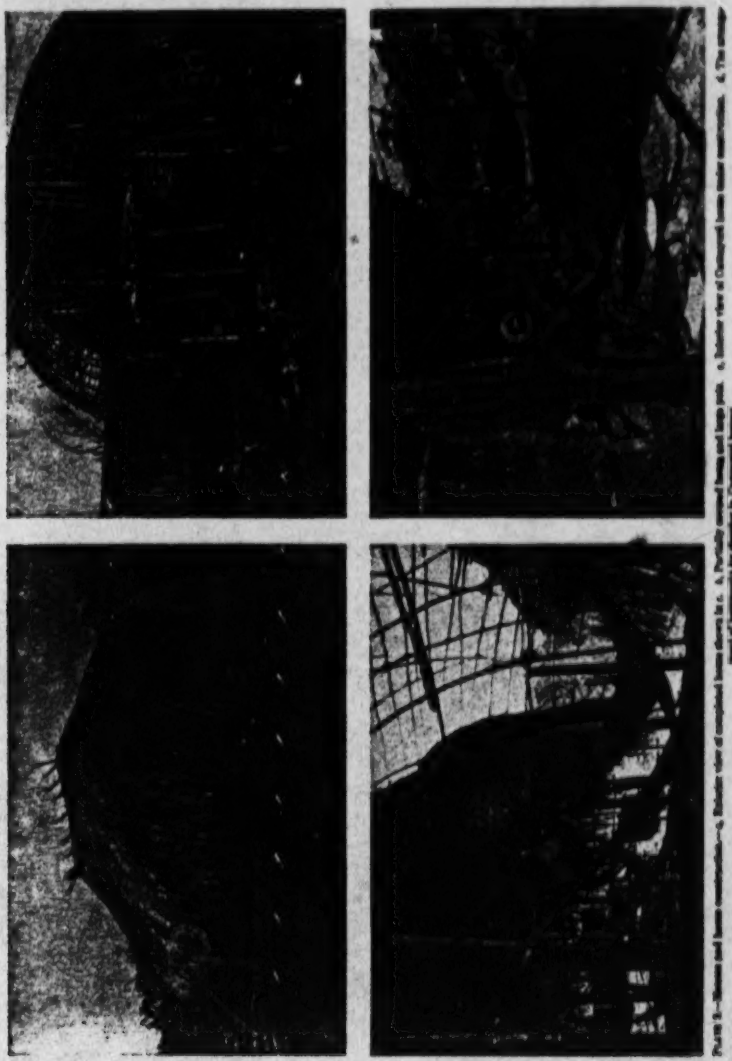


PLATE 1.—General scenes in Northern Mato Grosso.—a, Utiarity Falls on the Papagaio River. b, Upper Xingú village of Cuicúru (air photograph by courtesy of Mr. Harry Wright). c, Jaiobá bark canoe and Camayurá family on the Kuluene River. d, Large piqui tree in Jaruel Camp.

[p. 136 (D)]

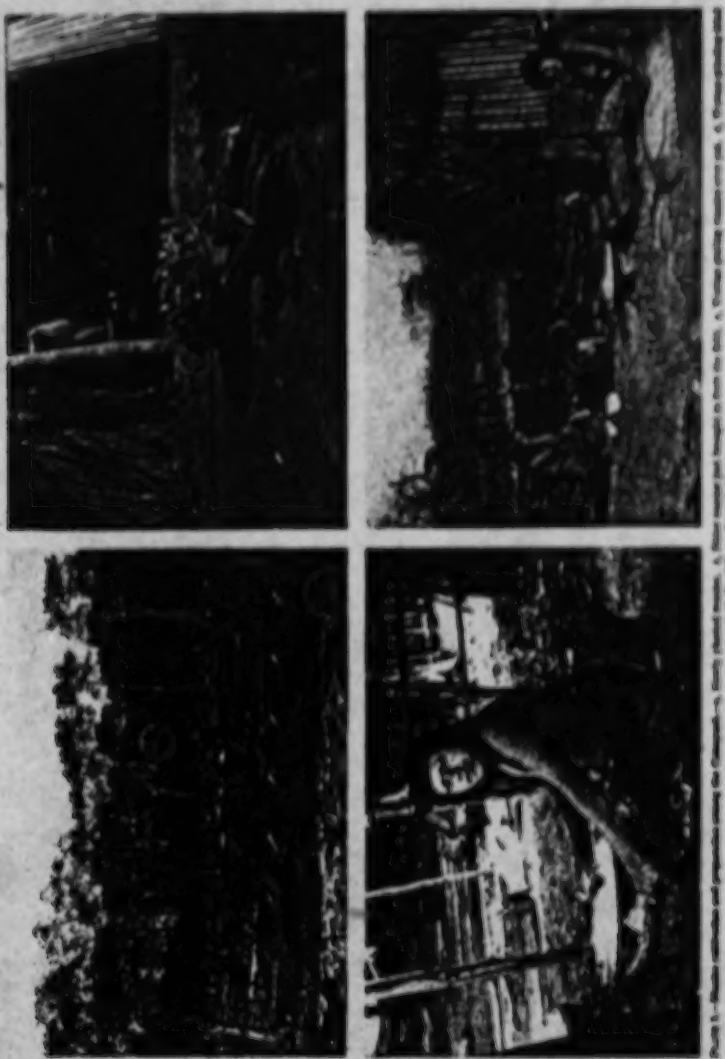
4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Aueto SP6
342
252
352



4. Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Hambicuara

Aueto SP6

241
142
291
342
252
516



[p. 136 (F)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Aueto SP6.

[p.136 (G)]

411
N2
291
226
286
301

[p. 136 (H)]

372
316
415
412

881
301
302
291
192

[illegible]

[p. 136 (2)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

Aue to SP6

142
304.
302
291
484

778
534
415
291
142

[p.136(J)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
291
301

[177]

Plate 6.—Nambicuara physical types: a and b, Juliu, with [illegible] lip plug, and [illegible] hands in [illegible]; c and d, Juliu's wives and child.

[p.136(K)]

142

[301]

[p. 136 (L)]

142

[p. 136 (M)]

[pp. 136 (N) + 136 (O) are blank]

INDEX

000

Abortion, Camayurá, 62
Agriculture, crops:
  cultivation of:
    Bacairí, 72
    Camayurá, 17, 19, 22, 24–25
    Nambicuara, 91
    Umotina, 106
  list of:
    Bacairí, 71–72
    Camayurá, 17
    Nambicuara, 90
    Umotina, 106
  garden magic:
    Camayurá, 18, 23
    Umotina, 107
  harvesting:
    Bacairí, 72
    Camayurá, 18
    Nambicuara, 87
  planting:
    Bacairí, 72
    Camayurá, 17
    Nambicuara, 91
    Umotina, 106
  preparation of land:
    Camayurá, 17, 19
    Nambicuara, 90–91
    Umotina, 106
Aphrodisiacs:
  Bacairí, 75
  Camayurá, 61
  Nambicuara, 102
Arrows:
  Curare, use of, Nambicuara, 89, 94
  Manufacture of:
    for fishing:
      Bacairí, 70
      Camayurá, 32
      Nambicuara, 93–94
      Umotina, 107
    for games, Camayura, 31
    for hunting:
      Bacairí, 70, 71
      Camayurá, 26, 31–32
      Nambicuara, 93–94
      Umotina, 107
    for war:
      Camayurá, 31
      Nambicuara, 93–94
    technology, Camayurá, 27
Authority:
  of fathers:
    Bacairí, 73
    Camayurá, 45
    Nambicuara, 99
  of fathers-in-law:
    Camayurá, 45
    Umotina, 108
  of husbands:
    Camayurá, 45
    Nambicuara, 99
  of mothers, Camayurá, 47
Authority—Continued
  of tribal council, Camayurá, 52
Avoidance:
  of fish, Camayurá, 25
  of food:
    Camayurá, 61
    Umotina, 110
  of mother-in-law, Camayurá, 49
Band, Nambicuara, 84
  membership of, 99
  names, 96, 98
  size of, 86
Basketry:
  Bacairí, 72
  Camayurá, 26, 35
  Nambicuara, 90, 92
  Umotina, 107
Bathing:
  Camayurá, 38, 50
  Nambicuara, 84
Batons, Bacairí, 76
Beds, see Sleeping arrangements.
Behavior:
  between bands, Nambicuara, 96, 98
  comparison of tribal, 84–85
  kinship:
    Bacairí, 73
    Camayurá, 7, 10, 48–49
    Nambicuara, 98
  moral, loss of status, Camayurá, 50
  of adolescents, Camayurá, 10
  toward biological acts:
    Camayurá, 10
    Nambicuara, 104
  toward white men:
    Bacairí, 85
    Camayurá, 10, 85
    Nambicuara, 85, 95
    Umotina, 85
Birds, domestic:
  Bacairí, 71
  Camayurá, 7, 29
Birth:
  abortion, Camayurá, 62
  baby, treatment of:
    Bacairí, 74
    Camayurá, 61
    Nambicuara, 103
    Umotina, 110
  infanticide, Camayurá, 62
  practices:
    Bacairí, 73
    Camayurá, 35, 61
    Nambicuara, 103
    Umotina, 110
  pregnancy, cause of:
    Bacairí, 73
    Camayurá, 61
    Nambicuara, 103
  seclusion, Bacairí, 74

Bows:
manufacture of:
Bacairi, 70
Camayurá, 30–31
Nambicuara, 93
Umotina, 107
belief concerning Camayurá, 32, 62
toys, Camayurá, 30, 63
Bull-roarer, Camayurá, 7, 34, 53, 54, 57
Burial:
body, care of:
Bacairi, 74
Camayurá, 67
Nambicuara, 104
Umotina, 110
ceremonies, Camayurá, 7, 56, 66
form of:
Camayurá, 67–68
Nambicuara, 104
Umotina, 110
mourning:
Bacairi, 74
Camayurá, 68
Nambicuara, 104
Umotina, 110

Calendar:
of agriculture:
Bacairi, 72
Camayurá, 17–18
Nambicuara, 90–92
Umotina, 106
of economic activities:
Camayurá, 18
Nambicuara, 87
Cannibalism:
reported, 86
Umotina, 107
Canoe, 7
construction of:
Bacairi, 70
Camayurá, 32
equipment, Camayurá, 33
use of, Camayurá, 16, 32
See also Transportation.
Chief:
divine right, Camayurá, 50
raiding:
Camayurá, 51
Nambicuara, 96
role of:
Bacairi, 73
Camayurá, 7, 40, 46–51
Nambicuara, 84, 96, 99
Umotina, 107
succession:
Bacairi, 73
Camayurá, 51
Umotina, 107
symbol of chieftainship:
Camayurá, 30
Nambicuara, 101
Children:
burial of:
Camayurá, 68
Nambicuara, 104
care of:
Bacairi, 74
Camayurá, 47, 61–63
Nambicuara, 103
Umotina, 110
first food of:
Camayurá, 63
Nambicuara, 103
Umotina, 110

Clothing:
use of:
Camayurá, 11
Nambicuara, 84
Umotina, 106
See also Ornaments.
Collecting:
Bacairi, 71
Camayurá, 17
Nambicuara, 87, 88, 91, 92
Umotina, 106–107
Combs:
Bacairi, 71
Camayurá, 36
Nambicuara, 93
Umotina, 106
Continence:
Camayurá:
before fishing, 23
before curing, 60
importance of, 66
Nambicuara, before important rites, 101, 102
Cotton:
harvesting, Camayurá, 24
planting:
Bacairi, 72
Camayurá, 24
Nambicuara, 91
Umotina, 106
spinning:
Bacairi, 72
Camayurá, 25
Umotina, 107
Crimes, *see* Punishment.

Dances:
Bacairi:
corn song and dance, 76
house building, 72, 76
return of hammocks, 76
seclusion at puberty, 74, 76
seclusion release, of adolescents, 74, 76
of women, 74, 77
time of, 75
with batons, 76
Camayura:
commemoration of dead, 58
flute, 57
growth of plants, 56–57
jaboti tree spirit, 57
piqui tree spirit, 24, 57
rain making, 57
secular, 57, 58–59
Nambicuara:
harvest, 92
jaguar, 90
planting, 101
puberty, 103, 104
tapir, 90
Umotina, ghost, 109
Death:
Bacairi, 73
Camayurá, 67
Nambicuara, 104
Umotina, 110
See also Burial.
Disease:
cause of:
Bacairi, 73
Camayurá, 22, 58, 62
grippe:
Camayurá, 12–13
Nambicuara, 86
loss of teeth, Camayurá, 15
of eyes, Camayurá, 15

[p. 138]

INDEX

Disease—Continued
parasites:
fear of, Camayurá, 63
internal, Nambicuara, 84
skin, Nambicuara, 84, 86
syphilis, Nambicuara, 84, 86
treatment of
Bacairí, 71, 75
Camayurá, 16
Nambicuara, 101
tuberculosis, Nambicuara, 89

Dogs:
Camayurá, 29
for hunting:
Bacairí, 71
Nambicuara, 89

Education:
Camayurá:
during puberty seclusion, 65
of girls, 63
of small children, 62–63
Bacairí, by observation, 74

Family:
position in house group, 46
See also Behavior; Kinship; Marriage.

Fauna, Xingú, 2

Fire:
gift of, Camayurá, 36, 53
keeping of:
Camayurá, 15
Umotina, 106
making of:
Camayurá, 38
Nambicuara, 92
spirit of, Camayurá, 39

Fish:
beliefs, Camayurá, 25
curing, Camayurá, 28
equipment for fishing:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 26
Nambicuara, 90, 93
Umotina, 107
importance of, Camayurá, 25
kinds of, Camayurá, 25–26
method of fishing:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 26–28
Nambicuara, 88, 90
Umotina, 107
preparation of:
Camayurá, 30
Nambicuara, 90
Umotina, 107
timbó, use of, in fishing:
Camayurá, 8, 26–28
Nambicuara, 90
Umotina, 107
Fiura, Xingú, 2

Flutes:
house:
Bacairí, 70
Camayurá, 7, 13, 54
Nambicuara, 88
kinds of:
Bacairí, 70
Camayurá, 54, 57
Nambicuara, 100–102
symbol of authority, Nambicuara, 102
See also Dances; Myths; Ownership.

Food:
baby's first:
Camayurá, 63
Nambicuara, 103
Umotina, 110
conducive to birth, Camayurá, 61
liquid, 22
Bacairí, 72
Camayurá, 30, 40
Nambicuara, 92
eating:
Bacairí, 70
Camayurá, 22
preparation of:
fish:
Camayurá, 30
Nambicuara, 88
Umotina, 107
garden produce:
Bacairí, 73
Camayurá, 38–39
Nambicuara, 92
Umotina, 107
meat:
Camayurá, 39–40
Nambicuara, 89
Umotina, 107
repudura, Camayurá, 12
sharing, Nambicuara, 80

Fruit:
mangaba, Camayurá, 17, 23, 39
piquí:
Bacairí, 72
Camayurá, 17
boil-reserv, 34, 53
ceremony, 23–24
eating of, 39
harvesting, 15
processing, 22
spirit, 23–24

Games:
Bacairí, football, 73
Camayurá:
boys, 63
spear-throwing, 7, 57
skill in, 67
See also Wrestling; Arrows.

Geography:
Bacairí, 29
Camayurá, 1–2
Nambicuara, 82–85
Umotina, 106

Ghosts:
Bacairí, 74–75
Camayurá, 54, 60, 68
Nambicuara, 99, 101, 102, 104
Umotina, 109, 110–111

Gifts, Camayurá:
between Indians, 41
to Indians, 12
to white men, 12

Gourds:
Camayurá, 17, 35
Nambicuara, 91
Umotina, 106

Hair:
beards, Umotina, 106
plucking of:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 15
Umotina, 106

[p. 139]

000

Hair—Continued
style:
Bacairí, 70
Camayurá, 15
Umotina, 106
wavy, Nambicuara, 85
Hammocks, *see* Sleeping arrangements.
Headdresses:
Camayurá, 55
Umotina, 109
History:
archeological sites, 9
Bacairí, 69
Nambicuara, 82
Umotina, 106
Xingú area, 4
House group, Camayurá, 45, 48
Houses, 7
ceremonial:
Bacairí, 70
Nambicuara, 88
construction of:
Bacairí, 72
Camayurá, 13–15
Nambicuara, 88
Umotina, 106
dance for, Bacairí, 72, 76
contents of:
Bacairí, 70
Camayurá, 14
Nambicuara, 88
flute:
Bacairí, 70
Camayurá, 13, 54
Nambicuara, 88
spirit of house posts, Camayurá, 15
Hunting animals:
for food:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 29
Nambicuara, 88–90
for ornaments:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 29
for protection, Camayurá, 29
method of:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 29
Nambicuara, 88–90
Umotina, 107
See also Arrows; Bows; Dogs.
Infanticide, Camayurá, 62
Inheritance:
house group, Camayurá, 40
individual:
Bacairí, 74
Nambicuara, 99, 104
tribal, Camayurá, 40
Kinship:
charts, 111, 112–123
importance of Camayurá, 9
terminology:
Aueti, 113
Bacairí, 73, 114
Bororo, 121, 127
Calapálo, 115
Camayurá, 7, 43–44, 112
Cuicúru, 115
Guató, 120
Iranze, 123
Iwalapeti, 117
Nambicuara, 88–90, 122
Paressí, 118
Trumai, 119
Kinship—Continued
terminology—Continued
Umotina, 106, 107, 122
Waurá, 116
Labor:
communal:
Bacairí, 72
Camayurá, 40
Nambicuara, 88
division of:
Bacairí, 72
Camayurá, 40
Nambicuara, 88, 94
specialization:
Camayurá, by individuals, 40, 41
by tribes, 42
wage work, Nambicuara, 96
Language:
Bacairí, 69
Nambicuara, 86
pidgin Portuguese, 85
Umotina, 106
Xingú tribes, 4–6
Maize:
harvesting, Camayurá, 22
importance, Camayurá, 17
planting:
Camayurá, 23
Nambicuara, 91
Umotina, 106
preparation of:
Bacairí, 72
Camayurá, 39
Umotina, 107
song and dance, Bacairí, 76
See also Myths.
Manioc:
gift of, Camayurá, 12, 18
harvesting of, Camayurá, 20–21
importance of:
Camayurá, 17–18
Nambicuara, 91
magic, Camayurá, 20
myth, origin, Camayurá, 19
planting of:
Camayurá, 19–20
Umotina, 106
preparation of:
Bacairí, 72
Camayurá, 38
Nambicuara, 92
Umotina, 107
preparation of land for, Camayurá, 19
processing of:
Bacairí, 70, 72
Camayurá, 21–22
Nambicuara, 91
products of, Camayurá, 22, 38
spirit, Camayurá, 20, 55
See also Tools.
Marriage:
arrangement of, Bacairí, 74
autonomy of men, Camayurá, 48, 66
bride service, Camayurá, 44
ceremony:
Bacairí, 74
Camayurá, 66
Nambicuara, 104
Umotina, 110
conduct, Camayurá:
husband, 65
wife, 67

[p. 140]

INDEX

000 Marriage—Continued
- cross-cousin:
  - Bacairí, 73
  - Camayurá, 7, 44
  - Nambicuara, 98
- intermarriage:
  - bands, Nambicuara, 96
  - tribes, Camayurá, 15
- levirate:
  - Camayurá, 44
  - Nambicuara, 99, 104
- newlyweds, control of, Camayurá, 46, 66
- residence:
  - Camayurá, 44–46, 66
  - Nambicuara, 99
  - Umotina, 108
- rules of:
  - Bacairí, 73
  - Camayurá, 44, 66
  - Umotina, 108, 110
- selection of mate:
  - Camayurá, 44
  - Nambicuara, 104
  - Umotina, 110
- sorrorate:
  - Camayurá, 44
  - Nambicuara, 99, 104
- time of, Camayurá, 56, 66

Masks:
- Camayurá, 54–55, 57
- Umotina, 109

Mortar and pestle:
- Camayurá, 34
- Nambicuara, 92
- Umotina, 107

Musical instruments:
- flutes:
  - Bacairí, 75–76
  - Camayurá, 54, 57
  - Nambicuara, 101
  - Umotina, 109
- horn, Umotina, 110
- nose flute, Nambicuara, 102
- panpipe:
  - Bacairí, 76
  - Camayurá, 59
  - Nambicuara, 102
- rattles:
  - Bacairí, 75
  - Camayurá, 54, 56, 57
  - Umotina, 108, 109

Myths:
- Bacairí:
  - culture hero, 77
    - creations of day, 77
    - corn dance and plants, 77
  - Kari and Kame, 77–81
- Camayurá:
  - ancestors:
    - creations of:
      - bull-roarer, 53
      - death hawk, 53
      - thunder and lightning, 53
      - villages, 50
  - bemtevi:
    - gifts of:
      - healing, 59
      - sorcery, 59
  - culture hero, 53
    - creations of:
      - ancestors, 53
      - Camayurá, 49–50, 52–53
      - jakui flute, 53
      - moon, 50, 52
      - sun, 50, 52

Myths—Continued
- Camayurá—Continued
  - culture hero—Continued
    - creations of—Continued
      - tribes, friendly, 52
      - white men, 50, 52
      - woman, first, 50, 53
    - gifts of:
      - bow, 30
      - fire, 38
      - guns, 30
      - manioc, 19
      - specialization, 42
  - moon:
    - gifts of:
      - fire-making, 38
      - tribes, enemy, 53
  - sun:
    - gifts of:
      - dances, 53
      - jakui flute, 53
      - puberty rites, 53
      - songs, 53
      - timbó, 53
- Nambicuara:
  - culture hero, 96
    - gifts of:
      - bow, 96
      - flutes, 96
      - manioc, 96
      - song and dance, 96
      - sweetpotatoes, 96
  - other myths, 99–100, 102
- Umotina:
  - culture hero, 108
    - creations of:
      - ancestors, 108
      - tribes, enemy, 108
      - tribes, other, 108
      - white men, 108
    - gifts of:
      - arrows, 108
      - bows, 108
      - names, 108
      - skirts, 108
  - origin of:
    - beans, 108–109
    - maize, 108
    - pepper, 108–109
    - sweetpotatoes, 108–109

Naming:
- babies, Bacairí, 74
- boys:
  - Camayurá, 61, 64, 65, 66
  - Nambicuara, 103
- girls:
  - Camayurá, 62, 66
  - Nambicuara, 104

Ornaments:
- ceremonial:
  - Bacairí, 71
  - Camayurá, 58
  - Nambicuara, 95
  - Umotina, 109
- daily:
  - Bacairí, 70
  - Camayurá, 16, 38, 64
  - Nambicuara, 95
  - Umotina, 108
- penis sheath:
  - Camayurá, 16
  - Umotina, 108
- See also Painting.

[p.141]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Ownership:
house group, Camayurá, 41
individual:
Camayurá, 40–41
Nambicuara, 99
tribal:
Camayurá, 41
Nambicuara, 99

Painting:
against authority, Camayurá, 48
corpse:
Camayurá, 87
Umotina, 110
general use, Nambicuara, 96
place of, Camayurá, 13
war, Umotina, 107
See also Ornaments.
Physical anthropology:
blood group, 130
location of tribes, 128–129
map, 129
measurement techniques, 131–132
mixture:
intertribal:
Bororo, 130
Nambicuara, 130
Upper Xingú, 130
with whites, 129–130
physical description, 131–134
racial groupings:
Bororo, 133
Nambicuara, 134
Upper Xingú, 134
Piercing:
ear:
babies:
Bacairí, 74
Umotina, 110
boys:
Bacairí, 74
Camayurá, 64
lips:
lower, Umotina, 110
upper, Nambicuara, 103
nose, septum of, Bacairí, 71
Nambicuara, 103
Pottery:
Bacairí, 72
Camayurá, 7, 36
Umotina, 107
Uluri-shaped, 7
Puberty:
change of authority
Camayurá, 47
rearing:
boys, 61
girls, 62
scarification:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 66
seclusion:
Bacairí, 74
Camayurá, 65
Nambicuara, 103
Umotina, absence of, 110
Punishment:
enforcement of, Camayurá, 52
by exile:
Bacairí, 73
Nambicuara, 99
of children, Camayurá, 17
by seclusion, 44, 65
by scarification, 66

Punishment—Continued
of crimes:
adultery, Camayurá, 47
breaking taboos, Camayurá, 51, 54–55
causing death by witchcraft, Camayurá, 52
disturbing peace, Camayurá, 51
immortality, Camayurá, 47–50
murder, Bacairí, 73
unwanted individuals, Nambicuara, 99

Religion:
Christain influence, Nambicuara, 87, 98
Dances:
Bacairí, 78
Camayurá, 56–57
flutes:
Bacairí, 70
Camayurá, 54, 57
Nambicuara, 101
ghosts:
Bacairí, 76–75
Camayurá, 34, 60, 68
Nambicuara, 96, 101–102, 104
Umotina, 108–111
masks:
Camayurá, 54–55, 57
Umotina, 109
myths:
Bacairí, 77–81
Camayurá, 19, 30, 36, 42, 48–50, 53–53, 59
Nambicuara, 96, 99–100, 103
Umotina, 108–109
shamanism:
Bacairí, 75–76
Camayurá, 59–61
Nambicuara, 100–102
spirits:
Bacairí, 75
Camayurá, 7, 12, 15, 20, 23–24, 32, 38, 59–55, 57, 60
Nambicuara, 96–100, 102

Salt, Camayurá, 17
Scarification:
illness, Bacairí, 71
mourning, Camayurá, 68
puberty:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 66
punishment, Camayurá, 48
scraper, manufacture of:
Bacairí, 71
Camayurá, 37
Seats:
Bacairí, 70
Camayurá, 7, 34
Seclusion:
coming out of:
birth, Bacairí, 74, 77
puberty, Camayurá, 66, 68
punishment by, Camayurá, 48, 65
time of:
birth:
Bacairí, 74
Camayurá, 61
puberty:
Bacairí, 74
Camayurá, 65
Nambicuara, 103
mourning, Camayurá, 68

[p. 142]

INDEX

Shamanism:
  absence of, Umotina, 110
  becoming a shaman:
    Bacairí, 75
    Camayurá, 67
    Nambicuara, 101
  curing:
    Bacairí, 75
    Camayurá, 59
    Nambicuara, 101
  duties of shaman:
    Camayurá, 59–61
    Nambicuara, 100
  flute, obtaining of, Bacairí, 75
  magic:
    Camayurá:
      garden, 13, 22
      manioc, 20
      piqui, 24
  rattle, use of, Camayurá, 60
  sex, evil effect of, Nambicuara, 102
  shaman's hat, Nambicuara, 88
  sorcery:
    Camayurá, 60
    Nambicuara, 100
  tobacco, importance of, Camayurá, 60
Sieve:
  manufacture of, Camayurá, 21, 35
  use of:
    Camayurá, 7, 21, 35
    Umotina, 107
Sleeping arrangements:
  absence of, Nambicuara, 84, 88
  hammocks:
    use of:
      Bacairí, 70
      Camayurá, 7
    making of:
      Bacairí, 72
      Camayurá, 34
    placing of:
      Bacairí, 70
      Camayurá, 14, 45–46, 49
  mats, Umotina, 106
Spear thrower, see Games.
Specialists:
  arrow makers, Trumai, 42
  bow makers, Camayurá, 30, 40, 42
  comb makers, Waurá, 36
  flute makers, Mehinácu, 43
  jaguar hunters, Camayurá, 29
  mutum hunters, Camayurá, 29
  necklace makers:
    Calapálo, 43
    Cuicúru, 43
    Nahukwá, 43
  pottery makers, Waurá, 36, 42
  trading, Aueti, 43
Spindle:
  Camayurá, 34
  Nambicuara, 96
  Umotina, 107
Spinning:
  Bacairí, 72
  Camayurá, 33–34
  Nambicuara, 96
  Umotina, 107
Spirits:
  evil:
    Bacairí, 75
    Nambicuara, 99–100, 102
  guardian, Camayurá:
    belief in, 7
    bull-roarer, 54, 55
    fire, 36
Spirits—Continued
  guardian, Camayurá—Continued
    fish, 55, 57
    flute, 54, 55
    genipapo tree, 55
    jatobá tree, 33, 55
    manioc, 20, 55
    personal, 60
    piqui tree, 23, 55
    posts
      house, 15
      sacred, 55
    tobacco, 24–25
    urucú, 24, 55
  mama'á, Camayurá, 12, 53
Sweetpotatoes:
  Bacairí, 72
  Camayurá:
    harvesting, 22
    importance of, 17
    planting, 17, 22
    preparation of, 39
  Nambicuara, 91
  Umotina, 107

Technology, Camayurá, 37
Temperature:
  Nambicuara area, 67
  Xingú area, 2
    chart, 3
Terrapin, Camayurá:
  catching, 27
  eggs, 26
  flesh, 26, 27
  preparation of, 27
Timbó:
  myth, Camayurá, 53
  use of:
    Camayurá, 8, 26–28
    Nambicuara, 90
    Umotina, 107
Tobacco:
  cigarettes, Camayurá, 25
  curing, Camayurá, 18, 20, 22, 24
  harvesting, Camayurá, 25
  planting:
    Camayurá, 25
    Nambicuara, 91
  myth, Camayurá, 25
  restriction of use, Camayurá, 24, 60
  sorcery, use in:
    Bacairí, 72
    Camayurá, 25, 60
  spirit, Camayurá, 24–25
Tools:
  agricultural:
    Bacairí, 70
    Camayurá, 17
    Nambicuara, 90
  cutting, Bacairí, 70
  hand, Nambicuara, 90
  hunting, Nambicuara, 88
  manioc:
    Camayurá, 20, 21
    Nambicuara, 91
Trade:
  between bands, Nambicuara, 90
  individual, Camayurá, 41
  organization of:
    intertribal:
      Bacairí, 73
      Camayurá, 43
    intratribal, Camayurá, 41
  with white men, Camayurá, 43

[p. 143]

Transportation:
  canoe:
    Bandeira, 70
    Cinnaycuré, 7, 18, 22
  Kanoe, Nambicuara, 92
  overland:
    Bandeira, 70
    Nambicuara, 92

Tribe, the Cinnaycuré:
  chief of, 30–32
  comparison with others, 84–85
  dissension, 49
  kinship as basis of, 49
  myth, 49–50
  personality, 32
  unanimity, 32

Twins:
  burial:
    Cinnaycuré, 54
    Nambicuara, 92, 94
  omens:
    Cinnaycuré, 53
    Nambicuara, 94–95
  sight, Cinnaycuré, 53
  taboos, Nambicuara, 94

Uncle:
  belief concerning, Cinnaycuré, 57
  consultation, Cinnaycuré, 56–57
  duties of, Cinnaycuré, 7
  epithet, Cinnaycuré, 56
  significance, Gnaio, Cinnaycuré, 56
  taboos:
    Bandeira, 70, 71
    Cinnaycuré, 7, 18

Urucú:
  Bandeira, 70
  Cinnaycuré, 17
    festivals, 21
    preparation, 34
    myth, 34
    use of, 34, 68
  Nambicuara, 91, 96
  Tamaiana, 108, 110

Village:
  Bandeira, 70
  Cinnaycuré, 7, 12–13
    myth, 50
  Nambicuara, 88
  Tamaiana, 108

Warfare:
  against enemy tribes, Cinnaycuré, 68
  arrow used:
    Cinnaycuré, 21
    Nambicuara, 94
  chief, role of:
    Cinnaycuré, 61
    Nambicuara, 96
    Tamaiana, 107
  defense:
    Bandeira, 72
    Cinnaycuré, 4, 30, 61
  preparation for:
    Nambicuara, 96
    Tamaiana, 107
  raiding, Cinnaycuré, 6, 44, 61
  time of, Cinnaycuré, 73

Weapons:
  bow and arrow:
    Bandeira, 71
    Cinnaycuré, 20
    Nambicuara, 94
  gun:
    Cinnaycuré, 61
    Nambicuara, 96

Weaving:
  basketwork:
    Bandeira, 73
    Cinnaycuré, 24
  loom:
    Cinnaycuré, 24
    Nambicuara, 92, 95
    Tamaiana, 107

Witchcraft:
  causing death:
    Cinnaycuré, 63
    See also Punishment
  causing illness:
    Cinnaycuré, 63
    Nambicuara, 100

Wrestling:
  Bandeira, 72, 73
  Cinnaycuré, 66, 66–67

[p. 144]

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Library text . . . . . [illegible]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

OF

AMERICANISTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE XVIII. SESSION,

LONDON, 1912.

PREPARED BY

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

PART I.

LONDON:
HARRISON AND SONS, 45, PALL MALL, S.W.

1913.

[Title page]

5 Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17Nambicuara SP17

OS INDIOS NHAMBIQUÁRA DO BRASIL-CENTRAL

Por E. Roquette-Pinto, Rio de Janeiro.

A MAIS interessante das collecções entradas, nestes ultimos tempos, na secção etnographica do Museu Nacional, é composta de artefactos dos indios Nhambiquára. Esse material, de valor inestimavel, foi remettido da Custodia Rondon. Dos Nhambiquára são estes artefactos os primitivos que o mundo civilisado provavelmente receba.

Pouco sabiamos até hoje sobre os indios chamados Nhambiquára. Em 1909, o official-explorador brasileiro, o Coronel Rondon, durante a sua viagem pelo interior do Matto-Grosso, conseguiu entrar em relações de amizade com duas fracções dessa selvagens, que vivem no valle do Rio Juruena, extendendo-se desde ahi até aos rios Sararé e Galera, affluentes do Rio Guaporé. Rondon obteve tambem uma collecção de objetos ethnographicos; e conseguiu recolher uma serie de dados sobre a vida, usos e costumes, e a area da distribuição geographica dos indios Parecí e dos seus parentes Nhambiquára, aos quaes, segundo parece, esse intelligente official dedicou especial attenção.

Chegamos a saber que os Kaxiniti, Uáimaré e os Ko-akrãi são sub-tribus do grande e separatista grupo dos *Parecí*. Estes nomeam aos Nhambiquára *Uálakálaré* e *Galleaniré*, dividindo-os assim em dous grupos. Os individuos d'este ultimo grupo são de tez mais escura; e são tambem mais bellicosos. Moram entre o Rio Juruena e o Camararé.

Rondon parece haver colhido tambem a significação do nome Kabiri, o qual era outr'ora de constante emprego dos indigenas daquellas regiões, como recorde com sentida frequencia com esses nomes collectivos "Bugre," "Tapuya," "Guayaré," "Anaa" e outros. Os moradores da Villa Bella (Matto-Grosso) costumavam chamar Kabiri aquelles indios que os Parecí denominam *Uálakálaré*, os quaes, como se vê acima, são Nhambiquára.

Agora bem esse nome *Uálakálaré* dão os Parecí das fracções Kaxiniti e Uaimaré, dos Rios Arinos, Sacuriá-inái, Tabaco-inái, Tinaletiá, aos seus parentes do grupo Kozárini, que, como indios Rondon, occupa as nascentes dos rios Verde, Jaba, Cabaçal, e Jauru. De modo que os Kabiri veziados aquella cidade matto-grossense e os Nhambiquára do Coronel Rondon serão, pois, identicos; ou seja, grupos d'um mesmo povo.

Os Parecí usam do termo Kabiri como apellido pejorativo, a custa do qual pretendem depreciar seus parentes julgados por elles de inferior condição.

Os Nhambiquára são geralmente de estatura mediana; bem o ventre um tanto proeminente, as coxas musculosas as pernas finas e os pés bem feitos. Os seus dentes são grandes, e bem implantados. Costumam perfurar os narizes, o septo nasal

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

000

e os lobulos das orelhas. Através dos orificios feitos no nariz passam pequenos pedaços de madeira—*unitoné*; dos lobulos das orelhas fazem pender brincos feitos de pequenas contas de côco. Usam braceletes, pulseiras e perneiras tecidas com *tucúm*; e ao redor do pescoço, um collar de contas da Mbacába (*Oenocarpus bacaba, Mart.*). Vivem da caça; mas tambem plantam milho, cará (*Dioscorea*), batata (*convolvulus*), mandioca e feijão. Fumam uma folha mui semelhante ao tabaco brazileiro.

Os indios que iam ao posto dormiam sobe o chão. Este fato tem uma grande importancia, que será aumentada ainda mais, si os linguistas poderem aproximar seu idioma dos falados pelas tribus do grupo Gê. Certamente é preciso maior indagação para que se possa concluir alguma coisa; mas devemos ainda notar que não foram encontradas redes de dormir nas cabanas dos Nhambiquára, onde, em diferentes ocasiões, foi possivel examinar todo o mobiliario dessas habitações. E si forem confirmadas as opiniões de R. Schuller sobre a natureza do grupo

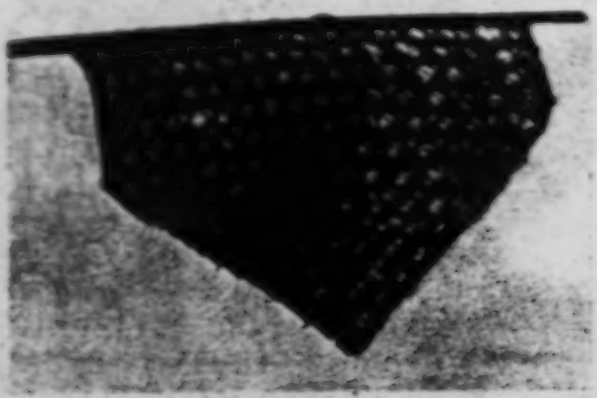


FIG. 1.—ABANO DE FOLHA DE BACÁBA.

[Bacába leaf fire-fan]

[285]
[372]
[824]

linguistico Gê, passarão os Nhambiquára a fazer parte da familia Aruak, onde já se encontram os seus vezinhos Parecís.

Na coleção etnografica recebida pelo Museu, enviada pelo Coronel Rondon, acham-se como substancias alimentares amostras de milho, feijões e de uma conserva de mandioca muito semelhante ao "Kétêhê" dos Parecí. Existem tambem na coleção algumas amostras de breu indijena. E' massa negra que amoloce e funde a temperatura muito baixa, adquirindo intenso brilho, e des prendendo cheiro resinoso; parece que é uma mistura da rezina do Oanani (*Syphonia globulifera*), e cêra. O principal emprego dessa massa é a fixação dos cordões que ligam a ponta á haste das flechas.

Os artefactos dos Nhambiquára têm um certo valor. Para a confecção dos abanos usam as folhas de bacába (Fig. 1), sendo os folíolos trançados em grupos de 4, dois

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17Nambicuara SP17

068's dois. As contas de carga têm grande especialidade e são feitas de taquára. Os seus laços são fixados no fundo e nas paredes lateraes, passando pelas axilas e pelos espaldares de fia india portadora.

Os Xhambiquára fazem ceramica de uma pasta grosseira, negra e mal cozida, na qual se acha a argila misturada á grande porção de areas (Fig. 2).

[323]

FIG. 2.—CERAMICA DOS XHAMBIQUÁRA.
[Nambicuara potter]

Para derrubar as arvores do terreno destinado á cultura, usam do machado de pedra (diabaze) fixado em um cabo de madeira, por meio de cordéis e breu (Fig. 3). O indio que consegue fazer abaixo certas arvores com este instrumento, recebe como premio uma bella pena de arara ou mutum (*Crax globulosa*), que se destina ao nariz. Esta especie de ornamentação conferida por trabalho industrial é tanto, mais notavel quanto, em geral, taes distincções, entre os selvagens do Brazil, são reservadas ao merito guerreiro.

Os arcos geralmente muito grandes, muito fortes, de madeira vermelha, são muito bem alisados. A sua secção transversal é semi-cilindrica. Seu comprimento varia, nos que existem na colecção, entre 1 m. 80, e 2 m. 38. Para obter uma flexão de 50 c. entre a corda e o arco de 2 m. 38, em experiencia feita, precisámos uma força de tracção correspondente á 80 k. verificados no dinamometro. A corda é de tucum (*Astrocaryum tucum*), e tem um diametro de 3 mm.

[313
412]

FIG. 3.—MACHADO DE PEDRA (DIABASE) PARA DERRUBAR ARVORES.
[Stone axe for felling trees]

As flechas destes indios têm armações differentes e pódemse caracterisadas pela fórma das pontas, segundo 5 tipos (Fig. 4).

O primeiro tipo tem a ponta de madeira vermelha, inteiramente lisa e cilindrica (Fig. 4, *a*); o segundo se caracterisa por um pequeno osculo fixado á ponta, dando-lhe a fórma de harpão (Fig. 4, *b*); tem a ponta de taquára em fórma de punhal com cerca de 25 c. de comprimento, as flechas do terceiro tipo (Fig. 4, *ef*); as do quarto tipo distinguem-se mui facilmente por ter a ponta achatada, e provida, lateralmente, de 11 pares de farpas. As mais curiosas das flechas dos Xhambiquára são as do quinto tipo (Fig. 4, *cd*). Sua ponta tem farpas fixadas por meio de fio de

5 Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date) 1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tucum e breu. Facto notavel: é protejida por um estojo, ou bainha, que é um tubo de taquára. No Brazil são conhecidas lanças envenenadas protejidas de um modo semelhante; mas não conheço um só exemplo de flecha deste modo revestida. A haste das flechas tem um profundo entalhe na base e é adornada com penas de mutum, cará-cará, ou arara, mantidas por fios de tucum e breu ainda.

[411]

FIG. 4.—[illegible]
[several types of arrow points]

Dois unicos instrumentos de musica tem a colecção. O primeiro é uma dupla flauta feita de tubos de taquára, com cerca de 17 c. de comprimento por 1 c. de diametro, ligados paralelamente por meio de fios, colocados proximos ás extremidades. O outro é constituido por dois discos concavos, de cabaça, de cerca de 8 c. de diametro, reunidos pelas bordas, por uma tira de "malá-malá" e breu. No disco

5 Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17Nambicuara SP17

superior existem, tres orificios. E' uma flauta mui semelhante ao "Xan-hari" dos Parecí, tocada pelo sopro do meio.

1913 Em Novembro 1910, no Juruena, não longe de um posto telegrapho, poderam ser obtidos as seguintes palavras da lingua dos Khanhiquiára:

Portuguez.	English.	Khanhiquiára.	Portuguez.	English.	Khanhiquiára.
Flecha	Arrow	Archirapiná.	Cabello	Hair —	Anihitá.
Olho	Eye	Aintá.	Dedo	Finger	Taitaná.
Braço	Arm	Tacuhitá.	Arco	Bow	Arnahitá.
Dente	Tooth	Aní.	Vem cá	Come here	Khangua.

Esse pequeno vocabulario differe um pouco do que vai adiante transcrito, o qual foi obtido em um posto avançado da Expedição, estabelecido na Serra do Norte, em 20 de Julho de 1909:

Portuguez.	English.	Khanhiquiára.	Portuguez.	English.	Khanhiquiára.
Agua	Water	Ari.	Papuçá	Bamboo	Uaxaná.
Abelhora	Gourd	Ahitsun.	Urucú	—	Nokirá.
Arara	Arara	Ara-xaxaná.	Assucar	Sugar	Nahi-xaxá.
Alazaní	—	Kalen.	Agrilho	Needle	Tatsá-xaxá.
Amigo	Friend	Tirnahitá.	Barro	Clay	Inaná.
Arroz	Rice	Iai-hitsá.	Barro	Mirah	Aruxaná.
Algodão	Cotton	Kangnitá.	Pote	Mirah	Tahi-xirá.
Balaio	—	Uiná.	Cuia	Dipper	Inihaxaná.
Bagá	—	Uiraxá.	Chapéo	Hat	Uiaxá.
Cajueiro	Cajueiro	Iai.	Cotovia	Bird	Uara.
Cavallo	Mule	Uiringá.	Patuá	Bird	Kaxá.
Cabaça	Pumpkin	Uiraá.	Cuia	Tin-cup	Kahiná.
Caipira	Tobacco	Nanná.	Cigarro	Cigar	Kihiná.
Cannibal	Rival	Anhiná.	Café	—	Ishiná.
Cão	—	Kaiuná.	Cabello	Hair	Tsaihihaná.
Colher	Necklace	Airnihitá.	Dente	Tooth	Oná.
Cavallo	Horse	Nan-xiná.	Escada	Eye	Enaná.
Carregá	Ribbon	Ua-xaxá.	Pau	Knife	Nahirá-xiu-xaxá.
Bahéo para a colheita	Hamahoe	Kanaxa.	Feijão	Bean	Kaihiná.
Espingarda	Gun	Kahiná.	Tabaco	Tobacco	Nanná.
Farinha	Flour	Orihaxaná.	Cuia	Basket	Aihá.
Faca	Knife	Kanaxá.	Machado de	Stone Axe	Iná
Cabeleira	Grasshopper	Kahihá.	pedra		
Machado	Axe	Uaxaxá.	Machina	Machine	Inaná.
Milho	Maize	Oxinpsiná.	Mulher	Woman, wife	Ahinihaná.
Mel de	Water melon	Hirá.	Nariz	Nose	Aiuxiná.
Mel	Honey	Tsaihiná.	Olho	Eye	Oxinná.
Onça	Bear	Oxaxaxiná.	Orelha pau	Nose-ornament	Uihiná.
Ovo	Egg	Kahihaxaxaná.	Orelha de		
Orelha de lebre superior	Wood, cross mark for upper lip	Inná.	Rede (gui-jaus	Hammock	Aihiná.
			Pena de ave	Bird's feather	Aruxiná.
Pilão	A mortar	Nuxi.	Portuguez	Bobber tree	Uiná.
Pulso	Slave	Kaxaxaná.	Tucum	—	Jaxná.

Note.—As palavras indígenas foram escritas de accordo com a fonetica portugueza. E' dos mesmos explicado: S.S.X.C. como no Portuguez. E mesmo lembrado.

4 [Two slightly differing vocabularies of this tribe were recorded in 1910, the second by Rondon, published at the Portuguese. It should be consulted, as also Koch-Grünberg's list.—Ed.]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galera, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákoré and Ouáhaméré to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guayacurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazinití and Uainarí of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriá-inái, Tahuru-inái and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozinini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Colorçal and Jauré. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the latter they pass in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of conchas. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and head collars made from the fruit of the tucumán. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-etsiri and the Amuésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the *Khóbé* of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native lime or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Cauixí and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Maká-maká palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or motóm feather for a head-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike persons among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 60 to 2m. 20 in length. To draw an arrow of 80cm. between the larger bow and the string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of cuhúnuh, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Maká-maká coral bean. The upper disk has three orifices.

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts . . . . . [illegible]

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

000

American Anthropologist

NEW SERIES

ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND THE PHILADELPHIA ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

RALPH LINTON, Editor
F. H. H. ROBERTS, JR., MELVILLE JACOBS,
AND HARRY L. SHAPIRO, Associate Editors

VOLUME 45

MENASHA, WISCONSIN, U. S. A.

PUBLISHED BY

THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1943

[title page]

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

[2] [607] THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

[131] [133] The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. [117] Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Roudon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

[601] The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister." Termi-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ing to the children of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers, a man calls all his female cross cousins (to one of whom he is or will be married) "wife," and all his male cross cousins "brother-in-law;" conversely, a woman calls all her male cross cousins (among whom her actual or potential husband is numbered) "husband" and all her female cross cousins "sister-in-law." No terminological difference is made between actual and potential spouses. The members of the next younger generation are similarly divided into "sons" and "daughters" (Ego's own children and parallel nephews and nieces) and "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law" (Ego's cross nephews and nieces), since these are or may be the spouses of his children.

The system is somewhat complicated by secondary distinctions made between elder and younger siblings and by the fact that another kind of marriage ——between a maternal uncle and his niece—is also practised. This new pattern usually appears in the polygynous unions which, in the prevailingly monogamous Nambikuara society, are the privilege of the chief. This point needs some elaboration. Nambikuara polygyny results from the fact that, subsequent to a first marriage having all the characteristics of the common (i.e., the cross cousin) form, a man may contract one or more unions of somewhat different nature. Actually, the position of his new wives is not the same as that of his original one, and, although constituting real marriages, the later unions are nevertheless psychologically and economically different from the first. The atmosphere in which they evolve is less conjugal and more like a kind of amorous friendship. The younger wives cooperate more extensively in the numerous tasks imposed on their husband because of his special social obligations. Furthermore, the activities of these women do not conform as closely as those of the first wife to the general pattern of the sexual division of labor. Finally, they are younger and are classified, in relation to the earlier wife, as "daughters" or "nieces." Such "oblique" unions (that is, between members of different generations) may also take place in monogamous marriages, but less frequently. Although their occurrence among the Nambikuara is an important point in our demonstration, the consequent modifications of the kinship system are not essential for the purposes of this article and we may therefore omit further mention of them. Our present observations will be limited to the special implications of the brother-in-law relationship which is expressed through the reciprocal terms *aukkwa* (Eastern dialect), *kwaiky* (Central and Western dialect) or *iápa* (Northern dialect).

It must be emphasized immediately that this useful translation of the native term is not in any way accurate. While the *aukkwa* is a man's male cross cousin and also his potential brother-in-law, since the persons calling each other *aukkwa* (or *kwaiky* or *iápa*) call each other's sisters "wife," it is only in particular instances that one or more of the individuals involved is, in fact, the wife's brother or the sister's husband or both. The meaning of the term *aukkwa*

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

607 is consequently much wider than "brother-in-law" as we understand it, including as it does approximately half the masculine members of a man's generation; the rest, of course, receive the name "brother" (consanguineous or
[601] classificatory). It should be noted that in the Nambikuara kinship system men alone have brothers-in-law and, conversely, women alone have sisters-in-law.

602 Only in the case of brothers-in-law are the Nambikuara conscious of a
617 link between a special type of behavior and the position occupied by a kinsman in the relationship system. Generally speaking, there are no rules of avoidance or of privileged familiarity between particular kinds of relatives. The relations with the spouse's parents do not differ substantially from those with the parallel uncle and aunt and, although it is true that relations between consanguineous or classificatory siblings are rather reserved, the natives are unable to define this diffuse behavior. As a matter of fact, while siblings and parallel cousins do not avoid each other, they do not joke or even talk together unless there is a special reason for doing so. Sisters-in-law, on the contrary, comport themselves very freely. They laugh and joke together and render each other small services, such as rubbing each other's back with urucu paste. And, more especially, exceptional relations are revealed when one passes to the brothers-in-law.

607 We have already mentioned the partial polygyny which exists in the group.
838 The chief or shaman periodically withdraws several of the youngest and prettiest women from the regular cycle of marriages; consequently, young men often find it difficult to marry, at least during adolescence, since no potential spouse is available. The resulting problem is solved in Nambikuara society by homosexual relations, which receive the rather poetical name *tomindigę ki'ondigę*—"sham love." Relations of this kind are frequent among young men and are more publicly displayed than heterosexual ones. Unlike most adults, the partners do not seek the isolation of the bush, but settle close to the camp fire in front of their amused neighbors. Although the source of occasional jokes, such relations are considered childish and no one pays much attention to them. We did not discover whether the partners aim at achieving complete sexual gratification or whether they limit themselves to such sentimental effusions and erotic behavior as most frequently characterize the relations between spouses. In any event, the point is that homosexual relations occur only between *male cross cousins*.

We never learned whether or not the same relations continue to exist between adult cross cousins; it does not seem likely. Nevertheless, the freedom and demonstrativeness displayed by brothers-in-law toward one another are not characteristic of the relations between brothers or between the members of any other class of relatives. One often sees among the Nambikuara (who, in fact, like to indulge in expressions of affection) two or three men, married and

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always 607 838

tarûtę ialâsiętę

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case. 607 571

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our fieldwork we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabânę* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarândę* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern; and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group. 184 571 621 197 731

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

571
607

A more fundamental problem raised by the union of the two groups, namely the nature of the relations to be established between their respective members, was solved by the common statement that all the male members of the Sabánę group were to be acknowledged as the "brothers-in-law" (*tarútę*) of the male adults of the Tarúndę group, and, conversely, that the latter were to be acknowledged as "brothers-in-law" (*iópą*) by the former. Consequently, all the "wives" belonging to one group became the "sisters" of the "husbands" of the other, and the "sisters-in-law" of the latters' wives; and all children of both sexes in one group became the potential spouses of the children in the other. As a result, these two groups will be welded into a single consanguineous unit within two generations.

The conscious and systematic nature of this solution cannot be doubted. When asked for their kinship relation to any male adult of the allied group, the male informants, irrespective of the group to which they themselves belonged, never gave a different answer, but always emphasized that the question was meaningless since all the Sabánę men were their *tarútę*, or all Tarúndę men their *iópą*. On the other hand, no one seemed to have a clear idea of the exact relationship between the women, the children, or the adults and the children of the two groups. Occasionally the correct theoretical relationship could be deduced; more frequently only the group name was given in reply to our queries: She is calling the other one "Sabánę"—or "Tarúndę." Thus it may be assumed that the system was conceived of and applied according to (and exclusively according to) the *tarútę* (or *iópą*) relationship. This inference is rather important because, of course, the same result could have been achieved by other means.

If the sole aim of the system had been to ensure inter-marriage, it could have been brought about equally well in two other ways; perhaps we should say that two different interpretations might have been made of the same phenomenon. In the first place, the women might have been regarded as "sisters-in-law"; or, in the second place, all the men of one group and all the women of the other might have entered a brother-sister relationship. In both cases the result would have been the same as in the accepted interpretation, in which, indeed, these relationships are implied though not expressed. Nevertheless, the solution itself was actually based on the relationship between the male and his allied collaterals, the consequences of which must now be examined.

571
607
582

Two of the three possible interpretations implied the consideration of women; only one was purely masculine, and it is the latter which was adopted by the natives. The reason for the choice is obvious since the problem to be solved was a purely political one, concerning the chieftainship, which is exercised by men, rather than the normal mechanism of filiation, the pattern of which seems to be matrilineal. In a simple system of cross cousin marriage, such as that of the Nambikuara, the brother-in-law may be either the matri-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units.

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires.

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men.

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast.

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avunculate marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter.

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two:

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

114 In questions of relationship they never use the word *ete* (true) since they call their
171 father's brothers "father," their brothers' sons "son," and their father's brothers' sons "brother"; when they wish to designate their actual father or son, they say *zeruba zemonhangara* "my father who engendered me," or, for a son, *zeraira zeremimonhange* "my son whom I engendered." I never heard an Indian call his wife *zeremireco ete*, but simply *zeremireco* or *zeracig* "mother of my children," and I never heard a woman refer to her husband as *zemenete* "real husband," but simply *zemena* or *zemembira ruba* "father of my children." They use these terms indifferently for their husband or lover. If the husband calls one of his wives *zeremireco ete*, he means the most esteemed or best loved wife and she is often the last one he took.[2]

This text also shows that the Tupi encountered a difficulty in their kinship system, namely, how to distinguish the classificatory parents or children from the consanguineous ones. This stresses the structural similarity between their kinship system and that of the Nambikuara, since the latter met with the same problem. Apparently the Tupi, like the Nambikuara, felt no need for special terms, but when it was necessary, made comments based on physiological considerations. When the Nambikuara are asked to point out the real status
851 of their consanguineous children, they add to the name for "son" or "daugh-
842 ter" another word, the meaning of which is "child" or "little one." The physiological implication of this new term is perfectly clear, since is is ordinarily used to designate newly born animals, while the former terms are applied only to relationships within the human family. Complementary indications regarding the assimilation of the father's brother to a classificatory father may be found in Soares de Sousa.[3]

114 The old authors give numerous examples of cross cousin marriage and of
171 marriages between uncles and nieces. Here again Anchieta will be our main source:

Though many Indians have several nieces, and very attractive indeed, nevertheless they do not use them as wives. However, brothers have such authority over sisters that they consider their nieces as belonging to them and that they are entitled to marry them and to use them ad libitum if they wish. In the same way they give their sisters to some and refuse them to others. Taraguaj, an important chief of the village of Jaribiatiba in the plain of San Vicente, had two wives one of whom was his niece, his sister's daughter.[4]

Both types of marriage are treated as symmetrical institutions in the same document: ". . . because the fathers give them the daughters and the brothers the sisters. . . ."[5] Furthermore, cross cousin marriage is referred to by Staden:

---

[2] *Informação dos Costumes dos Indios do Brasil* (Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 8, 1846, I 2da Serie), p. 259.

[3] *Roteiro do Brasil* (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 14, 1851), pp. 216-217.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 259. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

"They make presents also of their daughters and sisters . . . ",[5] by Soares de Sousa,[7] Claude d'Abbeville,[8] and others. With a sound sociological feeling, Anchieta establishes a link between the custom of a man marrying his sister's daughter and the recognition of the male as the only one responsible for conception, a theory also shared by the Nambikuara. On this matter, Anchieta writes:

They call the brothers' daughters "daughter" and treat them as such. Therefore they would not have sexual intercourse with them, since they believe that the true kinship link has its origin in the father, whom they consider the only agent, while the mother, according to them, is merely a container in which the children are formed. . . . For that reason too, they use the sisters' daughters "ad copulam" without sin. . . . For the same reason, the father will give his daughters in marriage to their uncles, their mother's brothers, a thing which, until now, was never done with the nephew who is the brother's son. . . ."[9]

Cross cousin marriage seems to have a very wide distribution throughout South America.[10] But among the Tupi avuncular marriage in particular aroused the interest of early travellers. For instance, Léry notices: "As to the uncle, he marries his niece";[11] and Thevet: "As soon as they are born, the maternal uncle lifts them from the ground and keeps them for his future wives."[12] Magalhaes de Gandavo expresses himself as follows:

It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, the daughters of their brothers or sisters; these are considered their legitimate and true wives. Fathers of the women cannot refuse them, nor can any persons other than their uncles marry them.[13]

But this statement seems to be doubly inaccurate. For other references to the same phenomenon one may turn to Nobrega,[14] Vasconcellos,[15] and Soares de Sousa.[16]

---

[5] Hans Staden, *The true History of his Captivity* (Ed. Malcolm Letts, London, Vol. II, Ch. 18), p. 160.

[7] *Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil em 1587*, nova edição (São Paulo, 1938. Cap. CLVII).

[8] *Histoire de la Mission . . .* (Paris, 1614).

[9] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 250-254. The same interpretation is made by Manoel da Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil (1549-1560), Cartas Jesuiticas I* (Publ. da Academia Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1931).

[10] For instance, Boston gives clear evidence of its occurrence among the Antillean Caribs: "First cousins whom we call father's brother's sons call each other 'brothers' and the father's brothers are also called 'fathers.' The children of brothers do not marry, but they may contract marriages with the children of their father's sisters." *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-Français* (Auxerre, 1856), p. 11.

[11] *Voyage faict en la Terre du Bresil*, ed. Gaffarel. (Paris, 1880. Vol. 2, ch. 17), p. 83.

[12] *Cosmographie Universelle*, p. 932.

[13] Pedro de Magalhaens de Gandavo, *The Histories of Brazil* (The Cortes Society, New York, 1922. II, ch. 10), p. 80.

[14] *Cartas do Brasil. Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

[15] *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil* (Lisboa, 1865. I, 42), p. 133.

[16] *Tratado*, pp. 157, 182.

6. Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

595 171 Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171 114 The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *chetouasap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*compérage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *ateur-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171 607 582 One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Lafone Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), pp. 421–440; Kirchhoff, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Brazil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 109.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 169–170.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sisters. Cross cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross cousins. (The same holds for the giving of a daughter by a father.) The potential or actual brothers-in-law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of the brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikuara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations.

We may now summarize our observations. The ancient Tupi acknowledged two forms of marriage; namely, cross cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practised in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by his sister's husband. In both cases the marriage is the result of an agreement between cross cousins, actually or potentially brothers-in-law—which is the definition we retained as a suitable translation of the Nambikuara terms *tarúṭę* and *iṓpę*. Now, this special "brother-in-law" relationship could be established, under the name of *chetouasap* (Evreux) or *coton-assap* (Léry), between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie, or else only more remotely related, or even between strangers (as was the case of the French and the Indians). The reason for such a step was to ensure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. One recognizes here the same process described in the analysis of the relations between the newly joined groups, Sabáṇę and Tarúṇḍę.[*]

[*] The widespread South American custom of using kinship terms to express social relationships is attested to by Von den Steinen (*Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), who was called "elder brother" by the Bakairi and "maternal uncle" by the Mehinako. We have just established the equivalence of the terms "maternal uncle" and "brother-in-law" in a system of cross cousin marriage combined with avuncular marriage. Regarding the use of the term "elder brother," two observations should be made. First, in a kinship system such as that of the Bororo, not far distant from the Xingu, each generation is to some extent split into two layers, the elder half being assimilated to the younger half of the generation above and the younger half to the elder half of the generation below. In such a system an "elder brother" may well be a true uncle and a potential brother-in-law.

The use of the term "brother" for social purposes may also be understood in another way. Among the Nambikuara, there is a special term, sometimes used to designate a sibling of the same sex, the meaning of which is "the other one." This term is applied not only to describe a familial relationship, but is also used to name objects belonging to a class which includes several units (for instance, the posts of the huts or the pipes of the whistles). Friendly groups may also consider themselves to be "brothers" and the exclamation, "You are no more my brother!" may often be heard in discussions between angry adversaries.

This suggests that the term "brother" possesses, in addition to its kinship significance, a very wide meaning, both logical and moral. Nevertheless, when the technical problem of establishing new social relationships is put up to the Indians, it is not the vague "brotherhood" which is called upon, but the more complex mechanism of the "brother-in-law" relationship.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

171 The objection may be raised that the old authors have interpreted inaccurate observations in the light of European data. Since we shall suggest the use of the word *compérage*—borrowed from the French—to identify the institution, which we consider to be an authentic aboriginal one, it will be useful to discuss briefly this aspect of the problem.

Without any doubt there is a striking analogy between the facts related above and the Latin-European institution of compérage. Originally the *compère* and the *commère* were connected with each other, and both with the child's parents, through the mystical link of parrainage. However, the relation was very soon secularized in all small rural communities, or rather, wherever the familial structures were of greater importance than the social ones; it was then used to establish an artificial link of kinship, or, more precisely, as in the case among the Nambikuara, to express in kinship terms a purely external relationship of spatial promiscuity.* The stranger or newcomer was adopted by means of the reciprocal appellation of *compère* or *commère* which he received from—and returned to—his male adult contemporaries. On the other hand, since the stranger usually assimilated himself to the group by marrying within his new community, the terms *compère* and "brother-in-law" soon became synonymous, so that men allied by marriage usually called each other only by the first term. In all small communities of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the *compère* or *compadre* is an actual or a potential brother-in-law. No doubt in certain regions of Central and South America the analogy between the European and aboriginal institution has helped the latter to become fixed and modernized. Thus, in Mexico the primitive institution of the *moiés*, that is, of the heads of families bound to exchange gifts at certain periods, now expresses itself by means of the "compadre" relationship, the Spanish term providing an easy translation of the earlier Otomi.† The formal analogy between the institutions cannot hide, however, the fact that they are really opposite in character. In Latin-Mediterranean society, the formerly mystical and, actually, social link of compérage may be changed, through marriage, into a real kinship tie. Among the ancient Tupi, as among the Nambikuara, the actual kinship provides the type of link used to establish wider relations.

174 171 174 This being admitted, there are two strong reasons why our authorities cannot have constructed a pseudo-institution based on a European pattern from inconsistent observations. In the first place, men as well acquainted with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry could not have assimilated a relationship whose first consequence and probable aim was to per-

* The same sociological derivation is expressed in English through the etymological origin of the word "gossip" (god-sib).

† Jacques Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1937).

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

mit new forms of marriage to the relationship between godfathers and parents, the main purpose of which, especially since the thirteenth century, had been to impose new and very rigid restrictions upon marriage. At the time they were writing, the matter was of immediate interest and was being discussed by the Council of Trent, where the earlier rules were somewhat mitigated. But there is a much stronger argument: From the moment of the arrival of the European missionaries both institutions, the European and the aboriginal, actually co-existed among the Indians, at least among those who were baptized, and neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted the Christian "god-father" relationship in terms of the native "brother-in-law" institution. On the contrary, and much more logically, since the new relationship placed restrictions on marriage, they considered it as a modality of the relation of paternity; thus, they assimilated the "god-father" to a classificatory "father."

They [the newly baptized children] regarded their god-fathers as their true fathers and called them *Cheroa*, that is to say, "my father," and the French called them *Cheoire*, that is to say, "my son," and the little girls *Cheagire*, "my daughter." . . .*

Therefore, it cannot be doubted that the *compérage* is quite distinct from its European parallel.

A sufficient number of convergent indications have been recorded so that we may consider the outstanding character of the "brother-in-law" relationship a specific feature of South American sociology, constituting the core of an original institution of *compérage* which appears clearly among the Nambikuara and which, as suggested by the documents presented in this article, may formerly have had a much wider distribution on the continent.

New School for Social Research,
New York, New York

* Yves d'Evreux, *loc. cit.*, II, I, p. 236.

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:
[illegible] 68

T: Roquette-Pinto E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambiquara SP17
(ca. 1912)

000

Rondonia

By E. Roquette-Pinto

Sao Paulo: 1938
Biblioteca Pedagogica Brasileira
Brasiliana, Vol. 39

Translation by A. Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1969

[Title Page]

7: Roquette-Pinto--i E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

EDITOR'S NOTE

The spelling of Portuguese words and of those Indian terms which have become part of the Brazilian language has been changed in accordance with the 1943 orthography reform. All other aboriginal terms have been left untouched, including the entire word lists, owing to uncertain phonetic rendition.

It may only be stated with a certain measure of certainty that (´) marks stress, (^) indicates closed vowel quality, and (ua) stands for English wa. For other cues, see author's notes on pp. (..48-49).

Tribal and geographical names have been rendered in the current U. S. manner.

7: Roquette-Pinto--ii E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambiçuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

000

BRASILIANA
(Brazilian Pedagogical Library)

Series 5
Volume 39

E. Roquette-Pinto

RONDONIA

Fourth Edition

Companhia Editora Nacional
São Paulo
1938

[This translation covers pp. 175-190; 211-287; 307-318; 322-328; 333-334; 348-353. It contains footnotes by Alvaro Osorio de Almeida; Raimundo Lopes; Alberto José de Sampaio; Heloisa Albert Torres.]

?: Roquette-Pinto E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

LIST OF PLATES

600

Page

Nambicuara Indian 2A
Ualdnirida--Indian of the Juina River
Serra do Norte Indian
Nambicuara Indian

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte 8A
Skin disease of the Serra do Norte Indians (unretouched photograph)
Nambicuara Indian
Tawite Nambicuara

Tagnani mother and daughter 13A
Tagnani mother and son
Tagnani Indian
Serra do Norte Indians

At the house door -- Village on the Juina River 18A
Cocozu hut -- Juina River
Nambicuara village

Hunting shelters--Juina River Indians 25A
Serra do Norte Indians

Indian house--Festa da Bandeira (Carumi) River 28B
Nambicuara village

Nambicuara at Três Buritis 28A
Nambicuara children

Village on the Juina River 31B
Indian footbridge--Juina River

Ualintacu Indians--Post at Campos Novos 35A
Serra do Norte Indian
Cocozu couple
Anunse Nambicuara (Nuleke's father)

7: Roquette-Pinto E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambiquara SP17 (ca. 1912)

LIST OF PLATES (Cont'd)

Page

Cocozu Nambiquara 388
Nambiquara Indian stringing his bow

Amniae women 438
Tawite camp at Três Buritis

Juina River Indians 478
Juina River Indian

Serra do Norte Indians at the Telegraph Station of Utiariti 508
Paressi and Nambiquara at the Utiariti Station

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig.		Page
14.	Bāanêcêdêtā--First stage of the Serra do Norte skin disease (sketch)	6A
16.	Framework of a Serra do Norte Indian house	22A
17.	Tomaru--Grater of the Serra do Norte Indians	22C
18.	Mortar of the Serra do Norte Indians	22D
19.	Hikauti--Wooden knife of the Tawite Indians	22E
20.	Implement made from a piece of iron by the Serra do Norte Indians	23A
21.	Axe made from a steel cleaver by the Serra do Norte Indians	24A
22.	Stone axe of the Serra do Norte Indians	24B
23.	Barbecue of the Tagnani and Tawite	25B
24.	Clay pot of the Serra do Norte Indians*	25C
25.	Container to protect feather ornaments	25D
26.	Haitzū--Firestick of the Serra do Norte Indians	25A
27.	Manner of preserving feather cords	30A
28.	Tobacco gourd	30B
29.	Cotton arm band	31A
30.	Etā--Serra do Norte Indian cigarettes	32A
31.	Solanum fruit used by the Serra do Norte Indians	33A
32.	Serra do Norte Indian wearing the enadjū or jaguar hide helmet	33B
33.	Irunguinindê--necklace made with the seeds of a Sapotacea (Lucuma sp.)	34A
34.	Bamboo tube containing a dark powder (paricá?)	34B
35.	Necklaces of nacre discs and monkey teeth	35B
36.	Float of muriti stalks used by the Serra do Norte Indians when crossing rivers. (After a sketch by Mr. G. Kuhlmann.)	36A

*Today, the [National] Museum owns several large ceramic vessels brought from the Serra do Norte. The piece illustrated here deserves special mention, for it was the first one obtained in 1909.

T.Roquette-Pinto E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

LIST OF FIGURES (Cont'd)

Fig.		Page
37.	Trident fishing arrow	38B
38.	Halaxtê. Serra do Norte comb	38A
39.	Straw container used by the Serra do Norte Indians to store Cucurbitacea seeds (Lagenaria?)	40A
40.	Cotton thread (kondiê) wrapped in leaves	40B
41.	Surgical instrument of the Serra do Norte Indians	41A
42.	Pendant of tucan feathers	41B
43.	(Amrolatrous?) Tagnani dance (diagram).	43A
44.	Shell necklace	44A
45.	Dodeiê--Necklace with limbs of coleopters	46A
46.	Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians	46B
47.	Painted gourd	47A
48.	Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians	48A
49.	Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians	48A
50.	Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians	49A
51.	Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians	50A
52.	Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians	51A
53.	Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians	52A
54.	Serra do Norte bow and its cross section	53A
55.	Aniecú--Arrow with smooth cylindrical tip	54A
56.	Ilaeliçú--Bamboo-tipped arrow	54A
57.	Alá-uinçú--Serra do Norte arrow	54A
58.	Feathering on Serra do Norte arrows.	55A
59.	Aieraçu--Bird arrow	55A
60.	Poisoned arrow (arukirinaçú) with protective sheath	56A

000

LIST OF FIGURES (Cont'd)

Fig.		Page
61.	Clubs found among the Serra do Norte Indians	56B
62.	Pot containing pitch	56C
--	A. Arezi mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians	57A
	B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).	
	C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems	
	D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.	
63.	Fire sticks protected against the rain	58A
64.	Gdaretatú--Serra do Norte spindle	58B
65.	Oradaikruzê--Serra do Norte bracelet	59A
66.	Outline of an jalaçú, straw cape of the Serra do Norte Indians	59B
--	A. Pattern of basketry made with the flexible stem of a Desmoncus	59C
	B. Details of nose plume	
	C. & D. Weaving pattern of palm leaf fan.	
67.	Hait-teataçú--Nose flute of the Serra do Norte Indians	59D
--	Serra do Norte Indian playing the hait-teataçú (nose flute). (1) Blowing hole. (2-3) Holes controlled with the middle fingers.	60A
--	Serra do Norte diadem--Serra do Norte feather ornament	60B
68.	Imitation of a straw hat made by a Juruena River Indian	60C
--	Nose ornaments	61A
70.	Kaiguêtazú--Double flute of the Serra do Norte	62A
--	Louse of the Serra do Norte Indians	64A

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

[175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups:[2] Cocozu, Anunse, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauité]. Among the Uainaca, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A and B.

[2][See pp 46-67, category 116. --Analyst]
[1][Nambicuara sub-groups-- Analyst]

141 Table C[illegible] provides the data furnished by the pelvic measurements taken on some of the women, which indicate that the pelvic diameters are small. This is either what obstetricians call a "slender pelvis" [*bacia gracil*], or else it is a normal variant of the so-called *aequabiliter justo minor* (aequabiliter) found in our clinics in its aberrant form.

Women with such small pelves are [generally] short in stature; Nambicuara women are 1.47 meters in height as compared with 1.62 meters for the men.

Since as a general rule the stature of women is some seven per cent shorter than that of men, the height of Nambicuara women should be about 1.51 meters.

Roughly, it may be said that [Nambicuara] women are twelve centimeters shorter than [Nambicuara] men. In Table C, however, we find some types which exceed this average.

Some interesting facts were provided by an examination of [female] body proportions carried out on a few individuals who presented a configuration of the most characteristic physical traits found in Nambicuara women. [Page of plates 176] [177] The resulting data are indispensable to the task of comparative physical anthropology.

The height of the head is slightly more than six times the height of the body (6.5).

The cerebral segment of the face and the respiratory segment are identical [in size]; the digestive segment is larger than the others.

The distance between the eyes (internal palpebral breadth) is longer than the lid opening; thus the eyes are set far apart due to the width of the nasal root.

141 142 The trunk is quadrangular, without lumbar depression and without a trace of steatopygia. The breasts of pubescent girls are small and cup-shaped, according to the Ploss-Bartels classification. In mothers they are large and not always widely separated; the base of the nipple is cupped outward, and the teat is erect. Among some of the mothers, the space between the breasts is half the diameter of one of the breasts.

The mid-point of the body is located above the pubic symphisis.

The jugulo-xiphoid distance (from the sternal furculum to the

1 [See p. 68, category 116.--Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--2A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[176]

Nambicuara Indian

Uaiaiirigia--Indian of the Juina River

Serra do Norte Indian

Nambicuara Indian

141 xiphoid appendix) is half the xiphoid-pubic distance; thus the height
142 of the abdomen is twice the height of the chest. In turn, the xiphoid-umbilical distance is twice the length of the umbilical-pubic line. This means that the navel of Nambicuara women lies closer to their pubis.

Pinard has already commented on the practical importance of these ratios in the semeiology of pregnancy. He showed how wrong it would be to apply to all races the research data that concern only a few.

I saw several pregnant Nambicuara women. The pregnancy was already in an advanced stage, but they would not allow any serious examination and I can state nothing about it.

147 [178] It is relevant to point out, however, that none of them exhibited those intradermic furrows caused by the forced distension of the abdomen "pregnancy weals") which occur frequently among white women.

In any case, the skin does not always have the same coefficient of extensibility.

The Indians' skin is endowed with special properties of which we know little. Martius depicted in his Atlas a Miranya Indian whose pierced nostrils had stretched so much that he could wrap them around the ears on either side.

The lips of the Botocudo provide another example of this.

141 Among the males, the three chief segments of the head follow
142 the same ratio. The digestive segment is larger than the other two.

Again the height of the chest is half the height of the abdomen. The same ratios found among the women between the chest and the abdomen and between the parts of the latter are found among the men.

In view of these thoracic-abdominal ratios and of the distance from the navel to the pubis, it may be said that the Nambicuara man has a woman's trunk; and to carry further the study of these interesting proportions, it would not be wrong to assert that among these people the adult retains certain morphological characteristics peculiar to childhood, such as the location of the navel.

141 The mid-point of the body is located differently according
142 to sex: in the men it lies at the lower edge of the public symphisis.

The lower limbs of the women are longer; the men have a longer trunk. The women tend to be macroskelic, the men brachyskelic. We may note here that data obtained by Alex Hrdlicka among adolescents in North America proved the opposite to be the case among white populations.

The stature of the men is seven and a half times the height of the head; this follows the Greek rule; it is an interesting fact. The distance between the eyes is longer than the lid opening; the total height of the face is slightly greater than the length of the hand. The hand is about one tenth the total height of the body, the foot one eighth. The arm and forearm are roughly the same length. Mestchalkoff's "Mongolian eye" is rarely found.

Among the Indians of the Serra do Norte ["Northern Mountain Range"], premature loss of the incisors does not occur as it does among the Parexi.

145 According to my observations among some boys and youths, tooth-cutting does not follow the pattern usually found in the white race; the permanent teeth seem to appear at a different age.

Among whites, as a general rule, the dental arches are filled out as follows:

—	—	∧	o	o	O	O	O
8	9	1	10	11	7	13	18

1/A

The first molar appears at the age of seven, the median incisors at eight, the lateral incisors at nine. The first premolar is cut at ten, the second at eleven; the canines emerge at twelve, the second molar at thirteen. The wisdom tooth or third molar appears at the age of eighteen, fragile and useless, [180], if it does not remain embedded in the gum through life.

Indeed the most interesting facts about the dentition of these Indians relate to the wisdom teeth, for more than once I noted their presence in youths who had certainly not yet reached their eighteenth year.

1/A [Should read 12 in light of explanation below.- Analyst]

165 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

These molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no more ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their
165 digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[172] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the
[314] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their
169 intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar piorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[313]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots
[313] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

64 But when I examined those individuals whose photographs [sic] are shown here, I verified the existence of a true skin disease, similar to several others which are found among our aborigines.

The disease appears at all ages; it was found among nursing children as well as old people, and both sexes are affected.

It appears to be more common among the Indians of the Juruena and Jauru rivers. The Parecí, their near neighbors, do not know the disease; and I did not hear of any case among the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

No part of the body is spared except the scalp. The nails are exempt, and the face is seldom affected.

The disease is not rare, and it is easy to see traces of its presence on many of the Indians. However, I believe that the intensity of its development is quite variable, for I could verify its well defined symptoms in only eight out of some 400 Indians.

This skin disorder has three successive clinical stages, and one individual may exhibit lesions belonging to different stages. Some scabs show transitional forms.

In its first stage the disease produces very small cysts full of a serous liquid and placed in linear, circular and concentric arrangements. In-between, the skin looks healthy; the cysts [192] are not surrounded by any visible inflamed zone. There is no heat or redness. [Fig. 14]

Then the cysts grow slightly and dry up, forming scaly crusts which follow the contours of the early pattern. But the circular shapes are no longer clear, for the initial lesions have converged in many areas across the stretches of healthy skin. This is how the large exfoliating scabs are formed which characterize the second stage of the disease.

The third stage is brought about in the same manner. The scabs develop side by side; they eventually unite, and the scaling becomes generalized. In addition, the scabs grow considerably in size as the final stage of the disease reaches its climax.

The affected person becomes repulsive.

One Indian woman had a multitude of scales standing all over her body, like strips of dark tissue paper fastened to the skin at one end.

7; Roquette-Pinto--6A E-4, 5 (no date) 1918 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1917)

164 [182]

Báanêcêdútú--First stage of the Serra do Norte skin disease (sketch).

?: Roquette-Pinto--? E-4,5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[64] These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[757] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet [278] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113]

1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

7: Roquette-Pinto--S E -4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Indians are as well protected against the actinic action of the sun as if they were wearing the thick clothing of the Sahara tribes. Because they are nude, however, the air circulates freely around their body, reducing the heat and hastening the evaporation of perspiration.

"If exposed to sunlight, in accordance with the property described above, urucu absorbs only slightly the heat of the sun, reflecting the red rays and also the heat rays. For this reason the white man or one with slight pigmentation, when smeared with urucu, does not perspire excessively as does the Negro under the same circumstances.

"In view of the properties ascribed to urucu by our experiments, and of the widespread usage of this dye among the Indians of tropical America, we believe that it should be considered not as merely ornamental but as an effective means of protection against tropical light and heat."

[184] The manifestations and evolution of the disease lead us to believe that it is a dermatomycosis. The habitat of the pathogenic fungus is probably to be found in the soil. This would explain why the personnel of the Line, who have lived among the Nambicuara for years, have not yet contracted the disease. This also applies to the Paresi, who are now in contact with the diseased Indians. Both groups, unlike the Nambicuara, make use of hammocks and never sleep on the ground.

To this day, no microscopic examination of the scales has been made, and I am not responsible for this failure. In 1912 the Indians would not allow us to collect the necessary materials; they were still suspicious.

164 The aboriginal name for this disease in the Serra do Norte is báanêcêdúrú. I believe that the word refers to the curvilinear shape [125] of the lesions, for báanêndúrú is the generic name given by these Indians to the spirally constructed gastropod shells.

The above will suffice to indicate that this pathological manifestation had not yet been described among Brazilian aborigines.

Some of the skin diseases peculiar to our Indians bear no similarity to the báanêdêdúrú of the Serra do Norte.

The following diseases may be disregarded at once [as possibly related forms]: yaws [pian], mange [curub], pinhã, munga, pareb, xerodermae (ichthyoses), leishmanioses, etc.

[Page of plates p. 184.]

[185] Pereb is the Tupian name for commonplace skin boils such as those caused by staphylococcus.

Pinhã was found among some Amazon Indians by Martius. It is probably a kind of furuncular disease. Martius considered it a sort of anthrax.

Yaws is now well known; as far back as 1558 it was admirably described by Thévet, and in 1578 by Jean de Léry. In 1613 the learned priest Yves d'Evreux masterfully pointed out its likeness to the "Naples disease." The Indians of the Serra do Norte exhibit nothing of the sort.

It should also be noted that they do not know leprosy or the leishmaniosic sores which afflict the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

I did not see a single Indian afflicted with malignant sores [feridas bravas], while the infirmary at São Luiz de Cáceres overflowed with victims of the disease who came from the camp.

Nor does the Nambicuara disease bear any similarity to the skin disorder of the "Antisian" Indians (Mosetene, Tacana, Yuracare) who live on the eastern watersheds of the Andes in Peru and Bolivia.

The hombres overos, as the Spaniards named these Indians, exhibit large, irregular, whitish patches of unclear contours, located chiefly on the joints.

D'Orbigny states that these spots never have a grainy appearance; that children are spared; and that the skin of those affected remains completely smooth.

7: Roquette-Pinto-[illegible] E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[184]

K4
142
302

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

Skin disease of the Serra do Norte Indians (unretouched photograph)

Nambicuara Indian

Tawite Nambicuara

164 The disease of the overos is in fact equivalent to the vaurana
[171] of our Tupian Indians, and actually the same as the "Carate disease"
of Colombia, the "spotted disease," lota in Central America or
purupuru in the Amazon.

164 [186] Spix and Martius at the beginning of the last century,
114 and after them other naturalists, found the disease spread out through
the great valley. Many chroniclers dealt with it, Baena in greatest
detail.

"Purupuru," [wrote Spix and Martius], "is the name given by the Brazilians to those Indians who are really called Pamaouiri and who live on the Purus River."

They described the disease of the "Pamaouiri" (or Paumary as they are called today), listing as its major characteristic the presence of irregular skin spots, isolated or converging, blackish, and somewhat coarse to the touch.

Martius believed that some white spots occasionally found among the black ones represented the initial stage of the disease.

He thought that purupuru was hereditary, although its external manifestations appeared only after puberty. The Indians Martius met attributed the disease to "a bad condition of the blood"; and the naturalist believed that the "amphibious life" of these people, their food and some of their customs had a great deal to do with the coming forth of purupuru.

Later, through dissemination of the disease, the name came to designate all the tribes of the Purus-Juruá region: Paumary, Yuberi, Arua, etc.

About twenty years ago, Ehrenreich noted certain curious facts about the manifestations of purupuru. He confirmed that the disease only develops after puberty. He found some Indians whose feet and hands were entirely white, giving the impression of a partial albinism or a kind of vitiligo.

According to Ehrenreich, the spots have a grayish blue color in the first stage of the disease. As the edges whiten, the center becomes darker.

[187] He personally never observed the scaling of affected areas. But he relates popular reports to the effect that the Paumary

164 secretly mix the scales from their skin with the food and water of their
114 neighbors so that the disease may affect them too.

He adds that no hair grows on the white spots. The itching is always intensive.

In 1909, Koch-Grünberg wrote of the purupuru found in the valley of the Rio Negro. In accordance with the Indians' views he distinguished three varieties of the disease, white, black, and red, depending on the predominant coloring of the spots. Koch-Grünberg says that the black spots are hard and coarse, the white ones smooth and similar in aspect to burns.

However, Oswaldo Cruz (1) stated in 1913 that there is no

[113]

1. Oswaldo Cruz, Relatorio sobre as condições medico-sanitarias do vale do Amazonas [Report on the Medical and Sanitary Conditions of the Amazon Valley], Ministry of Agriculture (Rio, 1913).

justification for this division into three varieties. He considers the white spots to constitute a more advanced stage of the disease and to result from the elimination of skin pigment by an infectious agent.

Oswaldo Cruz also noted scaling around the black spots.

Already in 1886, Hirsch (2) had stated that purupuru could only

[113]

2. A. Hirsch, Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie [Handbook of Historical and Geographical Pathology] (1886).

be a dermatomycosis. The studies of Montoya y Flores (3) and

[113]

3. J. B. Montoya y Flores, "Recherches sur les Caratés de Colombie [Studies on the Carate of Colombia]" (Paris, 1893); Archives de Parasitologie, Vol. 2; "Notes sur les Caratés" [Notes on the Carate], Ann. de Derm. et de Syphil. (1897).

Oswaldo Cruz, though not yet conclusive, seem to justify this hypothesis.

[188] The Indians of the Serra do Norte live on tributaries of the Amazon, and consequently in the vicinity of the extensive area where purupuru has been found. Yet they are indisputably free from the disease. Their isolation has protected them.

Bâanêcêdútú bears some similarity to ringworm (herpes circinatus) and also to tokelau (tinea imbricata).

In 1897 Ehrenreich confused these two diseases and stated that they are frequent among the Indians of the tropical zone.

Ringworm, however, is not the same as tokelau, and these diseases are not widespread among the Indians. The latter's skin, exposed as it is to numerous disturbing factors present in the environment, is often affected by "artificial eruptions of internal of external origin" which might be confused in certain cases with parasitic diseases.

However, there is no doubt that the initial stages of the Serra do Norte skin disorder would resemble those of herpes circinatus, with their concentric circles of small cysts, if they did not lack the inflammation that goes with herpes.

Perhaps this symptom merely goes unnoticed, owing either to the thickness of the skin or to its scanty blood supply, absence of hair, small number of sebaceous glands, etc.

The subsequent manifestations of the Serra do Norte disease, however, preclude its identification with ringworm. In its final stage, the disease of the Nambicuara is much more similar to tinea imbricata.

The covering of the individual with long scales similar to strips of tissue paper, which I clearly observed among my Indians, is also ascribed to tokelau. In tokelau as in bâanêcêdútú, moreover, there is no inflammation [189] around the lesions and the hairy parts are not affected.

Tinea imbricata also begins with cystic formations, but in the Nambicuara disease the transformation of the cysts into "systems" is much more irregular. Actually there are no true "scaling systems" as in tokelau, but rather scabs surrounded by scales so small that they have a grainy appearance.

164 Thus the true likeness between the two diseases only appears clearly in the last stage, when the elongated papery scales cover the whole body.

On the other hand, the symptomatology of the Serra do Norte disease bears no similarity to that of the Araguaia River tokelau which was described in 1903 by Dr. C. Paes Leme (1) and which Fritz Krause

[113]

1. C. Paes Leme, "Contribuição ao estudo do Tokelau [Contribution to the Study of Tokelau]," Doctoral Thesis (Rio, 1903).

failed to mention. The general symptoms reported [by Leme] are altogether lacking among the Serra do Norte Indians, whose ailment bears all the characteristics of a local disease.

For these reasons, I believe that báanêcêdútú is an exfoliating dermatomycosis, perhaps even a tinea akin to tokelau.

At that time it proved impossible to obtain materials for microscopic examinations. At present the situation is more favorable; the sick are becoming more trustful, and this makes it possible to carry out much more complex investigations.

I have examined [ornamental] bands and other objects which had long been in direct contact with the skin lesions. It is obvious that such observations are quite rudimentary, and I do not expect them to be successful. Should it prove possible to isolate a fungus from these objects, to cultivate it and innoculate it, I shall return to this interesting subject.

It is the task of specialists to complete and correct these notes, which merely attempt to record the clinical [190] aspects of a pathological manifestation found among some primitive Indians. Sooner or later, contaminated by alien infections which unfortunately they will be unable to avoid, they will exhibit similar disturbances in a different form, modified by the benefits and evils of civilization. (1)

113

1. See Olympio da Fonseca Filho, "Afinidades parasitologicas e clinicas

7: Roquette-Pinto--13A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

142
516
854
291

Tagnani mother and daughter

Tagnani mother and son

Tagnani Indian

Serra do Norte Indians

7: Roquette-Pinto--13B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[198]

142
516
291
301

Tagnani Nambicuara Indians

Nambicuara Indian

Tagnani girls

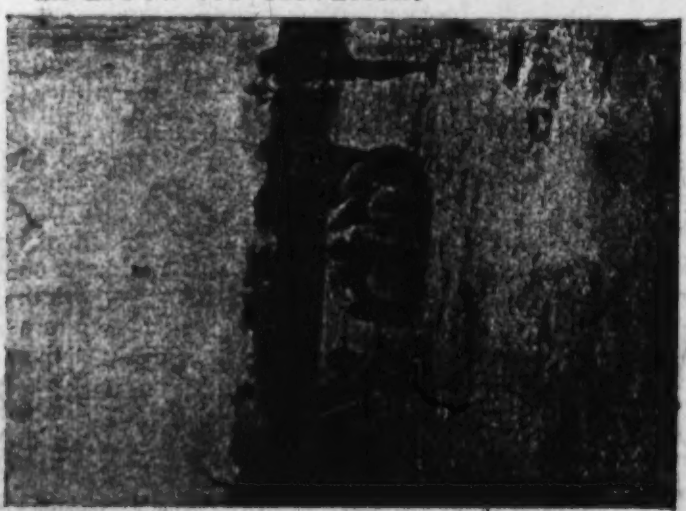
Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

7: Roquette-Pinto--13C E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[206]

142
411
516

Indian of the Serra do Norte shooting an arrow for elevation.



000

113

entre o tokelau da Asia e da Oceania e o chimberê dos indigenas de Mato-Grosso [Parasitological and Clinical Affinities between the Tokelau of Asia and Oceania and the Chimberê of Mato Grosso Aborigines]." Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 6 (1930) No. 2.

[Pp. 191 through 210 omitted because they do not pertain to the Nambicuara.]

144 142 [211] If we compare the Serra do Norte Indians with other Brazilian aboriginal types, the following similarities and differences become apparent and worthy of note:

Skin: Their skin coloring places them alongside the Bororo and Caraja. (1) The southern group comprises the darkest Indians in Brazil.

[113]

1. The following data from Paul Ehrenreich's Estudos antropologicos sobre os Primitivos Habitantes do Brasil [Anthropological Studies on the Primitive Inhabitants of Brazil] (1897) were cited earlier by the author: "The skin color of the Paressi and Bororo is considerably darker and even more reddish [than that of other groups cited], being comparable to the tone of terra cotta (Broca Scale 30, 32, 44). The Caraja are the darkest on the exposed areas of the body." (Ed.)

141 144 Hair: The average index found in cross-section was about 59, very close to that of the Semang (Negritoes) of the Malayan Peninsula. Very intense pigmentation, thick medulla; circular section. [Fig. 15]

Stature: Twenty-five percent [of the Serra do Norte Indians] are less than 1.60 meters in height, 56 percent from 1.60 to 1.65 meters, and 19 percent from 1.65 to 1.70.

[203]

142

Fig. 15--Histological sections of hair of the Nambicuara Indians. Embedded in paraffin.

141 According to Ehrenreich's tables, in terms of stature the
144 Indians of the Serra do Norte occupy a position intermediary between the Paressi and Nahuqua, and come close to the Bacairi, Mehinacu, Trumai and Yamamadi.

[212] The percentage of elevated statures (19 percent) places the Nambicuara near the Cayapo (20 percent) and far from the Bacairi (0 percent), Nahuqua (6.6 percent), Trumai (0 percent) and Paressi (11 percent).

The difference in height between the sexes (0.12 meters) places them far from the Tupian Indians, among whom the man is often shorter than the woman, and from the Arawakan groups, where men and women are of the same height (Barbosa Rodrigues).

In the circumference of the chest, equal to one half their total height, they approach the normal types of the white race (De Giovanni). The index between total height and chest circumference is 50.

This is not the rule among Brazilian Indians, whose chest circumference is usually more than one half their total height. In Ehrenreich's tables, the Indians closest to the Nambicuara in this respect are the Caraja of the Araguaia River, whose index is 53.3.

141 The Manouvrier [Skelic] Index expresses the ratio between the
121 length of the upper part of the body and that of the lower limbs, which
144 together add up to the total stature. Morphologically and physiologically, the upper part of the body (head and trunk) is much more important than the lower limbs. To determine its relation to the total height, therefore, is to disclose to some extent the biological worth of the individual (Montessori).

Manouvrier distinguished three basic types in terms of this index, which he named macroskelic, mesatiskelic and brachyskelic. In the middle type (mesatiskelic) the upper part of the body adds to slightly more than half the total height (index 52); in the macroskelic type, the index varies from 52 to 50; in the brachyskelic type, from 53 to 55.

[213] . . . This ratio applies to adults, for the proportions of the body undergo basic modifications in the course of growth . . . . The [three types] occur among all races and all peoples; however, research has shown that there is a certain prevalence of brachyskelic types among the yellow races, of macroskelic types among the black races, and of mesatiskelic types among the whites.

141 Brazilian Indians are brachyskelic, and the Nambicuara con-
144 stitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paressi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Ge group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paressi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

131 The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

101 They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Mambyuara, Mambryara, Membyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

161 They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

7: Roquette-Pinto--17 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

101 The geographical range of the name "Nambicuara" is very significant; the term designates these Indians both in Mato Grosso and in Pará. This means that the inhabitants of the Serra do Norte are known by the same name to the north and to the south.

This might lead us to believe that the name is unusually distinctive. However, it is unknown to its bearers and altogether alien to the dialect of any of the groups. It is fitting nevertheless to retain it in order to avoid confusion.

131 The southern boundary of the Nambicuara region is the Papagaio
101 River.

In the north their territory apparently extends to the Gi-Paraná; in the east, to the Tapajoz; in the west, to the Guaporé.

The people who live near the banks of the Juruena and Juina, between the Papagaio and Camararé rivers, [216] and whom I shall name the "southeastern group," are called "Côcôzú" or "Côcôçú."

Those who live along the lower reaches of the Doze de Outubro River are called "Anunzê"; I shall refer to them as the "northeastern group." They probably extend as far as the confluence of the Arinos Juruena rivers, where a few members of the first group are also likely to be found.

[221] Those who live to the southwest of the wintering place [invernadal] at Campos Novos extend down to the Guaporé River; they are called "Uaintaçú" and constitute the "southwestern group."

The great "northwestern group" lives near the Madeira River, on the banks of tributaries of the Gi-Paraná. It seems to consist of various secondary groups related in ways which have not yet been clearly defined. The Indians I encountered at the wintering place of Três Buritis, at the Campos de Quatorze de Abril, at José Bonifacio and at Campos de Maria de Molina all belong to this division. Their principal group lives between the Doze de Outubro and Roosevelt (Rio da Dúvida) rivers.

Of the northern division I found only the Tagnani, Tawite, Saluma, Tarute and Tashwite [Taschuitê]; and I only succeeded in gathering data on the first two.

101 The Anunze of Campos Novos speak of the "Tayopa" and "Shaodi-Koka" who have not yet been found; in the far north of the region, Rondon has recently discovered tribes such as the Kepikiriwat(1)

1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná and other tribes were described in Missão Rondon [The Rondon Mission] (Rio, 1916), and in the memoirs of Curt Nimuendajú published in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes. The Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 25 (1925) contain "Notas Antropometricas sobre os Indios Urupás [Anthropometric Notes on the Urupa Indians]" by Roquette-Pinto and A. Childe.

which belong to other groups.

The Tagnani and Tawite refer to an enemy tribe which they call "Malutundú," "Ualutdú" or "Ualút-ndú."

[Page of plates 216.]

[217] It is likely that the Indians on whom the Nambicuara [525] have bestowed this name, which means tatu galinha [a nine-banded armadillo, Dasypus tatusia novemcinctus] are the Mundurucu of the Upper Tapajoz.

It is worth noting that the Anunze called the Cocozu "Cocozê," while the latter call the former "Anunzú."

The Cocozu call the southwestern group "Uaintaçú," while the Anunze call them "Uaindzê."

These Uaintaçu or Uaindze are the same people known in the vicinity of Mato Grosso, on the Guaporé River, by the name of "Cabishi"—a term which in turn has been applied by the Paresi in a pejorative way to the Cozarini group of their own tribe.

The Paresi have also bestowed on the Nambicuara the name of "Uaikoákôrê" (Ground Brother) because they sleep directly on the ground.

[142] The Tapanyuna of old, located by the chroniclers on the Upper Tapajoz, must have been Nambicuara of the Cocozu group, who are indeed the darkest people in the whole Juruena Valley. They fit their Tupian appellation of "black men."

7:Roquette-Pinto--18A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342
B16

At the house door —village on the Juina River

Cocozu hut — Juina River

Nambicuara village

101 The position of all groups known to be scattered through the Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is recorded on the ethnographic map of the region which goes with these notes.[1]

[218] The exact meaning of the names cited above cannot yet be given with certainty. In the light of existing data, however, their study leads to the following conclusions which cannot be far from the truth.

Cocozu: "Uncles"; thus called by the others, perhaps, because they are the most primitive members of the whole tribe.

[578] Anunzu: This is clearly a corruption of the term anungzú or anungçú, which means "woman's milk"—a disparaging epithet like so many others found throughout the Americas; it may mean "infants" (unweaned babies).

Uaintaçu: Apparently a corruption of nuntaçú, which means "alligator" [Port. jacaré] in the language of the Juina Nambicuara. The Uaintaçu group would thus be none other than the old Jacare tribe mentioned in the first chapter of this work.

Tagnani: They are obviously the Tamarari of the old geographic maps; they should be equated with the Tamarare or Camarare, who gave the river its name and who are mentioned in several ancient documents.

Tawite: This word signifies "child" or "son" [offspring], a common appellation among other tribes as well.

In order to avoid future confusion, I propose to retain the name "Nambicuara" in conjunction with the specific name peculiar to each group.

341 The villages of the Serra do Norte Indians are usually built on the crest of small hills, far from the watercourses. Some are more than one kilometer distant from the nearest river or stream.

It may be assumed that the choice of such sites has a twofold aim: the Indians suffer less from mosquitoes and they dominate the surrounding territory, which is an advantage to people leading as they did up to now a life of constant warfare.

The village is built on a large plaza, fifty meters in diameter; once cleaned of bush, which is rooted up [219] by hand, the ground [535] is kept clear by the constant tread of feet. One night of dancing, with its endless beat along the same path, suffices to smooth out the village square.

1 [See map following foreign text, cat. 116 - Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--20 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

321 The circular spot formed by the village grounds in the middle of the bush gradually acquires the appearance of a star, owing to the paths that lead out from its circumference.

[712 413] Access to the village grounds is free. There is no fence or hedge to prevent admittance to the plaza; no fortifications or other defensive features are to be found in the vicinity. (1)

> 1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná, on the other hand (like the Tupinamba of old and other [tribes]), obstructed the paths leading to their villages with spikes [estrepes] which had to be removed when they established relations with the Rondon Mission. (See Col. M. Rondon, Conferencias [Lectures], pp. 161-162.)

Nambicuara villages always consist of two houses, which are set face to face at opposite ends of the plaza.

[37] [220] The region consists of extensive forests, stretches of scrubland [cerrado], areas of nearly impenetrable bush [charravascal], and a few stretches of open prairie. The Indians prefer the scrubland as the site of their villages.

The forest is dangerous on account of snakes, wild beasts, and even timber which often crashes down on the hunters; the prairie is dangerous because it exposes the village to enemy attack and does not afford any protection against invaders. But the scrubland serves the purpose very well; it has few disadvantages and many advantages.

342 This the Nambicuara know well: their hut blends into the greyish hues of the surrounding vegetation; it is like a shrub among other shrubs; from a distance it can hardly be distinguished. Its shape, though well defined, merges into the vague forms of the bush.

Naturally, those whose eyes are accustomed to the dust-veiled mass of xerophytic upland vegetation can quickly spot the huts; the illusion cannot deceive an experienced eye. But the mimicry is nevertheless real.

171 [Map] Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld)
342 O Round or oval, of a temporary character.
Houses of a permanent character:

Roof and walls continuous (beehive-shaped house).

Roof and walls distinct.

Walls of stone or sun-dried brick.

10. Araucanians. Cf. Guevara.
20. Paressi. Cf. Max Schmidt.
28. Bacairi. Cf. K. von den Steinen.
31. Trio, Oyana. Cf. de Goeje.
33. Campa. Cf. Otto Nordenskjöld.
36. Ijca, [Evijico?], Cagaba. Cf. Bolinder.
47. Taupilang. Cf. Koch-Gruenberg.
61. Tribes to the northwest of the Amazon. Cf. Whiffen.
64. Huari. Cf. Nordenskjöld.
233. Indians of the Mapuera River. Cf. Coudreau.
234. Chipaya. Cf. Pomansky.
235. Indians of the Upper Guaporé. Cf. Felix de Lima.
277. Indians of the Machifero (Upper Amazon). Cf. Ortiguera.
278. Chuquimayo Indians. Cf. Palomino.
2M. Wapishana, Taruma. Cf. Farabee.
5C. Nambicuara. Cf. Roquette-Pinto.
X3. Piaroa. Cf. Chaffanjon.

342 [221] The villages consist of fixed, permanent dwellings; in addition to these home shelters, the Nambicuara also use a type of temporary shelter which they erect rapidly wherever they may happen to be when night falls.

The permanent houses of the Juruena Valley differ but slightly from the dwellings of those Indians who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte.

The Cocozu village we visited on the Juina River consisted of two houses. The first was small, hemispherical, poorly built, and

7: Roquette-Pinto--21A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 220]

362
171

Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld).

(Caption on p. 21.)

[N2 provided with a fairly large doorway; it could easily hold some twenty people. The other had the shape of a triangular prism, with one of its [lateral] faces to the ground. It was more carefully constructed, and measured nine meters in length, three and a half in width and two and a half in height. One of its ends was closed; on the side, hidden by the leaves which hung from the roof, there was a small door. The other end was fully open. The hut was oriented in an east-west direction, the closed end facing the east. Thus in the afternoon the rays of the sun entered the house for a few hours.

Two forked stakes, one at each end of the building, supported the ridgepole. [222] Several beams designed to hold the huge covering leaves of the babassu palm ran from the ridgepole to the ground.

The palms which were laid on one side of the roof were folded at the top over the ridgepole onto the other side; in order to hold [223 them in this position, two rods ran the length of the house, tied to 224] the inner beams with knots of embira (1) cord.

1. A bast fiber yielded by one of the embira trees. (Ed.)

Tagnani and Tawite villages also consist of two huts. Each, with its entrance oriented in an east-west direction, is evenly circular at ground level and conical in shape. From the apex of the cone a pole rises a few spans above the roof; it is always forked at the tip, as shown in the photograph. The doorways are set on opposite sides of the building, facing each other.

We still do not know how the Nambicuara trace the circle which delimits the hut; it must be a freehand line, for that is how they draw this figure on their gourds. In the middle of the house they set up four stakes forked at the tip and a central support. [Fig. 16]

The forked stakes form an overhead rectangle of wood, from which flexible poles run down into the ground along the circle which delimits the house. These poles are secured and connected by horizontal rods which complete the framework of the hut. The covering consists of bacaba palm leaves arranged in layers. As seen from within the hut, the first layer consists of plaited leaflets fastened to the [223] woodwork. [Plate p. 226]

7: Roquette-Pinto--22A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

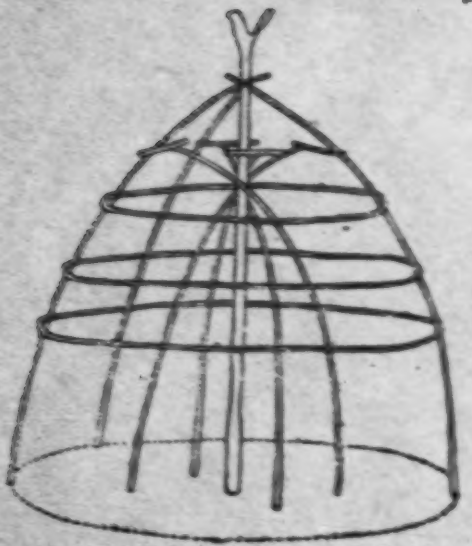


Fig. 16. Framework of a Serra do Norte Indian house.

7: Roquette-Pinto--228 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

392

Indian house--Festa da Bandeira (Carumi) River

516

Nambicuara village

412

Fig. 17. Tomaru--Grater of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--22D E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
252

Fig. 18. Mortar of the
Serra do Norte Indians

7: Roquette-Pinto--22E E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

412

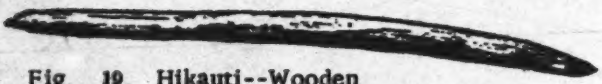


Fig. 19. Hikauti--Wooden knife of the Tawaite Indians.

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 354 [252] Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

412 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaguis.

[222 262]

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

7:Roquette-Pinto--23A E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 20. Implement made from a piece of iron by the Serra do Norte Indians.

342 In order to erect one of these screens, which the muleteers call "little hunting huts" [maloquinhas de caça], and which are found scattered between the Juruena and Doze de Outubro rivers, the Indians begin by clearing the ground thoroughly. Then they plant two large leafy branches into the earth, one at each end of a straight line, and bend them at the top over a crosspiece held by two forked stakes sunk into the ground in front.

They complete the covering with straw or with grass rooted up for the occasion, the earth still clinging to its roots.

Inside--or rather beneath--the shelter, a small fire is lit.

Each screen covers an area of approximately two to four square meters. If the Indians are numerous, each family group erects its own shelter. The structure is actually a good representative of what German ethnologists call Windschrim [windscreen].

The Indians of the groups farther north (Tagnani, Tawite) do not build their temporary shelters in the same way.

As a general rule, their provisional dwelling is simpler: it consists of one or more leaves of the babassu or some other palm [225] which are stuck into the ground. This is not a windscreen, but a mere shade against sun or rain squalls.

361 These [latter] Indians, incidentally, live in a region of extensive forests and thick bush which affords adequate protection against the rain; whereas the others inhabit an area consisting largely of fields and scrubland. Another instance of the geographic environment conditioning human behavior.

[121] The Cocozu Nambicuara call their village sicú, while the Anunze call it chicê. These words have the general meaning of "dwelling place": they signify either "house" or "village."

We do not know with certainty how they build their permanent dwellings.

[342] The women alone take part in the building of a hunting shelter; they cut down the necessary branches, while the children help by gathering the grass and straw which serve to complete the roof.

They change their dwelling place drequently. While following the trail that brought us to the Juina River village where we spent the night, we passed several former sites of the village.

412

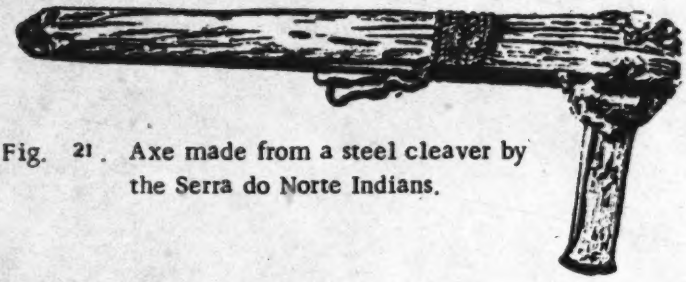


Fig. 21. Axe made from a steel cleaver by the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--24B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

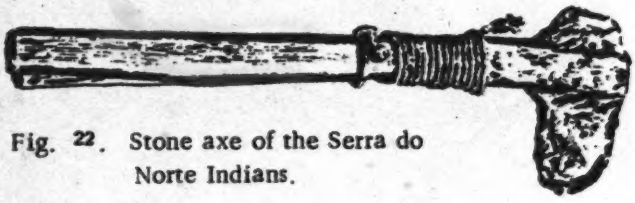


Fig. 22. Stone axe of the Serra do Norte Indians.

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an [768] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

352 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, [484] weapons and ornaments [227] [plate p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

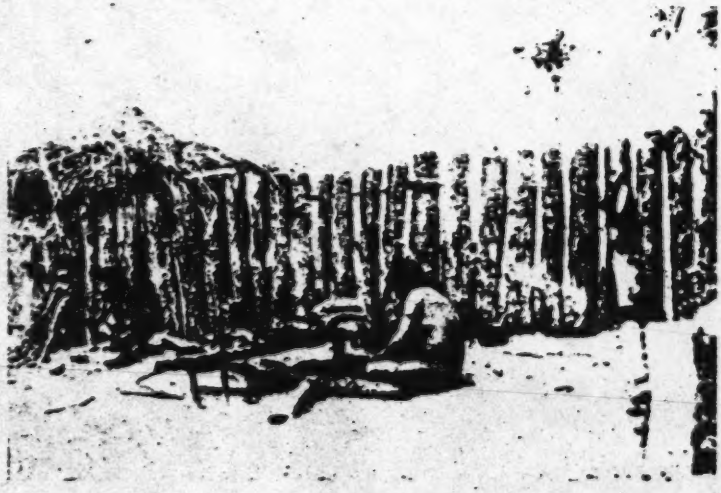
513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paressi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

342

Hunting shelters--Juina River Indians

516



Serra do Norte Indians

513 At the post of Três Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[248 824] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[171] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

201 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikátnerá!"

[Fig. 18]

241 They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

262 As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[252] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata,
262 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after
[225] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca),
[225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

264 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, clucking their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

[272] They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like 262 young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in 252 grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of the fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[262 824] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked

1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush [262] (uidniarê) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niarê, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

7:Roquette-Pinto--28A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[230]

516
291

Nambicuara at Três Buritis

[854]

Nambicuara children

7:Roquette-Pinto--28B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

252
354

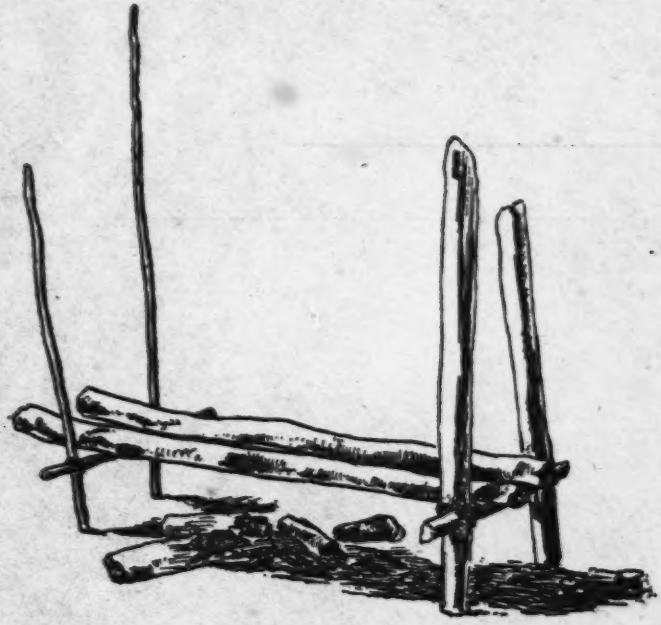


Fig. 23. Barbecue of the Tagnani and Tawite.

7: Roquette-Pinto--28C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912).

Fig. 24. Clay pot of the Serra do Norte Indians (1).

1. Today, the [National] Museum owns several large ceramic vessels brought from the Serra do Norte. The piece illustrated here deserves special mention, for it was the first one obtained in 1909.

7:Roquette-Pinto--28D E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415

Fig. 25. Container to protect feather ornaments.

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige,
266 perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

372 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[263 274 284] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (Polyphorus sp.) which the others disregard.

7:Roquette-Pinto--29A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

372

Fig. [26]. Haitzũ--Firestick of the Serra do Norte Indians.

274 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [271] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [257] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [296] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anuaçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony; their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 255 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

271 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 255 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[13]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os indios do Brazil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

7: Roquette-Pinto--30A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

412
257

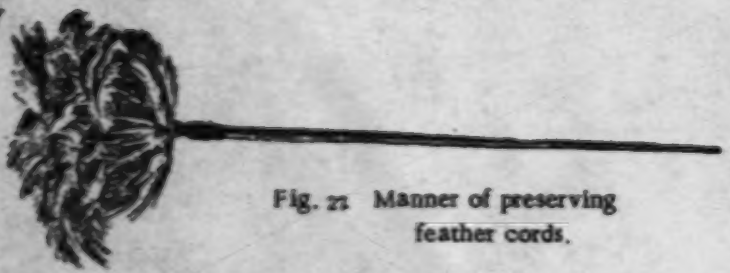


Fig. 21 Manner of preserving feather cords.

7:Roquette-Pinto--30B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

276
415

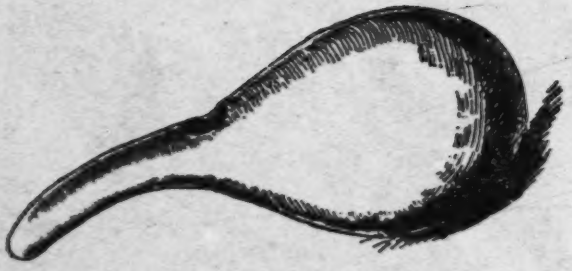


Fig. 28. Tobacco gourd.

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[825] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paressi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantacú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier [115] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was [825]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

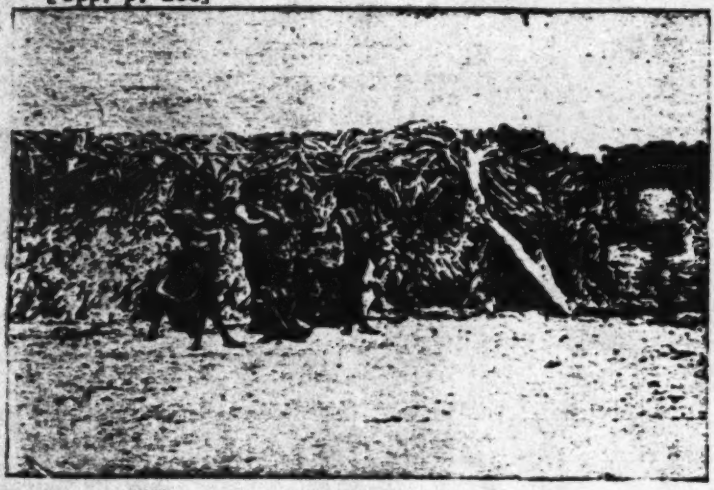
[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaze. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

7:Roquette-Pinto--31A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 29. Cotton arm band.

[opp. p. 236]

516



Village on the Juina River.

491

Indian footbridge--Juina River.

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandzú.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[177] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. [Fig. 30]

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

291 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
184 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of embira around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

[238]

276

Fig. 30. Etú--Serra do Norte Indian cigarettes.

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
184 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

291 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[343] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl,
[304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

7:Roquette-Pinto--33A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

137

Fig. 31. Solanum fruit used by the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--33B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301

Fig. 32. Serra do Norte Indian wearing the enadjú or jabuar hide helmet.

304 Only the men have pierced upper lips and nasal septa; the women, never.

Children still at the breast did not have their lip or septum perforated; but those whose first milk molars had appeared already had both areas pierced. Hence I believe that this operation is not performed until boys have reached the age of two.

301 Not until they are five or seven do they begin to insert through the lip and nose perforations some thin and distinctive plugs nearly always made of reed stems.

Their use is widespread in the Serra do Norte; I have seldom seen Indian men without those plugs.

[Fig. 35]

The lip plug rests between the median upper incisors and protrudes aggressively upward; the septum plug is thicker and shorter. Both are cut to the appropriate size by means of fire.

[241] If the plugs fall out, the wearer immediately retrieves them and sets them back in the perforations; on those few occasions when [the Indians] removed them to show us how they were fastened, they promptly replaced them as if ashamed to be deprived of their ornaments.

As a rule they wear both simultaneously. Some Indians prefer to the modest nose plug another adorned with a macaw or curassow feather.

[504] Contrary to what used to be thought, these ornaments do not seem to constitute marks of distinction or signs of hierarchy.

We saw youths of eighteen adorned with such plumes; none of the Indians accorded them the least importance.

When they wear these feathers, they forego the lip plug.

Their predilection for black beads is remarkable; they make them from the shells of small palm nuts to form multi-looped necklaces, and when we offered them an assortment of glass beads they chose the black ones at first. Yet they ended up choosing all of them... They are insatiable.

Nevertheless, their ornaments are predominantly black in color. Black bracelets; rings made with black palm nuts which they used to wear as ear pendants and which they carry now on their fingers to

[241]

Fig. 33. Irunguinindê--necklace made with the seeds of a Sapotacea (Lucuma sp.).

415

Fig. 34. Bamboo tube containing a dark powder (paricá?).

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A]

[184] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialaçu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not [515] draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[386] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

7:Roquette-Pinto--35A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 242]

142
516
291
301

Uaintaçu Indians
Post at Campos Novos

Serra do Norte Indian

Cocozu couple

Anunze Nambicuara (Nuleke's father)

301

[243]

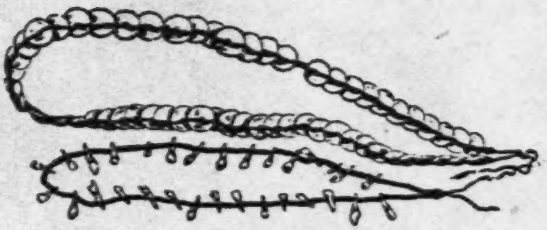


Fig. 35. Necklaces of nacre discs and monkey teeth.

302 Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads,
[43] they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)

The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

7:Roquette-Pinto--36A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

501

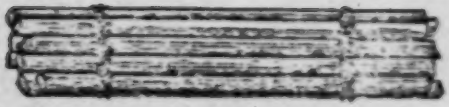


Fig. 36. Float of muriti stalks used by the Serra do Norte Indians when crossing rivers. (After a sketch by Mr. G. Kuhlmann.)

7:Roquette-Pinto--36B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 32 Trident fishing arrow.

000
[411]
223 [245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

231 The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[125] Doves (Chamepelia talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atratus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

155 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

184 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

It was the practice of agriculture--and we do not know where they borrowed it, if it did not arise among them spontaneously--which enabled them to continue living in the stone age until today.

By cultivating the rich lands of the Juruena Valley and the Serra do Norte and entrusting their sustenance to the soil of the virgin Amazon forests, the Nambicuara were able to continue living until now in that relatively restricted environment. This paradoxical effect of agriculture may not yet have been found elsewhere in so distinctive a form; and because they were forced to subsist by cultivating the earth, they perfected this industry while remaining in a very elementary stage of civilization. Wholly isolated, without any knowledge of white men or their domestic animals [247] such as the dog, the Indians of the Serra do Norte became excellent farmers.

Their plots are always evenly circular. Large open spaces are frequently found in the forest; they are artificial fields, old Nambicuara plots.

The Indians use fire to clear these plots after cutting down the trees, which until now they felled with stone axes. In order to fell a large tree, several axemen gather around it; and the wood, gnawed by the stone, yields sooner than expected. The strength of the axe handle is truly remarkable.

[Fig. 22]

A pointed stick is used to make holes for [planting] seeds.

Maize and manioc are the principal products of Nambicuara agriculture. Both belong to the same species cultivated among us. Maize is of the variety known as white maize or sabugo; the manioc has unusual nutritive value. In fact, the manioc cultivated by the Tagnani is the best I have seen, low in fiber content and very rich in starch.

[146]

[248] Surely the root does not owe its excellent qualities to the imperfect cultivation of the Indians, but to the very fertile land where it is planted.

The great ethnographic question raised by aboriginal agriculture and brought into sharp focus by Martius still remains unanswered.

Neither maize nor manioc have been found growing wild in the jungle. Either these plants came from elsewhere with the Indians,

?Roquette-Pinto--38A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

302

Fig. 38. Halaxnũ. Serra do Norte comb.

7:Roquette-Pinto--38B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 248]

316

Cocozu Nambicuara

411
301

Nambicuara Indian stringing his bow.

24/ or else they were derived from other species which grow wild in very different forms, disguised in various ways.

In any case, we found an isolated tribe in the stone age, subsisting on agriculture and cultivating maize (1) and manioc identical to ours.

1. The Nambicuara corn cobs which are to be found at the National Museum are of three kinds, each solid in color, fully kernelled, large, and of first quality. They deserve the attention of our geneticists, especially in view of the fact that maize is a heterogamous plant subject to the hazards of cross-fertilization. . . . . Nambicuara maize must be of pre-Columbian Peruvian origin . . . .

The secret of [its] selectivity must be the cultivation of each variety in an "aboriginal field" entirely isolated from the others by stretches of jungle; the term "aboriginal field" was given by Gen. Rondon to those clearings made in the jungle by the Indians for purposes of cultivation.

It would be advisable to study aboriginal agriculture thoroughly, as Hoehne already has pointed out, for the standard products obtained [by the Indians] prove that they possess keen genetic intuition. (A. J. deS.)

At the Fourth Maize Fair (Rio, 1918) many corn cobs cultivated in Rondonia were exhibited. It was concluded that Nambicuara maize should be considered autochtonous, for it displays hues entirely unknown to cultivators of the civilized world. Although the external coloring varies, the albumen of Rondonia maize is invariably very soft and white.

241 [Plates p. 254]

[249] Yet a wild form of manioc has been found (Manihot utilissimo, Pohl); if not the very species we use, at least one of the same genus. But maize?

Where on the surface of the earth does maize exist in a wild state except for the tunicated Zea mais which is sometimes considered to be the ancestor of the modern species?

What unveiling of mysteries, if this question were to be answered!

Some Tagnani who were watching the herdsman João Lucas weed a small plot in Três Buritis began to laugh at him, indicating that it would be better to root up the weeds; the hoe severed the stems but left in the roots, and the plants would grow up again. When the Nambicuara weed, they pull out everything that is not useful. Their plots are always clean.

Their tobacco is the Nicotiana that grows wild in their mountains; it may not properly be said that urucu and cotton are cultivated: they are planted and utilized. Some large beans of various kinds de-
278 241 serve mention. [250] They are to be found in the Indians' baskets along with many other plants; but we never saw an Indian eating them or making any use of them. Pending further research, I am of the opinion that they are saved for medicinal undertakings carried out in secret by old men and women. The same may be said of the castor oil plant (Ricinus communis), which is definitely adventitious.

[Fig. 39]

415 The spools of cotton fiber that await spinning and the seeds saved for future use are kept out of the weather, dust and rain in bags made of straw or pacova leaves.

[Fig. 40]

759 It seemed to us that medicine was not exercised by any special segment of society. They all take part in the treatment of certain diseases; in serious cases, an experienced elder takes over.

752 Wounds are dressed with straw fibers [coated] with certain resins (jatobá). Burns are treated with cold water. Fractures and dislocations are reduced haphazardly.

7:Roquette-Pinto--40A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415

Fig. 39.
Straw container used by the Serra do Norte Indians to store Cucurbitacea seeds (Lagenaria?)

7:Roquette-Pinto--40B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415

Fig. 40. Cotton thread (kondzũ) wrapped in leaves.

752 They spread saliva on bâanêcedútú sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing kiss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikriceknerá--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

[532] [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

113 1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

7:Roquette-Pinto--41A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

413

Fig. 41. Surgical instrument of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--41B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

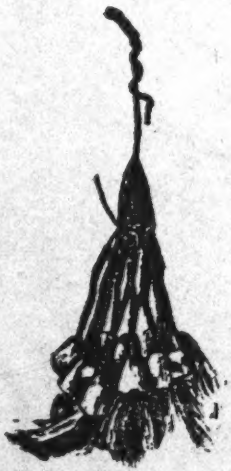


Fig. 42. Pendant of tucan feathers.

113 Brasil [Materials for the Study of Brazilian Indian Psychology]," Arquivos Brasileiros de Psiquiatria, Neurologia e Medicina Legal (Rio de Janeiro, 1917).

237 301 Featherwork is scarce and in fact insignificant. One of the illustrations in this book [p. (60B)] shows an interesting feather diadem patterned after an object of similar type but of admirable craftsmanship which the Indians purloined from their neighbors to the west and which is also to be found in the [National] Museum. (2) [Fig. 42]

2. Semicircular straw head ornaments are to be found mainly in the state of Amazonas as well as among the Huari of the Guaporé River, who resemble the Nambicuara in their primitive axes, their circular houses, etc. (Cf. Nordenskjöld, "The Ethnography of South America Seen from Mojos in Bolivia." [Engl.]).

The use of cotton has given an extraordinary boost to the development of featherwork among the Tupian Indians, as I demonstrated with the gorgeous ornaments made by the Urubu Indians (Gurupi River). The Nambicuara are familiar with cotton, but have not even developed featherwork based on plaiting or netting; this seems to attest to a tradition poor in such textile techniques. The Guayaki, who are Tupian Indians of rudimentary culture, according to Vellard, have neither featherwork nor agriculture. (R. L.)

535 We were able to observe two types of dances: a war dance which we recorded in a film shown at the National Library [of Rio de Janeiro] on March 15, 1913, and in which Indians of the Cocozu,

535 Anunze and Uintaçu tribes participated; and a festive dance in which we took part, executed in our honor at Três Buritis by the Tagnani and Tawite.

The war dance filmed in Campos Novos was later also [253] performed by the Tagnani in Três Buritis.

Armed with bows and arrows, the warriors form a line some 15 meters from a piece of wood which represents the enemy, singing in two-part time and marking the beat on the ground with their feet. [Fig. 25]

Two Indians leave the line, arrows ready and bows half strung, and walk as if cautiously hiding among shrubs in the bush. After a wide detour they come near the "enemy" and hurl their weapons at him.

This is the signal to attack; the singing ceases and a rain of arrows falls on the "unfortunate victim"...

411 224 726 Then they advance upon him and give him a thorough drubbing with their bows or with sticks. Incidentally, this is always the function of the arrow--to immobilize the enemy or game and permit the attacker to come close and finish his work with blows. In the hunt or in combat, attack is always made from ambush. This is because the aim of the Indians at a distance [Fig. 27] is not as sure as generally supposed. The Nambicuara are not especially good archers. They certainly cannot draw the bow with their feet like the Bororo. Some can shoot well in height. They use no shield whatever either in the hunt or in war. After the attack they try to recover their projectiles. An arrow represents a certain amount of labor and must not be squandered...

They hold a number of arrows in their left hand and shoot them one after the other with incredible rapidity.

535 Men, women and girls participated in the festive dance.

A large circle was formed to the sound of an endless chant. The women stood on the men's left; pair after pair were joined until the circle was closed. [254] Each man placed his hand on the shoulder of the woman next to him. Within the circle, three girls of approximately the same age accompanied them in a close line, eyes lowered, hands crossed upon the chest. The girl in the center acted as a hub for this choreographic formation... [Fig. 43]

535

[254]

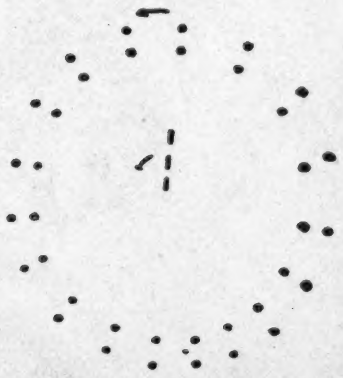


Fig. 43. (Astrolatrous?)
Tagnani dance (diagram).

7:Roquette-Pinto--438 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 254]

142
302
291
301
516

Anunze women.

Tawite camp at Tres Buritis.

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnaní-i! Tagnaní-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[321] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the [511] family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [a vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

7:Roquette-Pinto--44A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301

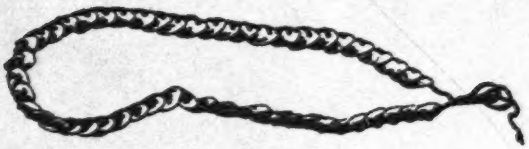


Fig. 44 — Shell necklace.

854 Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

622 They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

578 622 One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Cocozu and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there: Nuleke, Krikriceknerã (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. "sloth], Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Uiantaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Cocozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

622 Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

562 The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true. She [562] gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is

512 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[137] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atigü and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[171] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

7:Roquette-Pinto--46A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 45. Dodezê--Necklace with limbs of coleopters.

7:Roquette-Pinto--468 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1913)

Fig. 48. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

are the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

§02 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

§02 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the num-
201 ber demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

§03 To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

§22 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengçũ, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

§21 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangré the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

[illegible] As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

T:Roquette-Pinto--47A E-4, S (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
531

Fig. 47. Painted gourd.

?Roquette-Pinto--478 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 280]

574
R15
285

Juina River Indians

Juina River Indians

?Roquette-Pinto--48 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

We managed to obtain four different word lists: Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite. The two lengthier ones--Anunze and Cocozu--were obtained with as much exactitude and certainty as possible (and, I believe, as much as necessary) thanks to Nuleke and Kitkiricênerá. These two Indians had been devoted friends of Lt. [Plates p. 261.] Pyrineus de Souza since the days when he had managed the post at Campos Novos.

[Fig. 48]

Nuleke is so fond of Lt. Pyrineus that when we returned in 1912 he did not hesitate to cross the borders of his territory, leaving the land none of his people had abandoned in centuries, to follow the muleteers to Tapirapuã in search of his friend.

He was the first to place himself trustfully into Brazilian hands.

These two Indians lived at Campos Novos like adopted children of the household. At night they both slept under Pyrineus' hammock. They already spoke a few words of our language.

[Fig. 49]

The Indian Damasceno (Urinezoê), already mentioned above, was of great help with the Cocozu language. He was the most intelligent boy we could find. One Tagnani shared this honor, and we were sorry to part with him. He understood the slightest gesture, and carried out to perfection our every request. It was he who consented to simulate an arrow attack which I asked for by means of signs and which is now recorded on a film belonging to the [National] Museum and shown at the National Library in 1913.

[261] Each word on the lists was verified more than once in the presence of the object or phenomenon it describes.

We were more interested in the quality than in the quantity of words.

This does not mean that we believe no corrections are possible: it is sufficient to compare two lexicons compiled by capable persons among the same Indians, on separate occasions, to see how differently certain terms may be rendered.

The Nambicuara language contains the following vowels: a, ê, i, ô, o, u, ã, with the same values as they would have in Portuguese; the sound of ã is intermediate between German ä and French an.

7:Roquette-Pinto--48A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
55

Fig. 48. Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians.

Fig. 49. Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians.

174 The consonants are b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z; h is always strongly aspirated, like German ch.

F, j, v, and x are lacking.

The following consonant clusters are characteristic: an, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kt, nt, nz, tz, td, nç, tç, tzñ, gç, gd, ndz, nk.

173 Those words designating parts of the human body have the same root in all Nambicuara dialects, slightly modified in one case or another: uã or toã.

[263]

	Cocozu	Tagnani	Tawite	Anunze
Arm	Oã-nukicú	Uã-nokrí	Toã-rabatndê	Uã-nukizê
Mouth	Toã-iuçú	Uã-iurí	Tã-iuirí	Uã-iuarê
Tongue	Toãio-herú	Uãi-hêndê	Tãiu-hendú	Uãile-herú

Here the particle toa (uã, oã) has the same possessive value as the nu particle of Arawakan languages; it is found only in words pertaining to parts of the human body. (1)

[13]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "The Indians of Serra do Norte," [Engl.] Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1917).

[Fig. 50]

Nearly all Cocozu words end in zu or çu, used interchangeably. Anunze words often end in zê. But this last sound, to be pronounced properly, must be approximated to gê. (2) In the Tawite dialect and

2. This may be a linguistic trait of Ge parentage. (H.A.T.)

/are common,

in the several Tagnani dialects, endings in di, tê, rê, and ri (soft r)

177 173 One particle found rather frequently in these dialects deserves special mention, owing to its importance for the [264] evaluation of

7:Roquette-Pinto--49A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
531

Fig. 50. Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians.

194 relationships with other American languages. This is the gui or gue
193 particle:

Kaiguetazú -- flute (Cocozu)
Hauguidê -- smooth arrow (Tagnani)
Toáiguedokrê -- hand (Tawite)
Uáneguêtu -- head (Anunze)

124 Although various phonetic systems are in existence for the transcription of primitive languages (Kosmos Alphabet, Schmidt's Alphabet, etc.) (1), I deemed it preferable to use the letters of the

1. Fa. W. Schmidt (Anthropos, 1907) describes in detail the historical evolution of phonetics and the various systems which have been suggested. In the same paper he presents his own method, which has been granted wide acceptance.

Latin alphabet in conjunction with a few special signs such as the umlaut, which are within the grasp of any reader.

[Fig. 51]

194 If Martius' linguistic scheme were still accepted, the Nambi-
197 cuara tongue would be included among the languages of the "Guck" or "Koko" group. This family, however, was not maintained in view of its great diversity; and now its former members are [considered] to belong to the Ge-Botocudo and Nu-Arawakan groups.

The languages of the Nu-Arawakan family, however, own certain significant characteristics which are not encountered among the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

For instance, the personal possessive particle nu, one of the most valuable traits in the identification of these languages, is never found among the Nambicuara.

[265] The word used to designate water, one of the best elements for purposes of linguistic comparison because of its constancy throughout the Nu-Arawakan dialects in spite of other differences (onê, uní), has no equivalent in the Serra do Norte.

7:Roquette-Pinto--50A E-4,5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

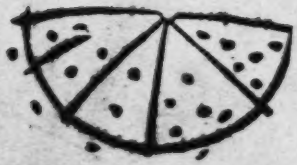


Fig. 51. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--50B E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 264]

516
142

Serra do Norte Indians at the Telegraph Station of Utiariti.

Paressi and Nambicuara at the Utiariti Station.

194
197 These traits alone would be sufficient to set the Nambicuara language apart from the Nu-Arawakan dialects.

But beyond this, it is easy to verify the dissimilarity between the lexicons [of these two groups]. Compare the Paressi vocabulary, an excellent representative of the Nu-Arawakan family, with the word lists of the Serra do Norte Indians. They are completely different.

We would search in vain through South America for a language possessing any deep affinities with the Nambicuara dialects.

[Fig. 52]

It is true, however, that the language of the Xingu River Suya bears a certain resemblance to the dialects of the Serra do Norte. The possessive particle woa of the Suya, which is clearly found among the Nambicuara in the form of either ua or toa, constitutes the best argument in favor of this relationship.

In view of this characteristic, therefore--and it is a significant one for it has served as a basis for the modern classification of our tribes--[266] wherever the Suya are placed the Nambicuara should also be included. (1)

[113]

1. In "Beitrage zur Ethnographie des Araguaya-Xingú Gebietes [Contribution to the Ethnography of the Araguaia-Xingo District]," Proceedings of the XXI International Congress of Americanists (Göteborg, 1924), Fritz Krause confirmed this linguistic affinity and attempted to make it even closer by citing additional words akin not only to Caraja but also to Ge dialects.

As to cultural aspects, it becomes obvious, especially in view of Nordenskjöld's comparative ethnographic studies, that the Nambicuara as well as the Caraja have been influenced by sub-Andean cultures.

The Caraja show signs of being partially subjected to this influence at the time when

7:Roquette-Pinto--51A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

531

Fig. 52. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

194
197

it reached the Chaco region, where they would thus appear to have lived at an earlier time. (See Krause, op. cit.)

On the other hand, as already pointed out elsewhere, the Nambicuara seem to have received this cultural influx by way of a different route--probably through the other channel of sub-Andean cultural expansion described by Nordenskjöld, which ran from northeastern Bolivia down the Amazon and La Plata watersheds. (Nordenskjöld, op. cit., Vol. 1).

(H. A. T.)

This is perhaps where the problem becomes most difficult: although Ehrenreich places the Xingo Indians alongside the Ge, other experts on South American linguistics believe, perhaps rightly, that they should be included with the Caraja in Chamberlain's "Carajan" group. (2)

2. Krickeberg, Rivet, and other experts still place the Suya among the Ge.

[Fig. 53]

Yet it is also inevitable to recognize in the Nambicuara language certain special characteristics of the Kiriri tongue. These traits are exclusively phonic, and [thus much less significant than if they were lexical or morphological.

[267] They merely consist of the tç, tz and kr sounds, which are accepted as peculiar to the Kiriri language (Baptista Caetano).

In the absence of well translated texts, it is impossible to delve more deeply into the study of these dialects. Even the relationships suggested above will be subject to revision when more complete linguistic materials become available.

411 As regards the [National] Museum collection, the following data are worthy of note.

7:Roquette-Pinto--52A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

531

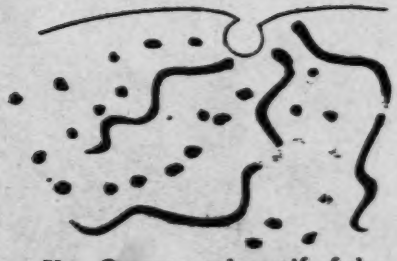


Fig. 53. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--53 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

411 171 The bows of the Serra do Norte Indians (hukiçú) are made of ipê (1) wood and are very long, measuring from 1.70 to two meters;

[824]

> 1. [In this region, the term covers] trees of the Tecoma and Jacaranda genuses, Bignonia family. The forest variety is J. copaia, D. Don; the field varieties comprise the yellow type (T. ochracea, Mart.) and the purple or black kind (T. ipê, Mart.). (A. J. de S.)

the section is semi-circular. Of all Brazilian tribes, only the Catukina of the Purus River coil the twine around the weapon in a similar way. The cross-section of the Catukina bow, however, is quadrangular.

[Fig. 54]

We made an experiment to determine the approximate strength required to lend a bow the necessary power.

The bow we used measured 2.38 [sic] meters in length by 0.047 meter in its greatest width; its tucum cord [268] had a diameter of 0.002 meter. To set in this bow a fifty-centimeter arrow required 66 kilograms of dynamometric traction.

The [Serra do Norte] Indians use the Mediterranean release (Morse's fourth method): bow vertical, arrow resting against the left edge of the bow and held at the base between the index and middle fingers of the right hand.

In the Americas, this method is peculiar to the Eskimo; the "Redskins" employed another. In Brazil, no [other] tribe uses it as far as I have been able to ascertain; [269] for the most part, our Indians use the third method outlined by Morse.

[269] [Brazilian bows fall into the following categories listed by Hermann Meyer: 1) Peruvian; 2) Northern Brazilian; (1) 3) Guiana;

> 1. Semi-circular cross-section; dark red, smooth wood of a leguminous tree.

7:Roquette-Pinto--53A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

411
284

Fig. 54. Serra do Norte bow and its cross section.

LINGUISTIC COMPARISONS

[268-269]

	NAMBICUARA				Chicriaba (Martius)	Cherente (Martius)	Camacan (Martius)	Caraja (Ehrenreich)	Suya (K. von den Steinen)
	Cocuzu	Anunze	Tagnani	Tawite					
Genitalia	--	--	--	Taguiri	D'agri	--	--	--	--
Chest [breast]	Toanunkizú	--	--	Tanakaindê	--	Dajukudá	--	--	--
Snake	Tiçú	--	--	--	--	--	Ti	--	--
Maize	--	--	Ket	--	--	--	Kechu	--	--
Leg	Toaçuçú	Uaçuzê	Uaduri	Talahendê	--	--	Guang-gestú	--	--
Mouth	Toaiuçú	Uaiuarê	Uaiuri	--	Daidana / Datoha	Dageau	--	Waru	Wanakoni
Tooth	Toaiuiçú	--	Diũrú	Taiú-iri	--	--	Aenkũh-uciokah	Wa-idzu	Woatoá
Tree	Içú	--	--	--	--	--	--	Iê	--
Tongue	Toaio-herú	Uauizê	Uaihendê	Taiú-hendũ	--	--	--	--	Wanuotó

7:Roquette-Pinto--54 E-4, 6 (no date)1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

7: Roquette-Pinto--54A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 Sp17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[268]

Fig. 35. Aniçá--Arrow with smooth cylindrical tip.

[270]

Fig. 36. Useliçá--Bamboo-tipped arrow.

[271]

Fig. 37. Aiz-aiçá--Serra do Norte arrow.

411 4) Chaco; 5) Eastern Brazilian.]

171 Nambicuara bows must be placed in the second group on account of their cross-section, which is indeed quite similar to that of Mundurucu bows. Their twine is coiled in the manner of Meyer's Perutypus group.

[Plates p. 248]

[271] [Fig. 58] Meyer classifies Brazilian arrows into seven groups, now insufficient because other types have since been found, but which nevertheless cover the principal characteristics of our arrows. His classification is based on the feathering of the shaft. [1) Eastern Brazilian or Tupian-Ge; 2) Guiana; 3) Xingu; 4) Arara; 5) Maue; 6) Peruvian with fibers; 7) Peruvian with resin, where Nambicuara arrows belong.] This last group is further divided in two: a northern division covering the Amazon Valley, and a southern division covering the Chaco region. The feathers are slit lengthwise, their stem scraped until only the outer layer remains; [272] they are tied spirally to the shaft by means of twine and black resin.

[Fig. 55]

411 Our collection includes war, hunting and fishing arrows. It must be noted, however, that these distinctions are not always maintained; when necessary, the Indians use all three types interchangeably.

Aniñçú: The tip is of red wood, cylindrical, smooth; used to hunt monkeys.

[Fig. 56]

Uaeliçú: The tip is sharp, made of taquaruçu bamboo (Merostachys sp.); used in war and to hunt large game--capybara, tapir, jaguar. . . . .

Aieuinçú: The tip is smooth, with a barb at the end.

[Fig. 57]

411 [273] Arukirikatçú: A unique type, armed with a series of
278 barbs secured with twine and pitch. It is coated with a black substance which the Indians believe to be poisonous; for this reason, they protect the tip with a bamboo sheath. It is a war weapon. The "poison" of Nambicuara arrows is harmless... (1)

1. [Alvaro Osorio de Almeida
notes here that he carried out an

?Roquette-Pinto--SSA E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

41

Fig. 39. Feathering on Serra do Norte arrows.

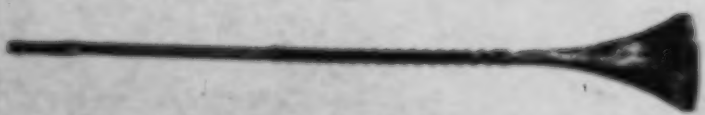


Fig. 39. Alfineçá--Bird arrow.

411
278

experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

411 Aiarageú: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[273] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong [274] imbé liana (Philodendron imbe, Mart.).

[Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

[324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a Bauhinia. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . . .

381 The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatai (Hymenea stigonocarpa [324] or H. stilbocarpa), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of duhutaarú, which means "wax."

[Fig. 61]

7:Roquette-Pinto--56A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

41
278

[273]

Fig. 60. Poisoned arrow (amikiritatcf) with protective sheath.

7 Roquette-Pinto--SdB E-4.5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[274]

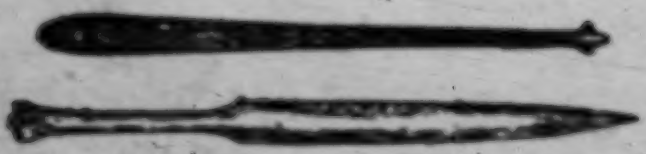


Fig. 61. Clubs found among the Serra do Norte Indians.

7.Roquette-Pinto--58C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
331

[275]

Fig. 62. Pot containing pitch.

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
[214] [Lupinus cascavella] used in fishing.
278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).
262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--Guaiacú: white maize.

--Urinodau: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated,
252 is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater
[445]

> 1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--Katusuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[629] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was
[251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415 Mortars (nutêne) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
253 pound meat and other foods.

?Roquette-Pinto--57A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

A. Areai mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171] 1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[283 286] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins
[255] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children).

[283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 924 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

7:Roquette-Pinto--58A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

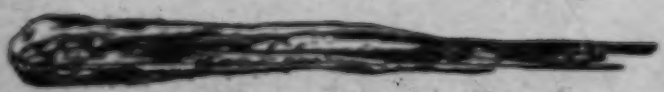


Fig. 22. Fire sticks protected against the rain.

7-Roquette-Pinto--588 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

283

Fig. 64. Gdaretatú--Serra do Norte spindle.

[280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . .

Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa) palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

The iaiaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

[281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

. . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçú) seems to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajos tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. . . .(70, p.]

7:Roquette-Pinto--59A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301
237

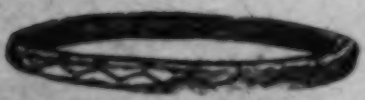


Fig. 68. Oradaikrunê--Serra do Norte bracelet.

7:Roquette-Pinto--598 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Namikuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

291
284

[281]

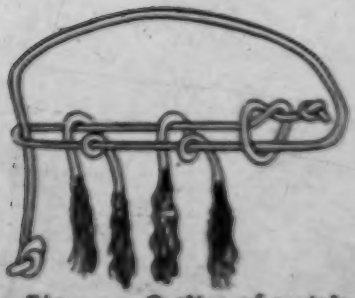
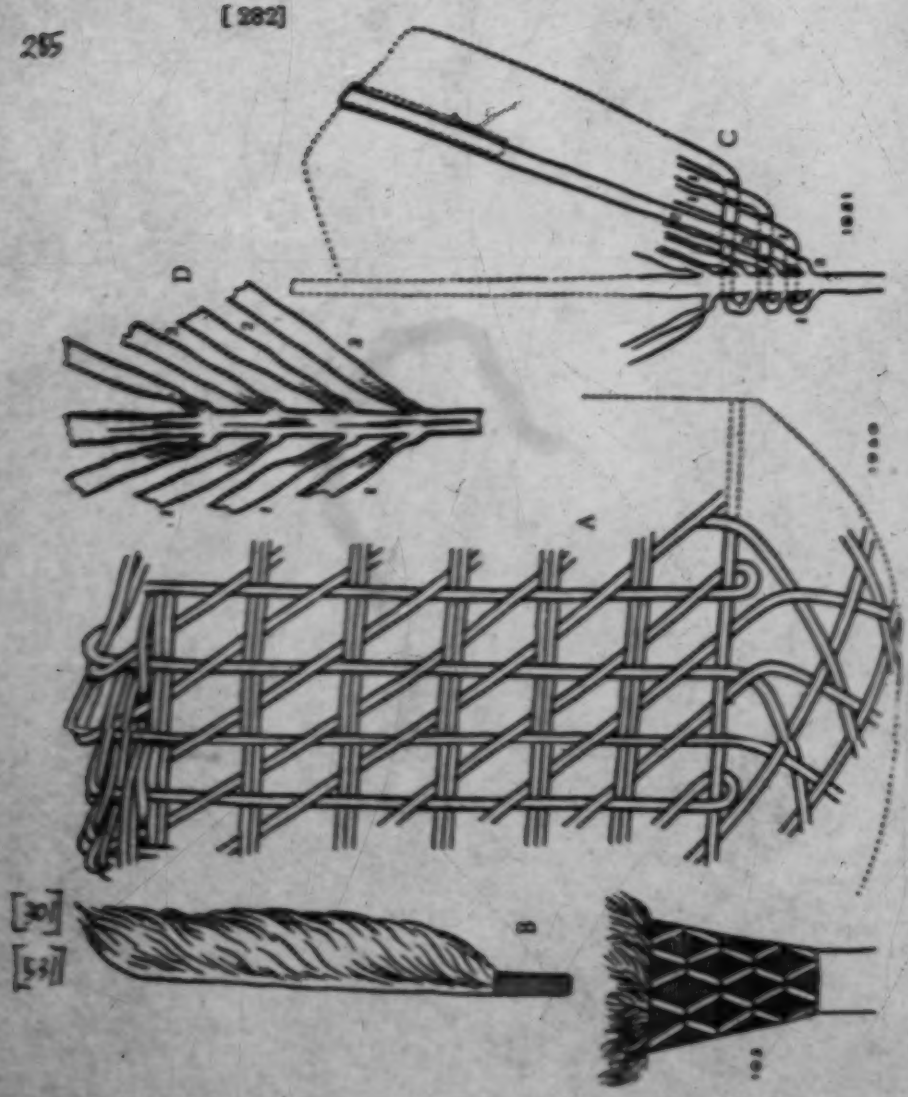


Fig. 66. Outline of an iglaçu, straw cape of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--59C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambécuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[282]



A. Pattern of basketry made with the flexible stem of a Desmoncus.
B. Details of nose plume.
C and D. Weaving pattern of palm leaf fan.

7:Roquette-Pinto--58D E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

534

Fig. 67. Hait-teataçú--Nose flute of the Serra do Norte Indians.

177 [Fig., p. 60A]

[284] Some items in the collection are of special interest because they document the process of material acculturation. They consist on the one hand of objects that incorporate iron found by accident in the tracks of [Fig. 20] hunters and rubber gatherers; and on the other hand of imitative artifacts, made with the unskilled hand of a primitive people desirous of copying the products of a more advanced industry and the forms of a superior art.

[285: full page of figures.]

[286] [Fig. 21] An instance of such imitation is provided by several diadems which crudely attempt to copy similar ornaments found among the Nambicuara; the latter are obviously alien objects plundered from northern tribes, where featherwork has reached a higher development.

[Fig. 68]

They have learned to appreciate the advantages of our hats [287] and prize them highly. An unhappy Indian who had not received one as a gift attempted to make one for his own pleasure, plaiting and adjusting bacaba leaflets...

Chapter XI

Conclusions

179 [307] It is not possible at this time to attempt a definitive synthesis of Nambicuara ethnography in relation to other tribes.

If we could distinguish in Brazil the two classical periods (Paleolithic and Neolithic), the Serra do Norte Indians would be included in the former; their axes are crudely chipped and their culture resembles the characteristic Paleolithic pattern. (1)

1. Diagramatically and in relation to their neighbors, the Nambicuara recall the Paleolithic peoples; but their culture, with its rudiments of agriculture and weaving and its crude

7 Roquette-Pinto--60A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

534

Serra do Norte Indian playing the hait-teatacá (nose flute). (1) Blowing hole. (2-3) Holes controlled with the middle fingers.

7.Roquette-Pinto--608 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Hambleuses SP17
(ca. 1912)

[285]

fol

Serra do Norte diadem--Serra do Norte feather ornament

7 Roquette-Pinto--60C E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[394]

Fig. 66. Imitation of a straw hat made by a Juruena River Indian.

but smooth-edged axes, is more akin to the proto-Neolithic or transitional period. The present trend is to recognize in the New World Paleolithic industries . . . but no formal overlapping periods as in Europe. (R. L.)

A later footnote by Heloisa Alberto-Torres which is not reproduced here contains the following statement: ". . . an interesting ethnographic relationship is [established by] the absolute identity of Australian and Nambicuara axes . . ." (Ed.)

At first observation, the Nambicuara might seem to be an old and backward branch of the Paressi tribe.

[308] What we know of the physical anthropology, ethnography and linguistics of both groups, however, invalidates this supposition.

177 Yet their culture bears unmistakable signs of Paressi influence.
[242] The first is the beehive-shaped house, formerly built by the Paressi. This is an import among the Nambicuara; the original house of the Serra do Norte Indians is the screen of leaves and branches, similar to the [illegible] of the Botocudo ([illegible] of the German ethnologists) and reminiscent of the North American wigwam.

[Fig., p. 61A]

[309] And if they did not borrow the large "round house" from the Paressi, they adopted it from Bolivian Indians.

[28] Another instance of alien influence is the nose plume, which the Paressi do not wear now but which formerly, according to Antonio
177 Pires, they could not do without; and also the nose flute, which
[illegible] [the Nambicuara] play unskilfully, as though it were a little-known instrument of yet unfashioned secrets.

The double flute seems to have been brought from the north. It must be an import from the Maue and Mundurucu, with whom the Serra do Norte Indians have had serious clashes as already mentioned above.

7,Roquette-Pinto--61A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[illegible]

[304]

Nose ornaments.

?:Roquette-Pinto--62 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the
[177] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[175] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[201] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to
177 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be-
177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parataninga River, who use helmets of the same material.

174 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob-
171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

7:Roquette-Pinto--62A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

534

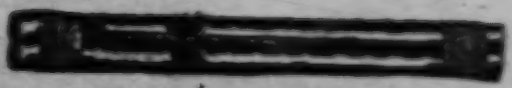


Fig. 70. Kaiguêtazú--Double flute of the Serra do Norte.

?Roquette-Pinto--63 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

/15 To summarize our findings on the Nambicuara, we shall now list certain postulates documented in this book.

1. The Serra do Norte Indians were discovered by the Rondon Expeditions, at first in 1907 in the Juruena Valley and later in the whole mountain range.

Up to that time only hazy references to this group existed; the first date from 1718.

2. All the names given them by their neighbors and collected by travelers and frontiersmen are completely alien to the Nambicuara language. One group among them will probably be equated with the so-called Tapaiyuna or Tapayuna, mentioned by some authors as if they were colonies of runaway African slaves. . . . .

3. All Serra do Norte Indians, with their axes of ill-polished stone and wooden knives,--lived to this day in the midst of the stone age; they were unfamiliar with navigation, pottery making and hammocks, and slept directly on the ground.

The very crude pottery they use is looted or bartered from neighboring tribes. To this day, in spite of more than five years of contact, no one has seen them make pottery.

[21/2] 4. They had remained almost completely isolated; many of them had never seen white men or Negroes.

5. They live in isolated groups and speak dialects of the same language which are in process of differentiation. Those words pertaining to the principal parts of the human body, in accordance with observations made long ago among Indians in general, are least susceptible to morphological differentiation.

6. These groups are not all at the same stage of cultural development. Those who live in the Juruena Valley are the most backward: they are less sociable, more aggressive; they build rudimentary houses; they do not use the barbecue; they have no permanent chiefs. Those who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte have already attained a considerably higher stage of civilization which is revealed in their art and in their social customs.

7. As to linguistic affinities, the Serra do Norte Indians could be included most easily in the Ge-Botocudo group. The languages most similar to Nambicuara are those of the Suyá (discovered on the Xingu in 1884 by the Karl von den Steinen expedition) and of the Canoeiro on the Araguaia River.

105 Kiriri is another language which bears some similarity to the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

8. In addition to linguistic affinities, the Serra do Norte Indians present certain ethnographic traits peculiar to the Ge-Botocudo tribes and rarely found among Indians of other groups: unfamiliarity with navigation and the hammock, absence of pottery, screens of leaves and branches, etc.

This being the case, the Serra do Norte Indians (Nambicuara) add a western link to the chain [314] of Ge peoples whose westernmost representatives had been until now the Suya.

9. The Nambicuara have been neighbors of the Paressi for centuries but have been influenced only slightly by that tribe. The two cultures kept evolving side by side, at different stages of development and with little interaction.

10. Agriculture arose early among the Serra do Norte Indians; this seems to have resulted from the demands of the geographical environment. It is almost certain, however, that the rise of this activity was conditioned by alien influences, not yet known, which provided the opportunity to acquire the necessary materials; for the species encountered among the Nambicuara are the same as those cultivated by other inhabitants of the region.

11. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, the Serra do Norte Indians are completely distinct from their neighbors. Those American Indians who come closest to them in terms of anatomical characteristics are the Nu-Arawakan.

12. The Serra do Norte Indians are affected by a special skin disease . . . which is unknown to their neighbors . . . [and] probably a variety of tinea imbricata.

[106 157] 13. Their main parasites are Siphonaptera (chigoe, (1) believed

1. Tunga penetrans.

to be of African origin but definitely a species of tropical America); and Hemiptera of the Pediculus humanus species, which are found among all the world's peoples. [Plates, p. 364.] [315] Perhaps this particular insect should be considered a variant on account of its size.

7.Roquette-Pinto--$4A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[57

[314]

Louse of the Serra do Norte Indians.

(201)

Roquette-Pinto--65 E-4, 5 (no date)1928 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

105 14. The Serra do Norte Indians seem to have reached the heart of South America in a very remote period.

15. Their featherwork is poor and barely beginning. Their music is well advanced. Their drawings (linear, poligonal, circular) are traced evenly: the only (stylized) living forms are of saurians and ophidians.

16. They seem to have preserved vivid memories of anthropophagy, if indeed they no longer practice it.

17. Their religion consists of a pantheistic fetishism among the more backward groups; the more advanced show signs of an incipient animism.

18. Whatever the ethnographic position which later studies may assign to the Serra do Norte Indians, their discovery in that region, at that stage of culture, profoundly altered certain precepts of Brazilian anthropology.

19. If they are definitively included among the *Ge*, the theory of an eastern or coastal origin for this group will become practically untenable.

[316] 20. If they are placed among the Arawakan group, their discovery will acquire even greater significance: according to Von den Steinen's theory, the original habitat of a people is the area where its most backward representatives are to be found.

21. The Ma-Arawakan migration, in this case, would have occurred from south to north, contrary to the classical precepts of South American ethnology.

22. With their physical characteristics close to those of the Arawakan, their isolated language, and the ethnographic traits they share with the *Ge*, the Serra do Norte Indians prove an important "geo-anthropological" truth which had been implied since the exploration of the Xingu area.

It was on the great Brazilian plateau that the process of ethnic differentiation began in South America.

NAMBICUARA ANTHROPOMETRY -- MEN

TABLE A

C - Cocozu-Nesmo A - Amnesu T - Taguaxi Ud - Uaindzu

Case number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Mean
Group	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	A	A	A	A	A	T	T	T	T	Ud	
Total height	1,66	1,68	1,68	1,70	1,62	1,69	1,68	1,62	1,65	1,60	1,57	1,61	1,69	1,68	1,62	1,63	1,62	1,62	1,65
Chest circumference	0,90	0,93	0,84	0,90	0,87	0,79	0,79	0,87	0,89	0,78	0,79	0,81	0,82	0,79	0,85	0,87	0,89	0,83	0,85
Head circumference																			
Occipito-frontal diameter	0,194	0,184	0,184	0,191	0,175	0,173	0,189	0,179	0,193	0,176	0,176	0,194	0,182	0,175	0,172	0,175	0,176	0,178	0,184
Tragion diameter	0,144	0,141	0,147	0,141	0,149	0,149	0,138	0,141	0,143	0,140	0,140	0,139	0,136	0,142	0,143	0,140	0,149	0,142	0,142
Minimum frontal diameter	0,102	0,096	0,100	0,101	0,098	0,094	0,091	0,104	0,096	0,114	0,098	0,102	0,097	0,096	0,100	0,100	0,101	0,106	0,099
Maximum bizygomatic diameter	0,137	0,137	0,141	0,143	0,138	0,133	—	0,132	0,129	—	—	—	—	0,132	0,131	0,137	0,133	0,142	0,134
Minimum nasion diameter	—	—	0,125	0,117	0,104	0,103	0,110	0,111	0,111	—	0,099	0,101	0,102	0,109	0,107	0,106	0,110	0,122	0,110
Face circumference																			
Height	0,053	0,047	0,047	0,050	0,049	0,047	0,044	0,042	0,052	0,047	0,043	0,043	0,047	0,044	0,041	0,048	0,051	0,052	0,047
Nasion	0,049	0,043	0,042	0,048	0,038	0,040	0,040	0,041	0,041	0,038	0,033	0,040	0,038	0,044	0,040	0,041	0,041	0,041	0,041
Prominence (at nose)	0,014	0,020	0,018	0,019	0,016	0,014	0,014	0,020	0,016	0,019	0,016	0,014	0,018	0,020	0,017	0,019	0,019	0,020	0,017
Eye circumference																			
Frontal (horizontal) length	0,097	0,101	0,102	0,100	0,096	0,095	0,097	0,093	0,096	0,096	0,092	0,093	0,097	0,093	0,096	0,098	0,095	0,101	0,096
Nasion palpebral length	0,037	0,040	0,039	0,039	0,032	0,033	0,034	0,036	0,036	0,032	0,029	0,032	0,036	0,033	0,034	0,033	0,031	0,037	0,035
Right ear circumference																			
Length	0,067	0,068	0,067	0,067	0,062	0,064	0,060	0,060	0,063	0,061	0,066	0,064	0,063	0,060	0,061	0,060	0,062	0,068	0,063
Breadth	0,033	0,032	0,030	0,037	0,036	0,033	0,034	0,035	0,035	0,030	0,036	0,034	0,032	0,036	0,036	0,036	0,035	0,035	0,035
Cephalic index	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nasal index	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

1. Boshette - Photo - 88 F-4, 5 (no date) USA 1919 Hambleton 1919 (pp. 1919)

T.Roquette-Pinto--67 E-4, 5 (mr date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[illegible]

Nambicuara "Wilhus Parisoh"

Mus

Card Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Forehead:																		
Flaps	[illegible]	v	v	[illegible]	v	v	v	v	[illegible]	v	v	v	v	v	[illegible]	v	v	[illegible]
Height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	g	[illegible]	g	g
Breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	g	g
Nose:																		
Stature depression	g	g	[illegible]	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bridge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nasal septum	[illegible]	b	d	d	b	d	b	d	b	d	d	b	d	d	b	b	b	[illegible]
Height	g	g	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	g	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]
Prominence (at base)	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	[illegible]	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
Ear:																		
Vulva: weight (material)	[illegible]	g	g	g	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]
Vulva: superior	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	g	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	g	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	g	[illegible]	[illegible]
Vulva: posterior	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Labels: median	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
Labels: junction (to neck)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
Labels: size	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	g	[illegible]	g	g	[illegible]	g	—
Antitragus: plane (inclination)	b	b	b	ab	ab	b	b	ab	ab	ab	b	ab	ab	ab	b	ab	b	ab
Antitragus: size	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	g	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Auricle	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Editor's key: c - narrow; d - directed downward; b - fine; fa - hard; g - great, large; prominent; b - horizontal; m medium; ab - oblique; [illegible] - [illegible]; [illegible] - [illegible]; [illegible] - small, slight; [illegible] - square; [illegible] - straight; [illegible] - directed upward; v - vertical.

Underlining of a letter indicates emphasis (e.g., [illegible] = very small).

The meaning of the parentheses is unclear. It may be opposite to that of the underlining.

Table C

[324]

Nambicuara Women

Card Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Total height	1,43	1,44	1,47	1,45	1,52	1,45	1,55	1,47
Pelvic Measurements:								
Bi-spinal diameter	0,22	0,22	0,23	0,21	0,21	0,21	0,21	0,21
Bi-cristal diameter	0,24	0,23	0,24	0,23	0,23	0,23	0,25	0,23
Bi-trochanteric diameter	0,28	0,26	0,28	0,25	0,26	0,26	0,28	0,26
Sacro-pubic [external conjugate] diameter	0,17	0,18	0,17	0,17	0,16	0,17	0,19	0,17

"Written Portrait"

Card Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Forehead:								
Slope	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	
Height	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	
Breadth	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	g	
Nose:								
Nasion depression	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	
Bridge	st	st	c	st	st	st	st	
Nasal septum	d	sm*	d	h	h	h	d	*[sic]
Height	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	

(continued)

T.Roquette-Pinto--69 E-4,5 (no date)1936 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Table C (cont'd)

"Written Portrait"

[204]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Prominence [at base]	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm
Breadth	sm	sm	sm	g	g	g	sm
Ear:							
Helix: origin [anterior]	sm	sm	sm	g	g	sm	sm
Helix: superior	g	sm	g	g	sm	sm	sm
Helix: posterior	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm
Lobule: outline	sq	sq	sq	sq	sq	sd	sq
Lobule: junction [to neck]	fu	fu	fr	fu	fu	fu	fu
Lobule: size	sm	g	sm	sm	sm	sm	g
Antitragus: plane [inclinação]	h	h	h	ob	h	ob	ob
Antitragus: size	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	g
Auricle	ov	ov	ov	ov	ov	ov	ov

7;Roquette-Pinto--70 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[325]

Physical Type of the Serra Do Norte Indians (Nambicuara)
As determined by the "Written Portrait" method.

Forehead:

Slope -- Vertical 80%; retreating 20%.
Height -- Small 72%; medium 12%; great 16%.
Breadth -- Small 80%; great 16%; medium 4%.

Nose:

Nasion depression -- Great 56%; small 33%; medium 11%.
Bridge -- Straight 44%; convex 56%
Nasal septum -- Directed downward 45%; horizontal 50%; directed upward 5%.
Height -- Great 50%; medium 11%; small 39%.
Prominence [at base] -- Great 22%; small 78%.
Breadth -- Great 99%; medium 1%.

Ear:

Helix
- Origin [anterior] -- Large 44%; small 56%.
- Superior -- Large 44%; small 56%.
- Posterior -- Large 5%; small 95%.

Lobule
- Outline -- Square 78%; rounded [descendente] 22%.
- Junction [to neck] -- Fused 100%.
- Size -- Large 33.5%; small 66.5%.

Antitragus plane [inclinação] -- Horizontal 44.5%; oblique 55.5%.
Auricle -- Quadrangular 11%; oval 89%.

?Boquete-Pimo--?1 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1913)

Dactyloscopic formulae of the Nambicuara Indians

Men

Card No. 1	V. 4333 V. 4222	Card No. 10	I. 2242 E. 4333
Card No. 2	V. 4333 V. 2222	Card No. 11	V. 4444 V. 4444
Card No. 3	V. 4343 V. 4222	Card No. 12	V. 4343 V. 4242
Card No. 4	V. 4333 V. 4222	Card No. 13	V. 4444 E. 4444
Card No. 5	V. 4444 V. 4442	Card No. 14	V. 3333 V. 2222
Card No. 6	V. 4344 V. 4244	Card No. 15	V. 3333 V. 2242
Card No. 7	V. 4444 V. 4444	Card No. 16	V. 3344 V. 2244
Card No. 8	V. 4344 V. 4244	Card No. 17	V. 3344 V. 4244
Card No. 9	V. 4333 V. 4242	Card No. 18	V. 4444 V. 4444

Women

Card No. 1	V. 4443 V. 4442	Card No. 4	V. 3343 V. 4242
Card No. 2	E. 4333 V. 4242	Card No. 5	V. 4343 V. 4344
Card No. 3	V. 4443 V. 4242	Card No. 6	V. 4444 I. 4444

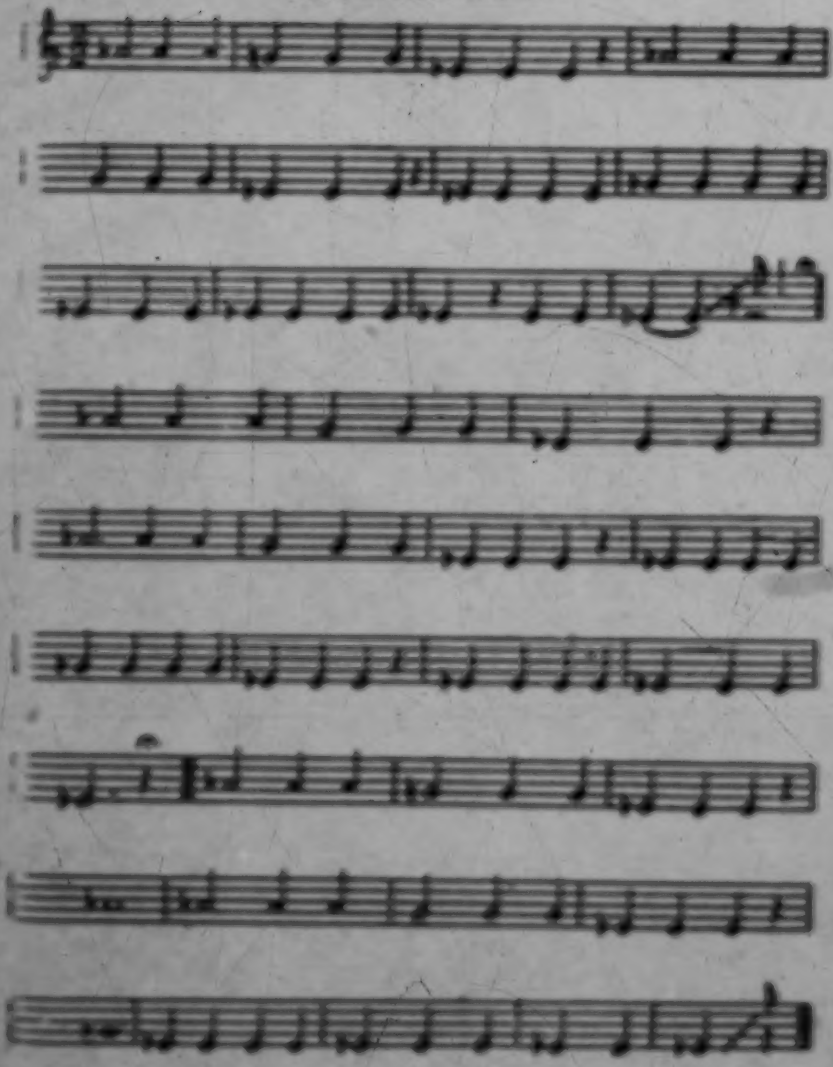
Card No. 7 . . . . V. 3343
V. 2222

14.560

737

Recording No. 1.

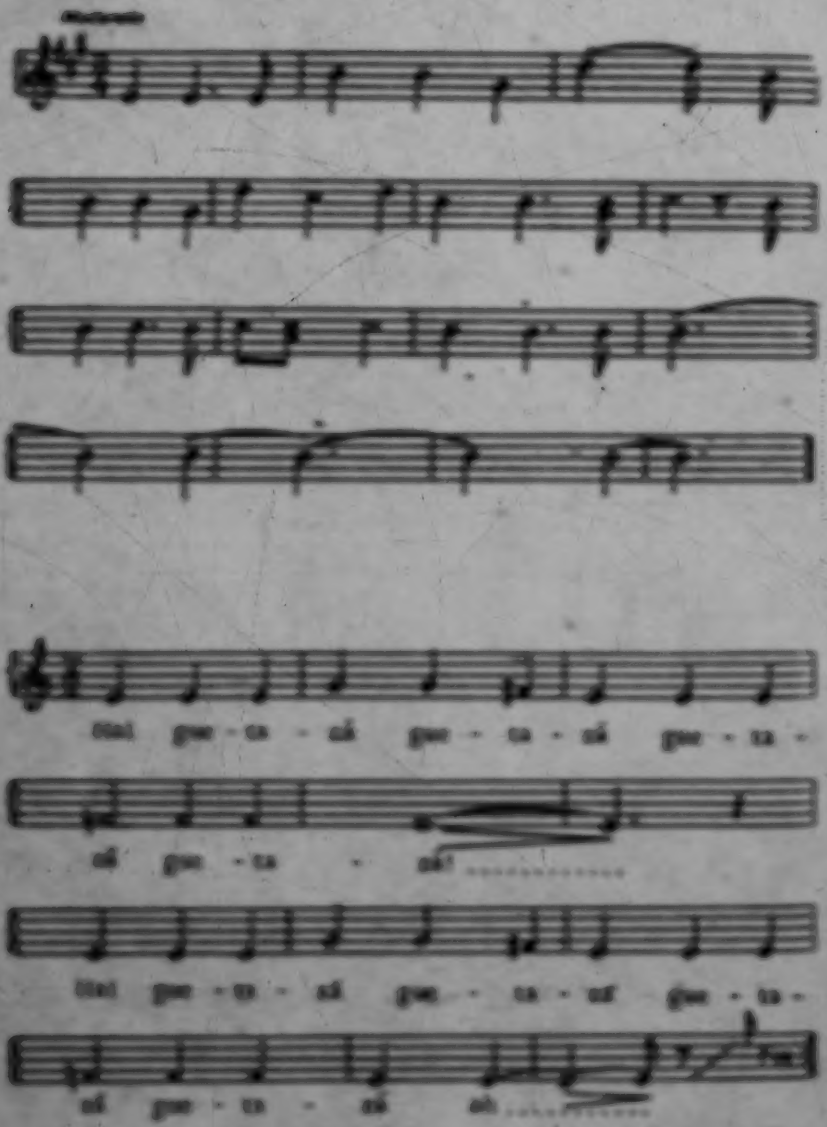
Serra do Norte Indians



7.Roquette-Pinto--73 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[334] Recording No. 2.

Serra do Norte Indians



Tawite Nambicuara Word List

(?)[2] forearm -- Tanoiné.
head -- Tainiñ.
mouth -- Tañiri.
upp head -- Ili-oñi.
arm -- Tonaiwandi.
hair -- Tawguiñ.
sky -- Uhiniñi.
elbow -- Tanoiwaiñi.
child (offspring) -- Tauhiñ.
gourd -- Uainé or Kawé.
finger -- Tahiñ.
back [of the body] -- Tawguanari.
knee -- Tacingwaiñi.
lip -- Tainainiñ.
tongue -- Tañi-hendi.
hand -- Tonigwaiñi.
nose -- Tañiren-di.
eye -- Tainañi.
ear -- Tanaiaiarnañi.
pee [pee] -- Uat-oñi.
foot -- Tainé.
chest [breast] -- Tanaiainañi.
penis -- Tagnéri.
leg -- Taiaherañi.
chin -- Tainiwañi.
breast -- Tanahañi.
abdomen -- Tainhari.

Tagnani Nambicuara Word List
Serra do Norte -- Ponta da Bandeira River
(Caranni River)

water -- Hainnañi.
canoe -- Ohañi.
forearm -- Dinaiari.
bow -- Hiañi.
armpit -- Uanaiaiwandi.
fire sticks -- Hainnañi.
mouth -- Dairi.
arm head -- Taiñe.
arm -- Uanairi.
head -- Uanainiñi.
hair -- Uanañiñi.
maize -- Iañi or Lañi.
lip plug -- Tauiñri.
nose plug -- Kanañi.
basket -- Tañiñi.
alligator -- Iñi.
straw hip cord -- Iainañiñri.
elbow -- Uanaiaiwaiñi.
thigh -- Uacrañari.
gourd -- Iwaiñi.
finger -- Uañiñi.
mouth -- Diñiri.
back [of the body] -- Uaragañi.
ear -- Tagñi.
wooden knife -- Hiñiwañi.
bamboo arrow -- Uainañi.
blunt arrow -- Duiriñi.
smooth arrow --Hengañi.
fire -- Ihañi.
forehead -- Uignairi.
snake -- Tchiñi.
grasshopper -- Kiguiñi.
to cry [scream] ; a cry (larynx?) -- Uilairiwairi.
knee --Uaragnara-kairañi.
lip -- Uiñaiñaia-oñi.

?Roquette-Pinto--75 E-4, 8 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Taguasi Nambicuara Word List (cont'd)

[368]

/82 tongue -- Uãhenãã.
monkey (Cebus sp.) -- Hunã.
name axe -- Hiaag-ainãi.
manioc -- Hintsẽ or Chi-cinẽ.
hand -- Uahinã.
uruca paste -- Hahahũ-kaidi.
barbecue (mocquém) -- Hikki.
maize -- Guinẽ or Kunẽ (or ũ).
nose -- Oinainãẽ.
eye -- Ulginãi.
ear -- Unçolanãẽ.
(to call someone:) -- Heeee! Heeee!

(to ask something:) -- Iriri? Iriri? or enduri?
stick (piece of wood) -- Irikanẽ.
foot -- Ualanã.
chest (breast) -- Uaenaiaenãẽ.
pubic hair -- Uaguiri.
leg -- Uaaaduri.
neck -- Uaelaguẽ.
hammock (sort) -- Teenãẽ.
breast -- Uano-kuri.
sun -- Tchonãi.
armadillo -- Ualannãi.
earth -- Aikhe.
nail (finger or toe) -- Uegunãẽ.
uruca -- Uhãhãkaidi.

Cocozo Nambicuara Word List
Juina River

fan -- Kalkiçã.
bujui bee -- Detuçã (F).
burá-cavalo bee -- Arakitaçã (F).
jati bee -- Otaçã (F).
to light (a fire or light) -- Hanãçã.
water -- Unaxã.
to walk -- Alkedittt.
tapir -- Isuxã (F).
firearm -- Onunkisã (or çã).
to put out (a fire or light) -- Unitsã.
macaw -- Azuxã (F).
bow -- Hukiçã.
tie -- Tsatagualitsã.
arrow barbs -- Alkaiaçu.

bocaba -- Uãhãtt.
hummingbird -- Dunitgutsã.
mustache -- Tsaikatsçã.
mouth -- Tsaiaçã.
to yawn -- Tsaiã enduxã.
tapioca cake -- Urikaxã.
pretty (bonito) -- Uaxã.
butterfly -- Uadadaçã.
dung -- Iaiganaçã.
fiber arm band -- Kaiã-ançã.
arm -- Oanakiçã (or xã).
earring -- Anakiçã.
martti (palm) -- Hãẽrã.
head -- Tsanakiçã.
hair -- Uaahikiçã.
cashew (fruit) -- Erekiçã.

?;Roquette-Pinto--78 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

[92 heat -- Uaninâtêt.
way [path] -- Dîhinçú.
field -- Uenzú.
to sing -- Haiguedaxú.
small -- Baînandêtê.
house -- Siçú.
skull -- Mamakitsú.
sky -- Ocendji.
basket -- Atiçú.
to cry [weep] -- Nandêtê.
[260]
skin -- Uçú.
black head hip cord -- Kaimundzú.
fiber hip cord -- Iaiáçú.
liana [cipó] -- Hakinzú.
circumference -- Inençú.
snake -- Diçú (or Tiçú).
rabbit -- Iakoçú.
colhereiro [a wading bird] -- Digitzú.
to eat -- Inzuinêtê.
what is your [its] name? Iritsú?
earring shell -- Nenzú.
string [rope] -- Aimaçú.
owl -- Kalendzú.
to run -- Ikedêtê.
child -- Uetú.
gourd -- Kateçú.
termite [cupim] -- Cabú.
to defecate -- Tonzigunçú.
tooth -- Tonimçú.
sick -- Inonandêtê.
to ache -- Inonanêtê.
to sleep -- Akguriguêtêtê.

back [of the body] -- Tondaçaçú.
to sneeze -- Uaikacê-ingui-kêçú.
star -- Ikitaçú.
child-carrying strap -- Çâarú.
ugly -- Inkiú-kinikidurú.
drawing, figure -- Kore-nauá.
son [offspring] -- Uetú.
cotton thread (on arrows) -- Konázú.
fiber thread (on arrows) -- Kaceçú.
flute -- Kaiguetazú.
nose flute -- Hait-tea-taçú.
arrow with flattened tip -- Aieraçú.
arrow with smooth cylindrical tip -- Anieeçú.
bamboo-tipped arrow -- Uaeliçu.
flower -- Talançú.
fire -- Anetîherú.
leaf -- Adenandrú.
cigarette [-rolling] leaf -- Enanzú.
forehead -- Tonitkuzuzú.
tobacco -- Etú.
smoke -- Aiokeçú.
spindle -- Gdartzazú.
grão de galo [a huckleberry-Celtis iguanaea] -- Aiuinikiçú.
gravata [a bromeliad] -- Koaiowençú.
cricket -- Beguedaçú (?).
to cry [to scream] -- Kaiguetançú.
guariova do campo [a Syagrus palm] -- Konin-tê.
herb [weed] -- Ihazú.
man -- Noçú.
that -- Dêta.
jarobe -- Oiarú.

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

alligator -- Nuntaçũ.
knee -- Toakiritanzũ.
lizard [lagarto] -- Enarũ.
small lizard [lagartixa] -- Ianoçũ.
milk -- Anungçũ.
to rise [get up] -- Ihãi-cenogo-dotũ.
tongue -- Toãioberũ.
far -- Uetçũ.
moon -- Irikiçũ.
monkey -- Hotũ.
nipple -- Anunguetizũ.
mangaba [fruit] -- Katẽkiçũ.
hand -- Toãi-ikiçũ.
manioc dough -- Uri-nodzũ.
to chew -- Iaiguedutũ.
jungle [mata] -- Daikiniotçũ.
honey -- Duhiazũ? (P).
to die -- Aunindutũ.
woman -- Doçũ.
nose -- Toiaioenendzũ.
bamboo stem joint [nó de taquara] -- Karitandçũ.
eye -- Toai-ikikiçũ.

[351]

jaguar -- Ienarũ.
ear -- Toanenendzũ.
lip perforation -- Ionkon-nandetũ.
nasal septum perforation -- Ononkon-nandetũ.
babassu straw [thatch] --Uenandzũ.
eyelid -- Toaiecindjũ.
wood (tree) -- Içũ.
pau santo [Guajacum sanctum] Hinekiçũ.
foot -- Toaiukizũ.
chest [breast] -- Toanunkizũ.
fish -- Aiutchũ.
pubic hair -- Toaiiketaçũ.
arrow feathers (sariema) -- Kolatoedçũ.
penis -- Toakiçũ.
partridge -- Uiteá-guiçũ.
leg -- Toaçuçũ.
neck -- Toaietolozũ.
mortar -- Notũ.
dorsal fiber pendant [cape] -- Ialaçũ.
louse -- Kani-iniçũ.
piqui -- Aarũ.
ray [beam] -- Uaduguezũ.
grater -- Tomarũ.
arrow resin -- Niaendçũ.
blood -- Toatiçũ.
sariema [sic] -- Kolatzũ.
to sit (squat) -- Acikiuekedotũ.
grave (1) -- Ilurindũtũ (204).
yes -- Han-han!
sun -- Uteriluçũ.
sweat -- Uaienoçũ.
bamboo -- Ikuirikazũ.
bamboo of arrow -- Arukirikatçũ.
earth -- Inoçũ.
anthill clay -- Katunuzũ.
testicles -- Toaiikiçũ.
tocanguira -- Tietãtãgliziũ (or çu).
triangle -- Nendzũ.
thunder -- Taridzũ.
tucura -- Taketazũ.
navel -- Takodadlizũ.

7:Roquette-Pinto--78 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

192 toenail -- Toaiutçua-kezû.
to urinate -- Kereguetauçû.
urucu -- Dukiçû.
abdomen -- Toaendzû.
vulva -- Akioçû.

Those words marked (P) belong to a word list compiled by Lt. Pyreneus in 1911.

(1) This word seems to be compounded of a Tagnani word, alôre (earth), and a Cocozu word, nandetû (hole); viz. alore-nandetû, "hole in the earth."

Anunze Nambicuara Word List
Serra do Norte -- Doze de Outubro River

forearm -- Uanozuzê.
bow -- Ukizê.
fire sticks -- Haitzû.
[362]
arm -- Uanukizê.
pitch (resin) -- Duhu-taarû.
earring -- Nan-ninzê.
head -- Uaneguetû.
cashew [fruit] -- Eehrû.
nose plug -- Uonedezê.
wax -- Duhutaarû.
sky -- Uacinzê.
bead necklace -- Kairizê.
to eat -- Ikluzê.
heart -- Iakzê.
elbow -- Uanokundunzê.
thigh -- Uanikizê.
finger -- Uaikuenrezê.
tooth -- Uauizê.
back [of the body] -- Uatluzê.
testicles -- Uaiariguinizê.
shoulder blade -- Uanotoarizê.
knife -- Iurê.
liver -- Aierê.
flute -- Kiazê.
arrow (general term)-- Hauktiçû.
mouth -- Uaiuarê.
good -- Idaknikdaçû.
arm band -- Nokonigui-guizê.
stone axe -- Eun-etû.
straw cape -- Ielaçû.
hand -- Uaikizê.
woman -- Ducê.
nose -- Uanonzê.
eye -- Uaiekedakzû.
ear -- Uonaninzê.
stick [piece of wood] -- Içuzê.
foot -- Uaiukizê.
nose feather -- Unetizû.
penis -- Uakizê.
comb -- Halatzû.
leg -- Uaçuzê.
feather pendant -- Ieiakizê.
chin -- Uaiuklu-enzê.

Anunze Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

1[illegible] scraper of capybara tooth -- Iakizê.
medicine [remédio] -- Inekiaçu.
armadillo -- Nunzê.
nine-banded armadillo [Dasypus novemeinetus] -- Hatdenandzû.
earth -- Inozê.
tripe (general term for intestines)-- Aiokzê.
fire -- Anizê.
forehead -- Uaenakezê.
man -- Iduizê.
alligator -- Nuntaçû.
knee -- Uaguididanzê.
tongue -- Uaileherê.
line [twine?] -- Kuituiçû.
nail -- Uaimakezê.
navel -- Uaikedanzê.
urucu -- Duhiazê.
deer -- Iatarû.
abdomen -- Uatiçû.

Colors

[522] yellow -- Katetiçû.
blue -- Iadneaçû.
white -- Kuidiçû.
black -- Kaikiduçû.
black (pitch) -- Iadeneazû.
green -- Cedecededenoçû.
red -- Duhiaçû.

[253]

Words Collected by Lt. A. Pyreneus de Souza

achopê bee -- Arazi.
borá regina bee -- Kaiudêzê.
mandaguari-vermelho bee -- Iuzê.
manduri bee -- Kloarizê.
tatá bee -- Arizê.
tibuna bee -- Tararê.
pumpkin (ours) -- Aria-tecê.
macaw -- Aranzê.
araticum [shrub of Annona genus] -- Ararê.
meat -- Uanozê.
coatá [spider monkey] -- Kadezê.
heron -- Mokarê.
jennet -- Kuruaiudezê.
pacu [small fresh-water fish] -- Mambire.
castiçal palm tree -- Kaicê.
parakeet -- Kakaitezê.
piau [large minnow] -- Akurizê.
painted -- Uanuncê.
dove -- Tuizê.
pig -- Iakizê.

Anunne Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

1972 quan-quan -- Peantesê.
what is it [are you] called? -- Uaizi-guidi?
what is that? -- Iazakure? or Uazazakure?
rat [mouse] -- Dôdecê.
fat [grease] -- Ionesêsê.
cricket -- Dakisê.
scorpion [lacrau] -- Ailam-dacê.
minnow [lambari] -- Kajarê.
small lizard [lagartixa] -- Ianusê.
wasp -- Urutecê.
honey -- Dezasê.
Dose de Outubro River -- Ori-handesê.
Nambicuara River -- Oare-inâkandesê.
agricultural plot [roça] -- Aitiê.
sun -- Ikidasê.
vulture -- Urucisê.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Série 5.ª BRASILIANA Vol. 39
BIBLIOTECA PEDAGOGICA BRASILEIRA

E. Roquette-Pinto

—

Rondonia

4.ª edição

Companhia Editora Nacional
S. Paulo – Rio de Janeiro – Recife – Porto Alegre
1938

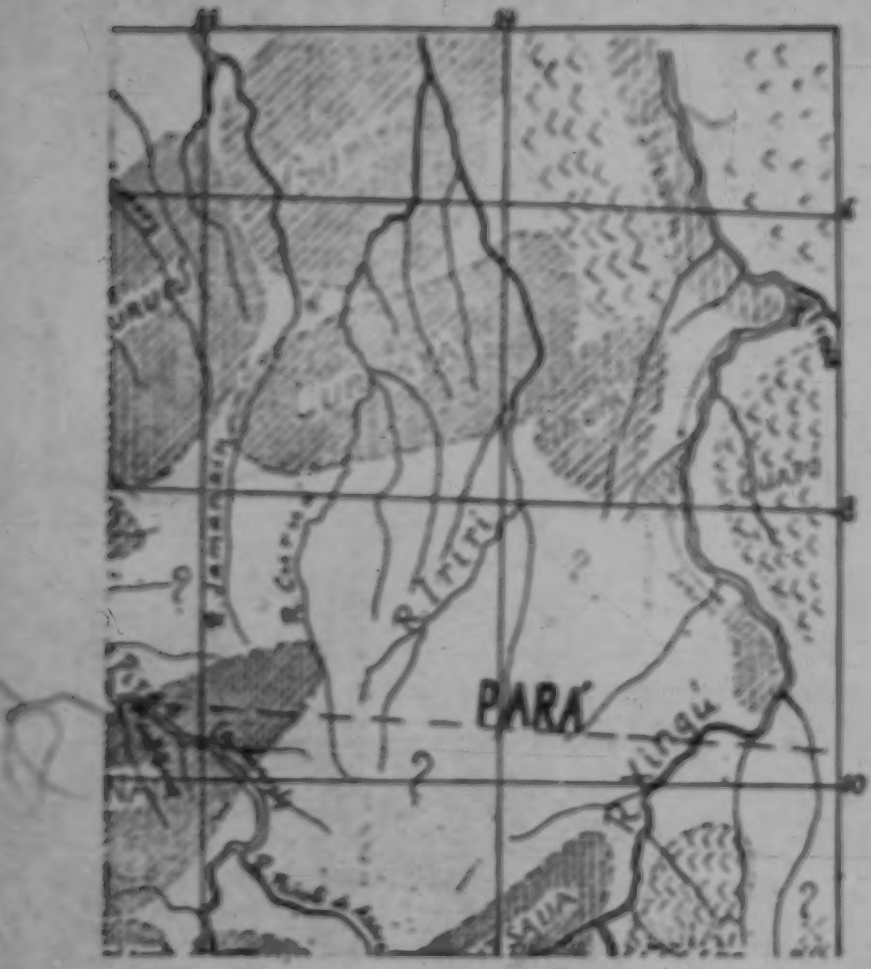
[Title page]

[Facing p. 18: A]

[pp 1-18 not processed]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

[Facing p. 18: B]



[Facing p. 18: C]

Escala: 1:4.500.000 [Facing p. 18: D]

[Facing p. 18: E]

R. Madeira
R. Machado
R. Jiparaná
R. Ouro Preto
R. Ananás
R. Mequens
R. Branco
R. Cautário
R. Colorado
R. Comemoração
R. Pimenta Bueno
R. Ji-Paraná
R. Machado

VIII

INFELIZMENTE, em 1912, os Nambikuáras ainda não se achavam bastante acostumados com a presença de estranhos naquelas serranias. Apesar de sua condescendencia, a custa de brindes conseguida, minhas pesquisas foram recebidas com justificavel desconfiança.

Os indios examinados pertenciam aos grupos: *Kokozú*, *Anunzé*, *Tagnani*, e *Tauité*. Dos *Uaintaçú*, grupo ainda hostil, só consegui uma observação, essa mesmo incompleta. O estado de excitação em que o indio se encontrou, durante o tempo em que o examinei, não permitiu melhor resultado.

•

A *pele* é de côr amarelo-siena queimada, escura nos *Kokuzú*, clara nos outros. Nos *Tagnanis* o colorido, em certos individuos, chega ao róseo. Muitos tipos quasi pretos, são encontrados entre os do Juruena e do Juina; são os indios mais escuros do Brasil. Na tabela dermocromica (Roquette-Childe), usada no Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (N.º 223), o colorido desses indios varia entre os ns. 6-10.

Epiderme grossa, enrugada.

•

Os *pêlos* são rectilineos, duros (lissotricos). Em certos individuos ha cabelos largamente ondulados, (*waved* dos antropologos ingleses), semelhantes aos dos Polinesios. Os indios, em geral, arrancam os pêlos do corpo e da face e cortam os cabelos, na fronte, com uma concha de lamelibranquio.

[pp. 18-174 not processed]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Raros indivíduos deixam fios de bigode; alguns consentem na presença da barba do mento.

•

Quasi todos deixam crescer livremente as unhas; á hora da comida são utensilios valiosos para dilacerar as carnes.

As plantas dos pés nunca se espessam em calosidades extensas como nos indivíduos de raça negra, que andam descalços.

Os pés são relativamente grandes. Pernas finas e musculosas. Abdomen saliente. Mãos pequenas; membros toracicos encordoados, pouco volumosos.

As mensurações que pudemos obter nos tipos masculinos, adultos, normais, constam dos quadros anexos.

O quadro —C— contém os dados fornecidos pela pelvimetria, praticada em algumas mulheres.

Os diametros da bacia, como se vê, são pequenos; trata-se daquele tipo que os obstetras denominam *bacia gracil*, ni não fôr modalidade normal da chamada: *equabiliter justa minor*, que, a titulo aberrante, aparece em nossos serviços clinicos.

A estatura das mulheres, portadoras de pelvis assim reduzido, é bem pequena: as nambikuáras medem 1,47 m. de altura, contra 1,62 m. que têm os homens.

Sendo admitido em geral, que a estatura feminina é sempre menor que a masculina, cerca de 7 %, a altura das nambikuáras deveria andar por 1,51 m.

Grosso modo, póde dizer-se que a estatura feminina tem menos de 12 centimetros que a do outro sexo. No quadro —C— encontramos, todavia, alguns tipos que excedem essa relação.

•

O exame das proporções do corpo, realizado em alguns tipos que representavam o conjunto dos caracteres somaticos mais nitidos da mulher nambikuára...

[Facing p. 176]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

revelou fatos interessantes, cujo conhecimento é indispensavel para o trabalho de comparação antropologica.

A *altura da cabeça* contém-se pouco mais de seis vezes na altura total do corpo (6 ½).

O *segmento cerebral* do tronco e o *segmento respiratorio* são iguais; o *digestivo* é maior que os precedentes.

A distancia entre os olhos (diametro bi-palpebral interno) é maior que a fenda palpebral; assim os olhos acham-se muito afastados um do outro, pela espessura da raiz nasal.

O *tronco* é quadrangular, sem depressão lombar, nem vislumbre de esteatopigia. Os *seios*, nas moças puberes, são pequenos, em fórma de taça, pela classificação Pinto-Bartels. Nas mulheres mães, são grandes, de aureola dirigida para fóra, mamilo levantado, nem sempre muito afastados um do outro.

O *espaço intermamario*, em algumas das mulheres mães tem o valor da metade do diametro de uma das mamas.

O *meio do corpo* acha-se acima da sinfise pubiana.

Mede a *distancia jugo-xifoidiana* — (da furcula esternal ao apendice xifoide) — metade da distancia *xifo-pubiana*; sendo, assim, a altura do abdomen igual ao dobro da altura do torax. Por sua vez, a distancia *xifo-umbilical* é igual ao dobro da linha *umbilico-pubiana*. Do que se conclue que a mulher nambikuára tem o umbigo mais proximo do pubis.

Pinard já tinha notado a importancia pratica do conhecimento dessas relações, na simiologia da prenhez. Mostrou quanto andaria errado quem fosse aplicar, a todas as raças, elementos de pesquisas que só para umas tantas podem servir.

Vi algumas nambikuáras gravidas. A prenhez evoluia já adiantada, mas não consentiram num exame sério; nada posso, destarte, dizer a respeito.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Vem, todavia, a proposito referir que nenhuma estriadura pelos sulcos intra-dermicos, devidos á distensão forçada do abdomen, frequentes na mulher branca (*vergões da gravidez*).

Aliás, a pele não tem sempre o mesmo coeficiente de extensibilidade.

A dos indios é favorecida por condições especiais mal conhecidas. Martius figurou no seu *Atlas* um indio Miranha cujas narinas, perfuradas, atingiam insolita extensão; o individuo conseguia passá-los ao redôr do pavilhão da orelha do lado respectivo.

O labio dos botocudos é outro exemplo disso.

•

No tipo masculino, os tres segmentos principais da cabeça seguem a mesma norma.

O segmento digestivo é maior que os outros dois. Tambem a altura do torax é igual á metade da altura abdominal.

As mesmas relações encontradas entre torax e abdomen e entre as partes deste ultimo, no tipo feminino, acham-se nos homens.

•

Por essas relações toraco-abdominais, e pela altura do umbigo sobre o pubis, póde dizer-se que o homem nambikuára tem tronco de mulher; e, levando mais longe a consideração dessas interessantes disposições reciprocas, ainda não seria errado afirmar que, no adulto dessa gente, permanecem caracteres morfologicos proprios á infancia: altura do umbigo, por exemplo.

•

Um carater diferencial dos sexos é a situação do meio do corpo: nos homens ele se encontra na borda inferior da sinfise pubiana.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

É que as mulheres têm membros inferiores mais longos; e os homens, o tronco mais comprido; elas são, pois, *macrosteliles*, e eles *brachysteles*. Notemos que observações de Alex Hrdlicka, entre adolescentes, na America do Norte, encontraram fenomeno inverso nas populações brancas.

•

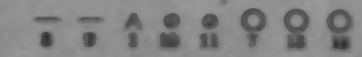
No tipo masculino, a cabeça cabe sete e meia vezes na altura; obedece ao cânon dos gregos, o que é realmente interessante. A distancia interocular é maior que o comprimento da fenda ocular; a altura total da face é pouco maior que o comprimento da mão. A mão tem cerca de 1/10 da altura total do corpo; o pé corresponde a 1/8 daquela altura. Braço e antebraço têm comprimentos equivalentes; são sensivelmente iguais. O *dito muscul.* de Metchnikoff, é raro.

•

Nos indios da Serra do Norte não se vê a queda precoce dos incisivos, tal qual é encontrada nos Parecis.

A norma da erupção dos dentes, pelo que andei observando em alguns rapazes e meninos, não é a mesma que se costuma deparar na raça branca; porque as idades, em que a segunda dentadura se completa, me pareceram outras.

Nos tipos brancos, pelo comum, as arcadas se guarnecem conforme o esquema:



Aos sete anos rompe o primeiro molar; aos oito, os incisivos medianos e aos nove os laterais. Aos 10, o primeiro premolar; aos 11, o segundo. Os caninos, aos 12. O segundo molar, aos 13. O *dente do sizo*, que é o terceiro molar, aparece aos 18, mofino e sem

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

prodromo, quando não se deixa ficar metido no alveolo durante toda a vida.

Os fatos mais interessantes relativos á dentição daquelles indios são precisamente os que se relacionam com os *dentes de siso*; porque, mais de uma vez, verifiquei a presença deles em rapazes que não tinham, seguramente, atingido os 18 anos.

A dentição completa-se, naquela gente, ao que me parece, muito mais cedo.

Os molares, que o povo chama *dentes do siso*, e tendem a desaparecer na raça branca, nos indios, não são dentes de enfeite. Têm função e tamanho de considerar.

Acredito que o excesso de trabalho, imposto ao apparelho da digestão, tenha seu rebate nessas caracteristicas dentarias.

Os grandes molares aparecem mais cedo porque são solicitados por mastigação frequente e forte.

Comem sempre, de tudo, sem regra nem medida. Não sei de animal que não devorem. Regeitam, apenas, o tubo intestinal da caça abatida.

Os do Juruena comem mais carne que os outros; os de *José Bonifacio* alimentam-se mais de mandioca e milho. Sua pneumatóse intestinal fá-los companheiros desagradaveis. Todos têm lingua saburrosa e muitos as gengivas arregaçadas pela piorréa alveolar. Os dentes, ao contrario do que se verifica frequentemente nos craneos dos sambaquis, não sofrem o processo de usura que Lund, em 1842, descreveu no homem de Lagôa Santa; padecem da carie que lhes não poupa as corôas.

•

Uma dermatose especial grassa entre os indios da Serra do Norte (137).

(137) Cf E. Roquette-Pinto — Conferências na Bibliotéca Nacional — 15 de março de 1913, e na Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia (Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro) 11 de junho de 1915.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Em verdade, alguns oficiais da Comissão Rondon, haviam notado as placas caracteristicas da doença. Mas, talvez porque não tivessem sido encontrados casos tipicos, como esses que me cairam sob as vistas, as manchas passavam por simples descamações epidermicas traumaticas, oriundas do atrito do corpo na terra, pois que os indios da Serra do Norte dormem sobre o sólo.

Examinando os individuos, cujas fotografias aqui se encontram, verifiquei, porém, a existencia de verdadeira dermatose, imitando diversas das que se acham indicadas entre os nossos aborigenes.

•

A doença aparece em toda idade; foi encontrada em crianças de peito e em velhos. Ataca igualmente ambos os sexos.

Parece ser mais frequente nos indios dos rios Juruena e Juina. Os Parecis, proximos vizinhos deles, não conhecem o mal; e não me consta que já se tenha verificado qualquer caso no pessoal da linha telegrafica.

Nenhuma região do corpo é poupada, a não ser o couro cabeludo. As unhas são respeitadas, e a face não é séde predileta das lesões.

A doença não é rara; em muitos indios é facil reconhecer traços de sua existencia. No entanto, creio que evolue com intensidade mui variavel, porque só em oito individuos, dentre cerca de 400, pude verificar suas manifestações bem definidas.

A dermatose aparece sob tres aspectos clinicos sucessivos, e um mesmo individuo póde apresentar lesões cutaneas em diferentes estádios. Em algumas placas notam-se fórmas de transição.

No seu primeiro periodo essa doença fórma vesiculas mui pequenas, cheias de liquido seroso, dispostas linearmente, em figuras circulares, concentricas. A pele, nos intervalos, é aparentemente sã; as vesiculas

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Fig. 14 — *Báanécédátá* — Primeira fase da dermatose dos Indios da Serra do Norte. (Esquema).

não se rodeiam de zona inflamatoria visivel. Não ha calor, nem rubor.

Depois, as vesiculas crescem ligeiramente e secam, dando lugar á formação de crostas escamosas que seguem os contornos dos desenhos primitivos. Todavia, a fórma das figuras circulares já se não mantém regular; as primeiras lesões foram confluindo em muitos pontos através dos espaços de pele sã. Formam-se, então, verdadeiras *placas de descamação*, manifestações caracteristicas da segunda fase da doença.

Pelo mesmo processo surge o terceiro aspecto. As placas se desenvolvem lado a lado; ao pé de uma, outra cresce. Acabam juntando-se; a descamação epidermica é, então, continua. Porém, às escamas crescem bastante, quando a fase final da doença atinge seu apogeu.

O doente torna-se repulsivo.

Uma india tinha infinidade de escamas arrepiadas pelo corpo inteira, como si fossem tiras de papel de seda escuro, coladas ao tegumento por uma das extremidades.

Essas escamas papiraceas não se deixavam arrancar com facilidade; o atrito da mão não as destacava, conforme verifiquei quando a mulher se coçava. O prurido, nesse periodo, creio, é muito menor; pareceu-me mais acentuado nos primeiros.

Não posso precisar o tempo em que a doença completa sua evolução. A dermatose passa em alguns dias do primeiro ao segundo periodo; este, porém, me pareceu demorado.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Em algumas placas nota-se a formação incipiente das *escamas* papiraceas. No entanto, como apenas tive oportunidade de ver uma mulher e uma rapariga, sua filha, com todo o corpo tomado pelas lesões da ultima fase, acredito que a doença nem sempre chega a esse termo; fica estacionaria no segundo periodo, ou involue.

Distingo, assim, nessa dermatose, provisoriamente, tres aspectos:

a) fórma vesiculosa;
b) fórma placoide;
c) fórma escamosa.

Acredito que elas correspondam a periodos evolutivos da mesma doença, e não a doenças diferentes, porque achei, em alguns enfermos, fórmas intermediarias.

Aliás, eles indicavam, por sinais, mas de maneira mui clara, que a derradeira manifestação principiava pela fórma vesiculosa, unica encontrada em crianças de peito.

*

Os indios passam saliva sobre as placas; não sabemos ainda si empregam contra a molestia alguma erva. E' provavel que o façam, visto que em suas aldeias se tem encontrado verdadeiros ervarios.

Quanto á influencia que, porventura, possa ter sobre a doença o costume, peculiar aos selvagens, de se pintarem com certa pasta gordurosa feita com o suco das sementes do urucú, é tambem questão a resolver (138)

*

(138) Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in "Bol. Museu Nac., 1931 — vol. VII n.º 1) estuda o comportamento da pele untada com urucú, em relação aos raios actinicos da luz e ao calor solar.

As experiencias a que procedeu levaram-no ás seguintes conclusões:

"Untados de urucú se acham os indios tão bem protegidos contra a acção actinica do sol como se estivessem vestidos com vestidos espessos, qual usam as tribus do Sahara. Entretanto por se acharem nus, o ar circula livremente em torno do corpo, roubando calor pelo seu contacto e acceleração a evaporação do suor.

"Si se expõe ao sol, é propriedade do urucú acima verificada, não absorver senão muito moderadamente o calor solar, reflectindo os raios

O aspecto e a evolução da doença nos induzem a acreditar que se trata de uma dermatomicose; é provavel que o cogumelo patogenico tenha o seu *habitat* no sólo. E assim se explica porque os funcionarios da linha que ha anos convivem com os Nambikuáras, ainda não contraíram o mal; o que tambem se observa com os Parecís, atualmente relacionados com aqueles doentes. Uns e outros, ao contrario dos Nambikuáras, fazem uso da rêde; nunca dormem no chão.

O exame microscopico das escamas, até agora, não foi feito; é falta de que não tenho responsabilidade. Em 1912 os indios não permitiram que se colhesse material. Viviam ainda desconfiados.

O nome indigena que os enfermos da Serra do Norte dão á sua doença é: *Báanêcêdútú*.

Acredito que o vocabulo exprima, precisamente, a fórma curvilinea das lesões, visto como *Báanêndútú* é a designação generica das conchas dos gastropodes, que são enroladas em espiral.

*

Tudo isto basta para demonstrar que se trata de manifestação morbida ainda não descrita nos selvagens do Brasil.

Das dermatoses peculiares aos nossos indios, algumas não se parecem, absolutamente, com o *báanêcêdútú* da Serra do Norte.

Podem ser, desde já, afastados: o *pian*, a *curub*, a *pinhã*, a *munga*, as *pereb*, as *xerodermias* (ictioses), as *leishmanioses*, etc.

---

vermelhos e tambem os raios calorificos: dahi não exigir o homem branco ou pouco pigmentado, untado de urucú, um excesso de sudação, como se dá com o negro nessas circumstancias.

"Sendo dadas essas propriedades do urucú, que as nossas experiencias mostram, e considerando-se generalidade de seu uso entre os indios tropicaes da America, pensamos que se deve considerar o seu emprego, não como simples adorno, como meio efficaz de protecção contra a luz e o calor tropical".

India da Serra do Norte.

Dermatose dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

(Chiché sem retoques).

Indio Nambikuára.

Nambikuára Tauité.

[Facing p. 184]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Pereb é nome tupí das ulceras cutaneas banais, estafilococicas, etc.

A *pinhã* foi encontrada entre alguns indios do Amazonas por von Martius. Deve ser uma fórmula de furunculose; Martius a considerava uma especie de *antraz*.

O *pian* é hoje bem conhecido; já em 1558 fôra admiravelmente caracterizado por Thevet e, em 1578, por Jean de Lery. Em 1613 o sabio padre Yves d'Evreux apontara magistralmente suas semelhanças com o "mal de Napoles". Os indios da Serra do Norte nada apresentam de parecido.

Devo tambem dizer que aquela gente não conhece a lepra, nem as ulceras leishmaniosicas, que não poupam o pessoal da linha telegrafica.

Não vi um só atacado das *feridas bravas*, enquanto que a enfermaria de S. Luiz de Cáceres regorgitava de enfermos, vindos do acampamento.

*

Tambem com a dermatose dos indios *antisianos* (Mocetenes, Tacanas, Yurucarés), habitantes das vertentes orientais dos Andes (Perú e Bolivia), a doença dos Nambikuáras não tem semelhança.

Os *hombres overos*, designação que os espanhóis deram áqueles indios, têm largas manchas irregulares, esbranquiçadas, de contornos pouco nitidos, localizadas principalmente nas saliencias articulares.

D'Orbigny afirma que tais manchas nunca se apresentam com aspecto farinaceo; que poupam as crianças, e que a epiderme dos doentes se mantem inteiramente lisa.

A molestia dos "overos" nada mais é, afinal, que a *vaurána* dos nossos indios do grupo tupí, e vem a ser a mesma coisa que o *mal dos Caratés*, da Colombia, *mal das pintas* (ou dos pintos), *Lota*, da America Central, ou *Purúpurú*, da Amazonia.

*

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Spix e Martius, no começo do seculo passado, e, depois deles, outros naturalistas, encontraram o mal espalhado pelo grande vale. Muitos cronistas dele se ocuparam e, entre todos, Baena foi minucioso.

"Purú-purús, escreveram aqueles, é o nome dado pelos brasileiros aos indios que se chamam propriamente *Pamaouiris*, habitantes do rio Purús".

Descreveram a molestia dos *Pamaouiris* ou, como hoje se diz, *Paúmaris*, dando-lhe para caracteristica essencial a presença de manchas cutaneas irregulares, isoladas ou confluentes, enegrecidas, um tanto asperas ao tato.

Martius acreditava que algumas manchas brancas, ás vezes, encontradas entre as escuras, representavam o primeiro estádio da doença.

Parecia-lhe hereditario o *purú-purú*, embora suas manifestações cutaneas só principiassem a partir da puberdade. Os indios com que Martius tratou atribuiam esse flagelo *ao mau estado do seu sangue;* e o naturalista acreditava que a *vida anfibia* daquela gente, sua alimentação e alguns dos seus costumes influiam muito para o aparecimento do *purú-purú*.

*

Depois, naturalmente pela disseminação da doença seu nome ficou servindo para designar todas as tribus da região Purús-Juruá: *Paumari, Juberi, Aruá*, etc.

Ehrenreich, ha cerca de 20 anos, poude verificar certos detalhes curiosos na evolução do *purú-purú*. Confirmou que só a partir da puberdade a doença toma incremento; encontrou alguns indios com pés e mãos inteiramente brancos, como si se tratasse de um *albinismo parcial*, ou de uma especie de *vitiligo*.

Segundo Ehrenreich, no primeiro periodo da molestia, as manchas têm côr azul-acinzentada. A' medida que se vão descorando nas bordas, escurecem no centro.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Pessoalmente ele nunca observou a descamação da epiderme da zona doente. Todavia, transcreve informação vulgar segundo a qual os Paumaris misturam, subrepticiamente, as escamas de sua pele aos alimentos e á agua de seus vizinhos, afim de que a doença tambem os atinja.

Nas manchas brancas, acrescenta o mesmo etnologo, não existem pêlos. O prurido é sempre intenso.

*

Em 1909, Koch-Grünberg tratou do *purú-purú* encontrado na bacia do Rio Negro. Apontou, de acôrdo com a opinião dos indios, tres variedades da doença: *purú-purú branco, p. negro* e *vermelho*, segundo a côr predominante nas manchas. Koch-Grünberg diz que as manchas negras são duras e asperas; as brancas, lisas, apresentam o aspecto de queimaduras.

No entanto, Oswaldo Cruz (139), em 1913, afirmou que nada justifica a separação das tres variedades. As manchas brancas, para ele, figuram um estádio mais adiantado da doença; aparecem pela eliminação do pigmento cutaneo promovida por agente infeccioso.

Oswaldo Cruz verificou tambem a descamação da epiderme ao nivel das manchas negras.

Hirsch (140), já em 1886, asségurava que o *purú-purú* não poderia ser sinão uma dermatomicose; os estudos de Montoya y Flores (141) e Oswaldo Cruz, embora ainda não concludentes, parecem justificar a hipótese.

---

(139) Oswaldo Cruz — Relatorio sobre as condições medico-sanitarias do vale do Amazonas — Ministerio da Agricultura. — Rio, 1913.

(140) Hirsch, A. — "Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie — 1886.

(141) Montoya y Flores, J. B.:
Recherches sur le Caratés de Colombie — Paris, 1893.
Archives de Parasitologie, vol, II.
Notes sur les Caratés — Ann. de Derm. et de Syphil., 1897.

Os indios da Serra do Norte vivem em aguas amazonicas; habitam, portanto, na vizinhança da zona enorme onde se tem achado o *purú-purú*. Todavia, não sofrem, indiscutivelmente, desse mal. O seu isolamento os preservou.

*

Já com o *ringworm* ou *herpes circinatus*, e tambem com o *tokeláu*, ou *tinea imbricata*, o *báanêcêdútú* tem alguma semelhança.

Ehrenreich, em 1897, confundiu aquelas duas dermatoses, e afirmou que são frequentes entre os indios da zona tropical.

O *ringworm*, porém, não é o tokeláu; nem essas dermatoses são muito disseminadas entre os indios. O seu tegumento cutaneo, sujeito a multiplas causas desorganizadoras, proporcionadas pelo meio, acha-se muitas vezes tomado pelas *"erupções artificiais de causa interna e externa"*, passiveis de se confundirem, em certos casos, com molestias parasitarias.

No entanto, é fóra de duvida que as primeiras formações da dermatose da Serra do Norte seriam parecidas com as do *herpes circinatus* — circulos concentricos formados por pequenas vesiculas — si lhes não faltasse a reação inflamatoria que acompanha o *herpes*.

Talvez essa reação passe despercebida, seja pela espessura da pele, seja pelas suas condições de vascularização discreta, ausencia de pêlos, glandulas sebaceas pouco abundantes, etc.

A evolução da dermatose da Serra do Norte, todavia, não permite que se a confunda com o *ringworm*.

No seu estado final, a doença dos Nambikuáras assemelha-se muito mais á *tinea imbricata*.

O aspecto do individuo coberto de escamas longas, como tiras de papel de seda, que verifiquei perfeitamente nos meus indios, é tambem atribuido ao *tokeláu*. No *tokeláu*, além disso, não existe inflamação ao redor

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

das lesões, nem o sistema piloso é atacado, tal qual acontece no *báanêcêdútú*.

A *tinea imbricata* tambem começa por formações vesiculares; mas a transformação das vesiculas em *sistemas*, na dermatose dos Nambikuáras é muito mais irregular. Não existem mesmo verdadeiros *sistemas* de *descamação*, como no tokeláu; são antes placas, limitadas por escamas ainda tão pequenas que tomam aspecto furfaraceo.

De sorte que a verdadeira semelhança das duas dermatoses só é bem visivel no ultimo periodo, quando as *escamas papiraceas*, alongadas, cobrem todo o corpo.

Por outro lado, a evolução da doença dos indios da Serra do Norte nada se parece com a do tokeláu que o Dr. C. Paes Leme (142) descreveu em 1903, entre os indios do Araguaia, e Fritz Krause não menciona. Faltam obsolutamente os sintomas gerais apontados naqueles indios; a dermatose dos selvagens da Serra do Norte tem todas as caracteristicas de uma doença local.

Pelas razões expostas, acredito que o *báanêcêdútú* é uma dermatomicose exfoliativa, talvez mesmo uma *tinea* vizinha do tokeláu.

Era impossivel obter naquela data material para exame microscopico. Atualmente, as condições são mais favoraveis; a confiança dos doentes é cada vez maior. Permite investigações muito mais complexas.

Tenho realizado pesquisas sobre ligas e outros objetos de uso dos indios, material que passou muito tempo em contacto direto com as lesões cutaneas. Essas observações são extremamente precarias, é claro. Nem conto com o seu exito. Si fôr possivel isolar um fungo, dessas peças, cultivá-lo, inoculá-lo, voltarei a tratar do interessante assunto.

Aos especialistas cabe completar e corrigir estas notas, que não pretendem sinão documentar o aspecto

(142) C. Paes Leme — "Contribuição ao estudo do Tokeláu" — Tese inaugural — Rio, 1903.

clinico de uma manifestação morbida de indios primitivos. Amanhã ou depois, contaminados pelas infecções estranhas, a que infelizmente não se poderão furtar, hão de apresentar os mesmos fenomenos sob outra fórma, modificados pelos beneficios e pelos males da civilização (143).

*

Com os dados antropologicos, aqui transcritos já se póde tentar um esboço de comparação somatica.

A antropologia não é mais a inutil pesquisadora de soluções impossiveis, para problemas ociosos, embora não tenha ainda atingido o grau supremo que lhe foi marcado na hierarquia positiva.

A raça não é uma expressão verbal, sem valia nem função; marca sempre relações, entre um grupo de organismos e o meio em que eles vivem. E', por isso, indispensavel ir levando em conta os *fenomenos*, do mesmo modo como se apreciam os *seres*.

Perante a moderna orientação da antropologia a observação dinamica das *raças*, dos *tipos*, e dos proprios *individuos*, vai-se aos poucos, caracterizando como a unica saída para os que estudam com desejo de encontrar o caminho do progresso. A descrição estatistica das caracterizações não satisfaz ao espirito cientifico da época; recentes verificações e descobertas que a fisiologia conseguiu, mórmente no ambito das funções das glandulas de secreção interna, mostram que a morfologia, por si só, é fraco contingente para o conhecimento dos organismos. Ela é condicionada de modo iterativo pela maneira de funcionar propria a cada qual. Numa palavra: a *antropologia anatomica*, cada vez mais, perde em favor da *antropologia fisiologica*.

---

(143) Vide Olympio da Fonseca Filho — "Afinidades parasitologicas e clinicas entre o tokeláu da Asia e da Oceania e o chimberê dos indigenas de Mato-Grosso — Bol. Mus. Nac., vol. VI, n.º 2, 1930.
Este trabalho acha-se transcrito no fim deste volume.

Mãe e filha Tagnani.

Mãe e filho Tagnani.

Indio Tagnani.

Indios da Serra do Norte.

[Facing p. 190]

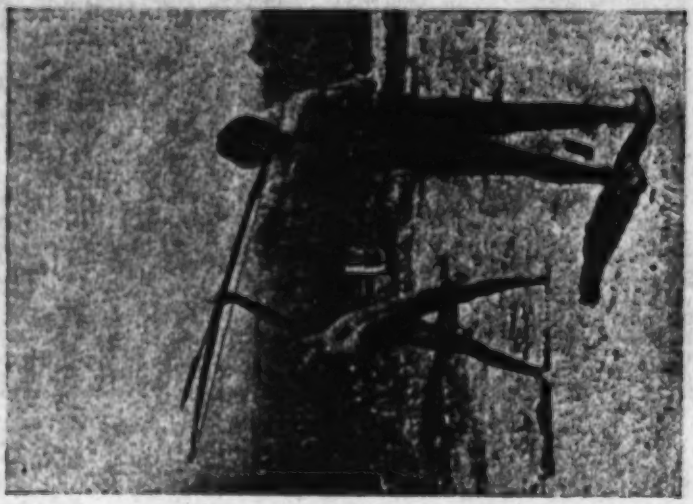
Indias Nambikuára Tagnani.

Indio Nambikuára.

Mestiças Tagnani.

India da Serra do Norte.

[Facing p. 198]



Indio da Serra do Norte (fechando por direção).

Distribuição de brindes — Aldeia do Juba.

[Facing p. 206]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Trumaí, Parecí, Borôro, Karajá, Kaiapó, Cherente (Akuen), Iamamadí, Ipurinã.

A transcrição desse material, aqui, seria descabida. O cotejo dos elementos referentes ás grandes massas indigenas do *hinterland*, com as notas que obtive na Serra do Norte, póde ser esboçado com os dados já insertos acima. Depois de examinar, em paralelos, os documentos que obtive e os já arquivados, será possivel, talvez, decidir ao lado de que tipo antropologico devemos colocar a população central da Rondonia.

Comparando os Indios da Serra do Norte com os tipos conhecidos no Brasil, pode-se concluir apontando semelhanças e diferenças que são dignas de nota.

•

Pele — Pelo colorido da pele acham-se ao lado dos Borôros e dos Karajás. O grupo meridional é composto dos mais escuros indios do Brasil.

•

Cabelo — O indice médio, encontrado nos côrtes histologicos, andou na vizinhança de 59, muito proximo dos Semang (Negritos) da Peninsula Malaia.

Pigmentação muito forte, medula espessa.

Secção circular.

•

Estatura — Até 1m,60 acham-se 25% de individuos. De 1m,60 a 1m,65, 56%. de 1m,65 a 1m,70 encontram-se 19 %. Mais de metade tem de 1m,600 a 1m,65.

Pelo quadro de Ehrenreich, os indios da Serra do Norte tomam posição, quanto á estatura, entre os *Parecís* e os *Nahuquás*. Proximo deles estão os *Bakairís, Mehinakús, Trumais, Iamamadís.*

•

A *porcentagem de estaturas elevadas* (19%) coloca os Nambikuáras perto dos Kaiapós (20%) e afasta-os dos Bakairís (0%), dos Nahuquás (6,6%), dos Trumais (0%) e dos Parecís (11%).

•

A *diferença sexual da estatura* — (0m,12), — afasta-os dos indios Tupis, entre os quais, muitas vezes, o homem é mais baixo que a mulher, e do caso dos Aruaks, em que a estatura feminina equivale á masculina (Barbosa Rodrigues).

Pela *circunferencia toracica*, igual a ½ da altura, aproximam-se dos tipos normais da raça branca (De Giovanni). Relação centesimal entre a *altura total* e a *circunferencia toracica* — 50,0.

Nos indios do Brasil essa não é a regra; em geral, a circunferencia toracica é maior que ½ da altura. Nas tabelas de Ehrenreich o tipo mais proximo dos Nambikuáras é o dos Karajás, do Araguaia, com o indice 53,3.

•

O *indice de Manouvrier* indica a relação existente entre o comprimento do *busto* e o do *membro inferior*, segmentos que formam a *estatura*. Morfologica e fisiologicamente o busto (cabeça e tronco) é muito mais importante que o membro inferior. De sorte que, avaliar a sua relação com a *altura total* ou *estatura* é determinar, até certo ponto, o valor biologico do individuo (Montessori).

Manouvrier denominou *macroskéle*, *mesatiskéle* e *brachyskéle* os tipos fundamentais estabelecidos sobre essa relação. No tipo médio (mesatiskéle) o busto deve compreender pouco mais da metade da estatura (indice 52), no tipo macroskéle o indice baixa de 52 a 50; acima de 53, até 55, o indice corresponde á brachyskélia.

Chamando *B* — o busto, ou *altura essencial*, de Collignon; *P* — membro inferior (perna) e procurando a relação *centesimal* entre ambos, para facilitar o calculo, chega-se á equação:

$$\frac{P}{B} = \frac{x}{100}$$

de onde:

$$x \text{ (Indice de Manouvrier)} = \frac{P \times 100}{B}$$

Os tipos macroskéles têm, pois, *busto* relativamente curto e *pernas* longas; os brachyskéles ao contrario, têm *busto* longo e *pernas* curtas.

Tais observações se referem aos adultos, porque durante o crescimento verificam-se modificações fundamentais nas proporções do corpo.

Porém, a determinação do *cánon antropologico real*, segundo o indice de Manouvrier, póde ser obtida aproximadamente, conforme ele mesmo o mostrou, pela simples inspecção.

Assim, as espaduas, no tipo brachyskéle, ficam em nivel inferior ao da furcula esternal; acham-se acima, no macroskéle. Neste, a cicatriz umbilical não corresponde ao cotovelo.

Quando o dedo médio do individuo, em extensão completa, chega á articulação do joelho, ou muito perto dela, trata-se, regra geral, de um tipo macroskéle.

Em todas as raças, e entre todos os povos, ha tipos macroskéles, brachyskéles e mesatiskéles; porém, as observações que se têm realizado vão indicando que existe, sempre, certa predominancia de brachyskéles entre os *amarelos*, macroskéles entre os *negros* e mesatiskéles entre os *brancos*.

Os indios do Brasil encontram-se entre os brachyskéles.

Os Nambikuáras não se excetuam.

Pelo *indice cefalico*, os indios da Serra do Norte devem ser colocados ao lado dos *Parecis*, da tabela de Ehrenreich — (76,0).

•

O *indice nasal* — (85) na vizinhança da platirrinia, afasta-os dos *Kaiapós* e mesmo dos indios do grupo Gé, que, segundo Ehrenreich, são os que têm nariz mais estreito.

•

O *indice facial* — (74,6) — aproxima os indios da Serra do Norte dos *Borôros* (75,9) e afasta-os muito dos *Parecis*, que têm 81,5, e dos outros indios Aruaks.

•

O exame somatico do povo da Serra do Norte demonstra, até certo ponto, que o seu substratum antropologico, bem caracterizadamente americano, filiado, pois, no tipo mongol, sofreu multiplas influencias que deram em resultado a falta de homogeneidade que apresenta.

Cruzamentos diversos devem ter modificado o primitivo tipo dos Nambikuáras. Do ponto de vista antropologico, acredito que se trata de um tipo muito semelhante ao que se encontra nos povos que falam idiomas nuaruaks, modificado por sangue alofilo e talvez por sangue etiope.

IX

HABITAM territorios banhados por aguas amazonicas os indios que se acham espalhados pelos vales do Juruena e pela Serra do Norte.

São chamados Nambikuáras (Nhambiquaras, Nambiquaras, Nambicoaras, Mambyuaras, Mambryáras, Membyuares, etc.) pelos sertanejos e pelos indios civilizados, seus vizinhos.

Somam alguns milheiros. Quantos? não sabemos. Qualquer estimativa seria invaliosa. Sendo cerca de uma duzia de aldeias de que tivemos noticia segura, por visita ou por informação, e dando para cada qual, em média, 100 habitantes, atingimos ao total de 1.200.

E' muito importante a difusão do nome Nambikuára; existe em Mato-Grosso, e no Pará, para os indios de que nos ocupamos. Quer dizer que, do lado Norte e do Sul, os habitantes daquela Serra têm a mesma designação.

A concordancia faz pensar, á primeira vista, que o nome deve ser, efetivamente, muito caracterjstico. No entanto, é apelativo que os nomeados não conhecem, palavra absolutamente estranha ao dialeto de qualquer dos grupos. Convem conservá-la, todavia, para evitar confusões.

O limite meridional da região dos Nambikuáras é o rio Papagaio.

Ao Norte parece que sua zona de distribuição atinge o Gi-Paraná; a Léste, o Tapajoz; a Oéste, o Guaporé.

O grupo que habita proximo ás margens do Juruena e do Juina, do rio Papagaio até ao Camararé,

que chamarei *grupo de Sudéste*, denomina-se Kôkôzú ou Kôkôçú.

O que habita no baixo rio 12 de Outubro e se estende provavelmente até á confluencia do Arinos com o Juruena, onde tambem devem chegar alguns representantes do primeiro, denomina-se Anunzê; chamá-lo-ei *grupo de Nordéste*.

O que vive a Sudoéste da invernada de Campos Novos desce até ao Guaporé; é denominado Uaintaçú e constitue o *grupo do Sudoéste*.

O grande *grupo Nordéste* mora já na vizinhança das aguas do Madeira, nas margens de tributarios do Gi-Paraná. Parece-me formado por diferentes nucleos secundarios, cujas relações ainda não foram bem caracterizadas; pertencem-lhe os indios que encontrei na invernada de Tres Buritís, nos Campos de 14 de Abril, em José Bonifacio, Campos de Maria de Molina. Seu nucleo principal habita entre os rios 12 de Outubro e Rooseevelt (rio da Duvida).

Do grupo septentrional só encontrei os *Tagnanis, Tauitês, Salumás, Tarutês, Taschuitês;* mesmo assim, apenas sobre *Tagnanis* e *Tauitês* consegui diversas notas.

Os *Anunzês*, de Campos Novos, falam nos *Taiópas* e nos *Xaodi-Kókas*, até agora não achados; no extremo norte da região, Rondon tem descoberto, recentemente, grupos (*Kip-kerinat*, etc.) (145) pertencentes a outras nações indigenas. (Cf. Mapa).

•

Tagnanis e *Tauitês* referem-se a uma tribu inimiga, que nenominam *Malutundú*, ou melhor *Ualutdú* ou *Ualut-ndù*.

---

(145) Os tupis do Gi-paraná e outras tribus, foram descritos em "Missão Rondon", Rio, 1916, e nas memorias de Curt Nimuendajú, no "Journal de la Société de Américanistes". Os "Archivos do Museu Nacional" (vol. XXV, 1925) publicaram "Notas Antropometricas sobre os Indios Urupás", de Roquette-Pinto e A. Childe.

Na porta da casa — Aldeia do Rio Juba.

Kabeni á porta da casa Rio Juba.

Aldeia de Nambikuara.

[Facing p. 216]

E' provavel que sejam *Mundurucús*, do Alto do Tapajóz, os indios batizados pelos Nambikuáras com essa denominação: *Ualùt-ndù*, que é nome do tatú-galinha (146).

Convem notar que os *Anunzês* chamavam aos *Kôkôzús*: *Kôkôzê;* estes demominam os primeiros: *Annunzú.*

Os *Kôkôzús* chamam aos do grupo *Sudoéste*: *Uaintaçú;* os *Anunzês* os denominam *Uaindzê.*

São esses *Uaintaçú* ou *Uáindzê*, os mesmos que, nas vizinhanças de Mato-Grosso, no Guaporé, recebem o nome de *Kabixís;* denominação que, por outro lado, tem sido aplicada pelos *Parecís*, como titulo pejorativo, a certo grupo de sua mesma tribu: o dos *Kozárinis.*

*

Tambem os Parecís dão aos Nambikuáras o nome generico de *Uaikoákôrê* (*irmão do chão*), porque dormem diretamente sobre o sólo.

*

Os antigos *Tapaniunas*, ou *Tapanhunas*, que os cronistas localizavam no Alto Tapajóz, devem ser Nambikuáras do grupo Kôkôzú; de fato, os mais escuros de todo o vale do Juruena. Justificam o apelativo tupí: *homem negro.*

*

A localização dos grupos conhecidos, espalhados pela Serra do Norte e pelo vale do Juruena, acha-se expressa na carta etnografica da região, que acompanha estas notas.

*

(146) Tatú-galinha — *Dasypus tatusia novemcinctus.*

A exata significação das denominações citadas ainda não póde ser ministrada com segurança. Estudando-as, á luz dos elementos existentes, chega-se ao seguinte resultado, que não deve estar longe da verdade.

Kôkôzú — "Tios"; assim chamados, pelos outros, talvez, por serem os mais primitivos de toda a tribu.

Anunzú — E' franca deformação do termo *Anungzú* ou *Anungçú*, que quer dizer — *leite de mulher* —, apelativo deprimente, como tantos outros, achados por toda a America; serão, talvez. — "Os Infantes" — (*crianças de peito*).

Uaintaçú — Parece corrupção de *Nuntaçú*, nome do Jacaré na lingua dos Nambikuáras do Juina. O grupo dos *Uáintaçú* seria nada mais que a antiga tribu dos indios *Jacarés*, de que falámos no primeiro capitulo deste trabalho.

Tagnanís — São, claramente, os *Tamararis* das antigas cartas geograficas; devem ser identificados aos *Tamararés* ou *Camararés*, que deram o nome ao rio, e se acham mencionados em alguns documentos antigos.

Tauitê por *Tauhitê*, significa *criança, filho*, tal qual se encontra em outras tribus.

Para evitar futuras confusões, julgo prudente conservar o nome nambikuára ligado aos apelativos peculiares a cada grupo.

*

As aldeias dos indios da Serra do Norte, em geral, são construidas no alto de pequenas colinas, longe dos cursos dagua. Algumas distam mais de um km. do rio ou do ribeirão mais proximo.

Visam dois objetivos, ao que supomos, levantando suas palhoças em tal situação: sofrem menos dos mosquitos e dominam o territorio vizinho, o que é vantajoso, vivendo, como até agora viviam, em lutas constantes.

A aldeia é construida numa grande praça, de cincoenta metros de diametro; o chão, limpo de mato, ar-

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

rancado á mão, é entretido sempre assim pelo piso dos moradores.

Uma noite de dansa, interminavel caminhar nos mesmos pontos, basta para alisar o terreiro das vilas.

A mancha circular, que faz o chão da aldeia no meio do cerrado, toma a feição de uma estrela, mercê dos trilhos que partem de sua circunferencia.

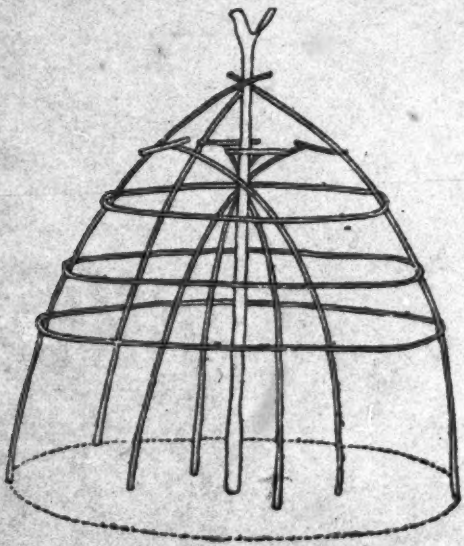


Fig. 16 — Arcabouço de uma palhoça dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

O acesso á praça das vilas é livre: não ha cerca, nem tapume, que impeça a chegada ao terreiro. Ao redor, não ha *fortificações*, nem defesas (147).

Constam sempre de duas casas as aldeias nambikuáras; uma defronte da outra, nas extremidades de um dos diametros da praça.

(147) Os tupis do Gi-paraná, ao contrario (como os tupinambás antigos e outros) embaraçavam com estrepes o caminho para as suas aldeias, que foi preciso desembaraçar quando entraram em relações com a missão Rondon (v. Cel. M. Rondon — Conferencias, pags. 161-162).

Aquela região compreende grandes matas, cerrados e charravascais, poucos tapetes de campo. Os indios escolhem de preferencia o cerrado para localizar sua aldeia.

A mata é perigosa pelas serpentes, pelas feras e até pelos madeiros, que se despencam, muitas vezes, e esmigalham os caçadores; o campo tambem o é porque oferece a aldeia ao ataque do inimigo, não protege, de nenhum modo, a casa contra o invasor. Mas o cer-

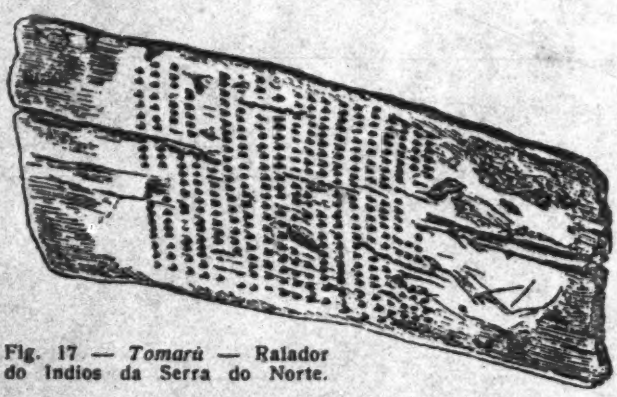


Fig. 17 — *Tomará* — Ralador do Indios da Serra do Norte.

rado cumpre muito bem esse mistér; poucos são os males que favorece e muitos os beneficios que proporciona.

Bem o entenderam os Nambikuáras; suas palhoças se confundem com o matiz acinzentado da vegetação ambiente. São moitas do cerrado; quem olha, á distancia, quasi não as vê. Diluem-se suas fórmas, aliás bem definidas, nas fórmas imprecisas do cerrado.

Naturalmente, alguem que tenha o habito de ver as coisas naquele véo poeirento da flóra xerófita dos chapadões, dá depressa com as palhoças; a confusão não ilude uma vista experiente. Mas o fato desse mimetismo é real.

*

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Distribuição das casas de forma redonda e oval: (Segundo Nordenskjöld).

○ Redondas ou ovais, de carater provisorio.

Casas de carater permanente:

● Cobertura que se prolonga em paredes (Casa em forma de colmeia).

■ Distinção nitida entre cobertura e paredes.

▲ Paredes de pedra ou de tijolos secos ao sol.

30 — Amazonas. Cf. Guevara.
29 — Parecel. Cf. Max Schmidt.
28 — Bakairi. Cf. K. von den Steinen.
31 — Trio, Oyana. Cf. de Goeje.
33 — Campa. Cf. Otto Nordenskjöld.
36 — Ijca, Kogaba. Cf. Bolinder.

47 — Yaulipang. Cf. Koch-Grunberg.
61 — Tribus a NW de Amazonas. Cf. Whiffen.
64 — Huari. Cf. Nordenskjöld.
233 — Indios do Rio Mapuera. Cf. Condreau.
234 — Chipaya. Cf. Pegnansky.
235 — Indios do Alto Chaporé. Cf. Felix de Lima.

277 — Indios do Machifero (Alto Amazonas). Cf. Ortiguera.
279 — Indios Chaquimayo. Cf. Palomino.
2M — Uapixana, Taruma. Cf. Farabee.
3C — Nambikuara. Cf. Roquette-Pinto.
X3 — Pinaroa. Cf. Chaffanjon.

[Facing p. 220]

Nas aldeias encontra-se a morada fixa, definitiva; mas além dessa *habitação-domicilio*, usam ainda os Nambikuáras um tipo de *habitação-provisoria* que levantam rapidamente, onde quer que se encontrem á hora de anoitecer.

*

As casas definitivas, dos indios do vale do Juruena, são pouco diferentes das habitações dos que vivem no extremo da Cordilheira do Norte.

A aldeia — (Kôkôzú) — do rio Juina, onde estivemos, constava de duas casas. A primeira era pequena, hemisférica (148), mal feita, provida de uma porta mais ou menos ampla; cabiam nela, á vontade cerca de 20 individuos. A outra tinha fórma de prisma reto, triangular, de que o sólo formava uma das faces. Era mais bem acabada. Media 9 metros de comprimento, 3 ½ de largura por 2 ½ de altura. Uma das suas extremidades era fechada; ao lado, escondida pelas folhas que caíam do teto, uma pequena porta. A outra extremidade era aberta livremente. A cabana estava orientada no sentido Este-Oeste; a extremidade fechada, do lado do nascente. Destarte, á tarde, o sol entrava pela casa a dentro, durante algumas horas.

Fig. 18 — Pilão dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Duas forquilhas, plantadas nos extremos, sustentavam a travessa longitudinal, á qual vinham ter alguns

(148) - Vide nota n. 75 e mapa de distribuição geografica de tipos de casa segundo Nordenskjöld, estampa fora do texto.

caibros fixados, do outro lado, no chão, e destinados a suportar as grandes palmas protetoras do *uauassú*.

As palmas que se achavam de um lado eram dobradas, no alto, sobre o outro lado do teto, por cima da travessa longitudinal; para mantê-las assim, corriam, ao longo da casa, duas varas, amarradas aos caibros interiores por meio de laços de embira.

*

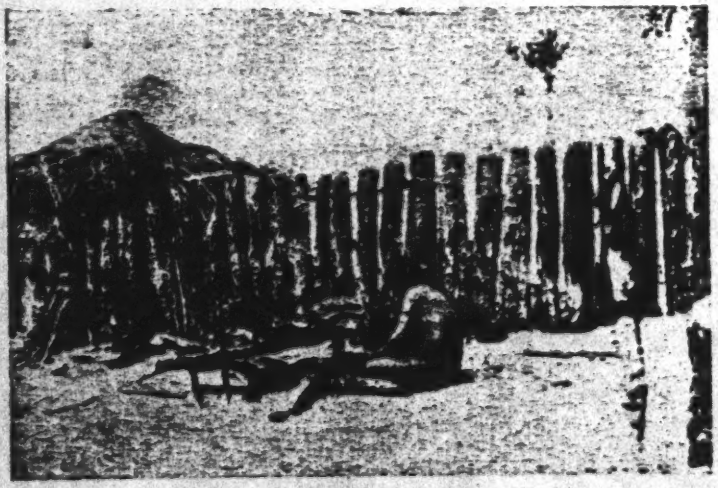
Tambem se encontram duas palhoças nas aldeias dos *Tagnanís* e dos *Tauitês*. Ambas, com aberturas orientadas na direção Este-Oeste, são regularmente circulares, no seu perimetro ao nivel do sólo, e têm fórma conica. No vertice do cone sobe uma vara, alguns palmos acima do teto, e termina sempre em forquilha, como se vê na fotografia. As portas acham-se nas extremidades de um mesmo diametro, face a face.

Fig. 19 — *Hikauti* — Faca de madeira dos Indios Tauitês da Serra do Norte.

Não sabemos ainda como traçam os Nambikuáras a circunferencia que limita o chão da cabana; deve ser a mão livre, porque é assim que desenham tal figura nas suas cabaças. No centro da casa erguem quatro forquilhas e um esteio central.

As forquilhas formam, em cima, um rectangulo de madeira, de onde partem varas flexiveis que se vão enterrar no solo, ao longo da circunferencia que limita a habitação. Ligando-as, firmes, correm travessas que completam o arcabouço da choça. A cobertura é feita de palmas de bacába, dispostas em camadas. Pelo interior da choupana, verifica-se que a primeira camada é constituida por uma trança de folíolos, amarrados ao

Toldos de caça — Indios do Rio Juina.



Indios da Serra do Norte.

[Facing p. 222]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

madeiramento. As externas cobrem, como lençóis de palha, mui certos e bem aparados, toda a superficie do edificio. Não ha paredes laterais diferenciadas do této; são prolongamentos diretos da cobertura.

A maior das duas casas que descrevemos, da aldeia proxima ao rio Karumí, ou Festa da Bandeira, tem 30 metros de perimetro, e a ountra 28.

Suas portas medem 0m,37 de largura por 0m,52 de altura. Para atravessá-las é preciso esgueirar o corpo. A praça, onde se levantam as duas casas a que se referem estas notas, mede cerca de 20 metros de diametro.

Dentro das cabanas, tres giráus feitos de taquara, proprios para secar a raspa de mandioca e duas enormes panelas negras, que não poderiam ter passado pelas portas; enfiados na palha do teto, adornos, utensilios leves, um sortimento de utilidades... A palha das cabanas é o almoxarifado dos indios; guardam nela suas miudezas.

Debaixo de cada giráu, uma pequena fogueira.

Quatro pés de taquara enfiados no chão suportando uma grade horizontal de taquarinha: é o giráu.

Media cerca de dois metros de comprimento por 1m,50 de largura.

Não ha, nas choupanas, abertura para saída da fumaça das fogueiras interiores; nem é preciso. Pelos interstícios da palha passa ela muito bem.

*

Ao redor da habitação, esparsos ou amontoados, ossos partidos, côcos quebrados, favas de jatobá, sabugos de milho, carvão, rebotalhos da alimentação dos moradores, de mistura com utensilios e artefatos inutilizados pelo uso.

Ao pé de uma das casas da aldeia do rio Festa da Bandeira havia uma grande peça, que só deixei de trazer pela absoluta impossibilidade de transportá-la. Era utensilio dos que se encontram, com frequencia, nos

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

"sambaquis" da costa do Atlantico: uma pedra com algumas covinhas, onde cabia a polpa de um dedo. Ao lado havia quantidade prodigiosa de pequenas nózes de bacába, partidas e por partir. Muitos suspeitam que tal utensilio haja servido para fazer fogo; na Serra do Norte, usam-no, apenas, para partir coquinhos. A pedra era, todavia, muito maior do que as encontradas geralmente nos sambaquis.

Fig. 20 — Utensilio fabricado pelos Indios da Serra do Norte com um fragmento de ferro.

Habitações provisorias são toldos de ramos e folhagens. Passam ali alguns dias, se a caça é abundante no local; depois abandonam a construção.

Para erguer um desses toldos, que os tropeiros costumam chamar *maloquinhas de caça*, espalhadas entre o Juruena e o rio 12 de Outubro, começam por limpar muito bem o sólo. Depois, fincam dois grandes ramos nas extremidades de uma reta; curvam-nos, em cima, sobre uma travessa sustentada por duas forquilhas enterradas na frente.

Acabam de cobrir o rancho com palha, ou capim, arrancado na ocasião, o qual leva para o teto porções de terra, nas raizes.

Dentro, ou antes, debaixo, um foguinho.

Cada toldo cobre, mais ou menos, uma superficie de dois a quatro metros quadrados. Se são muitos os indios que viajam, cada grupo familiar levanta seu abrigo. A construção é, afinal, um tipo acabado do *Windschrim* dos etnologos alemães.

Porém os indios dos grupos mais septentrionais (*Tagnanis, Tauitês*) não constroem toldos provisorios do mesmo modo.

Em geral, sua habitação temporaria é mais simples: uma ou mais folhas de *uauassú*, ou de qualquer

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

outra palma, fincadas no chão. Não é um toldo; é um anteparo contra o sol, ou rajadas de chuva.

Aliás, tais indios moram em região de grandes florestas e charravascais, que, em caso de aguaceiro, protegem perfeitamente bem os seus filhos; enquanto

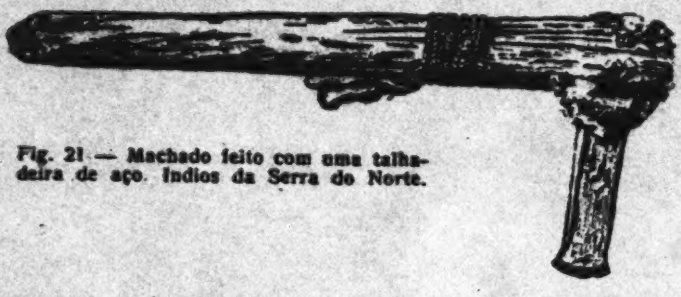


Fig. 21 — Machado feito com uma talhadeira de aço. Indios da Serra do Norte.

que os outros habitam zona onde existem mais cerrados e campos do que matas. Ainda uma vêz o meio geografico condicionando a ação humana.

*

Os Nambikuáras-Kôkôzús denominam *Siçú* ás suas aldeias; os Anunzês dão-lhes o nome de *Chicê*. Esses vocabulos têm a significação geral de habitação: casa ou aldeia.

Não sabemos, ao certo, como constroem suas habitações-domicilios.

Na edificação de um toldo de caça só tomam parte as mulheres; quebram os ramos que servirão para a cobertura, enquanto as crianças ajudam, arrancando o capim e o sapê, que tambem concorrem para tapar o teto.

*

Frequentemente mudam o local do domicilio. Seguindo o trilho que nos levou á maloca do Juina, onde pernoitámos, passamos por diferentes lugares onde havia estado a aldeia.

Não é ainda conhecida a causa determinante das mudanças para locais tão proximos; talvez a morte de um indio, ou a ocorrencia de alguma desgraça comum.

Fig. 22 — Machado de pedra dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Não é possivel invocar motivos derivados de ação mesologica de importancia, dado que se afastam pouco do primitivo sitio.

*

Para prevenir a entrada da enxurrada por debaixo da palha, que vem do teto ao chão, cercam os indios *Tagnanis* e *Tauitês* as suas casas conicas, pelo lado de dentro, ao longo da linha que as limita, com uma serie de talas imbricadas, feitas das cascas do jatobá.

A chuva não penetra.

Quem imaginasse que o interior das cabanas é abafadiço e quente faria injustiça ao edificio; o ar entra de um modo admiravel, através dos intervalos das folhas.

Todavia, quando os indios acendem *foguinhos*, a coisa muda de figura. E, felizmente para eles, a permeabilidade da cobertura de palha livra seus olhos de graves doenças, que se encontram em muitos povos incultos, cujas habitações retêm a fumaça.

*

A guarnição das casas é sumaria; além dos giráus de que se falou, e algumas grandes panelas, nada mais se póde apontar como mobiliario propriamente dito. Tudo mais são utensilios, artefatos, armas e adornos,

Aldeia Indígena.
Rio Festa da Bandeira (Karumi).

Aldeia Nambikuára.

[Facin p. 226]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

que levam consigo, á menor viagem que empreendem. Alguns pilões e ralos mais pesados, que não podem ser comodamente carregados, ficam guarnecendo a morada. *Omnia mea mecum porto,* poderiam repetir os barbaros...

*

Esteiras de palha, couros preparados, rêdes, giráus de dormir, catres e camas, são modalidades de leito que predominam neste ou naquele estado de cultura social.

A presença das primeiras já indica certo adiantamento; os Nambikuáras não têm outro leito senão a terra. Dormem sobre o chão limpo.

E não tinham a rêde, inseparavel companheira dos Parecís, seus vizinhos; hoje, que a conhecem, estimam-na infinitamente. No meio deles, para repousar um pouco, á noite, era uma dificuldade; mal armavamos as nossas, surgiam logo tres ou quatro candidatos... E, uma vez donos dela, dificilmente nô-la deixavam. Frequentemente eramos despertados por alguns indios, que a fina força, desejavam dormir nas mesmas em que repousavamos.

No pouso de Tres Buritís, onde estiveram acampados alguns dias conosco, á noite disputavam tosca mesa de páu, em que os encarregados da estação faziam suas refeições; já se apraziam em dormir alto do chão, imitando o nosso procedimento.

Porque, pois não se utilizavam da rêde? Porque não a conheciam.

Trançar fios de algodão e de tucum, trançam eles, de maneira mais que suficiente para confeccionar uma delas; apreciar esse leito dos seus vizinhos, tambem haveriam de apreciar, como agora acontece.

Os indios da Serra do Norte atestam, por esse traço etnografico, a situação de inferioridade em que se encontravam.

Tal ignorancia é, aliás, caracteristica social de um grande grupo etnico do Brasil, que compreende os mais atrasados aborigenes da America, no consenso de todos os que o têm estudado, o grupo *Gé-Botocudo*.

*

Ora, todos os indios da Serra do Norte dormem diretamente sobre o sólo. Nada, nem folhas, nem palhas, nem esteiras, nem couros, colocam sobre o chão em que se deitam.

Deitam-se, quasi sempre, em decubito lateral, pondo o ante-braço debaixo da cabeça para servir de travesseiro.

Os homens raro se sentam diretamente sobre o chão. Em geral, àcocoram-se. As mulheres fazem o contrario. Se estão de pé, no fim de alguns instantes, os homens, habitualmente, flexionam uma das pernas sobre a coxa, apoiando o pé respectivo sobre o joelho do outro lado; as mulheres tomam atitude caracteristica, que nunca vi descrita e se acha bem clara nos instantaneos colhidos.

Cruzam as coxas, adiantando o membro pelviano direito em simples adução, enquanto colocam o membro pelviano esquerdo mais atrás, em adução forçada. O grande eixo do pé direito, prolongado, corta o do esquerdo quasi em angulo reto.

Frequentemente cruzam os braços.

Quando estão excitados, animados pela alegria, ou pelo temor, batem continuamente com a mão direita espalmada sobre a região occipital.

Se estão descontentes, fazem esse gesto caracteristico exclamando:

— *Ikátneral*

*

Alimentam-se principalmente de produtos agricolas; é um dos traços paradoxais dessa população o desenvolvimento da agricultura no seu meio atrasado.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

De um modo geral, pode se dizer que os Nambikuáras comem tudo; não respeitam certas especies animais, como fazem alguns indios.

Um mosquito que apanham sobre o corpo, um piolho, um gafanhoto, uma lagartixa que passa correndo, nada escapa.

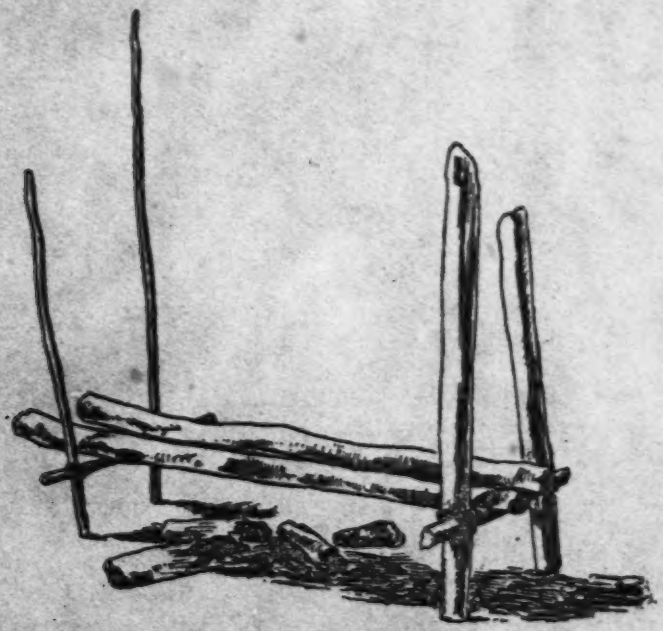


Fig. 23 — Moquem dos Tagnanis e Taulitês.

Alguns costumam andar com uma vara para matar as cobras que vão encontrando: assam os ofidios no borralho e comem com prazer a iguaria.

Só o estomago das vitimas, depois de assadas, rejeitam.

No pouso do Primavera, quando algum tinha fome, corria ao cerrado e voltava trazendo um calango vivo; batia com a cabeça do pequeno saurio num páu qual-

quer e atirava-o ás cinzas quentes. Depois, com as unhas, rompia o abdomen do animal, retirava o estomago e saboreava o resto.

Um tatú que, noutra ocasião, foi apanhado, mataram, torcendo-lhe o pescoço.

Para a caça e para a pesca usam flechas que serão descritas.

Aproveitam os ovos do *pato do mato* (149) fazendo cóvas rasas no borralho quente e lá os aninhando, depois de revolvidos com um graveto passado por pequeno orificio aberto na casca.

A carne de grandes caças: veado, paca (150), capivara (151), é primeiro socada no pilão, ou batida entre dois paus e só depois utilizada.

Com as unhas, com os dentes, e ás vezes com facas de madeira ou de taquara, cortam grandes bocados.

Mal engolem o que lhes vai na boca, logo chupam os dedos, estalando a lingua com grande ruido.

*

Os Tagnanis conhecem as propriedades conservadoras da fumaça; a carne que lhes distribuiamos não era toda devorada no mesmo dia. Suspendiam as sobras no moquem.

*

Os *Kôkôzús* não usam moquem; assam a caça no borralho. A quantidade de cinzas que deglutem, com tal assado, é consideravel.

*

(149) Pato do mato — *Cairina moschata*, L.
(150) Paca — *Coelogenis paca.*
(151) Capivara — *Hydrochoerus capibara.*

Nambicuaras — "Tres Barrios".

Crianças Nambicuaras.

[Facing p. 230]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Tagnanis e *Tauitês* constroem moquem característico. Fincam quatro estacas e ligam-nas por quatro travessas; entre elas fazem correr dois páus que servem de suporte ás peças de carne.

Fig. 24 — Panela de barro dos indios da Serra do Norte. (152).

•

Bebem o mel sempre misturado com agua: hidromel.

Comem com prazer os filhotes das abelhas, mergulhados no mel e no própolis, que não rejeitam.

Não deixam amadurecer o milho; comem-no assado, ainda verde. A mandioca sofre o mesmo processo, ou então é utilizada em raspa, com que fazem beijús.

Por meio de uma fita de embira espremem a raspa, e com o amilo fazem alvissimos bolos.

Para confeccionar os beijús, abrem um buraco nas cinzas quentes de uma fogueira, e lá depositam massa de mandioca, alizando o bolo com um páu qualquer e com a mão. Cobrem tudo, depois, com cinzas e brasas; no fim de algum tempo, que não sabemos como estimam, descobrem um grande bolo tostado e cheiroso, um tanto azedo, que não seria desagradavel se não tivesse tanta cinza e não fosse preparado por tão desasseado processo...

•

Mangaba verde que apareça é colhida imediatamente, para ser posta no borralho. Assada, torna-se tenra e agradavel.

---

(152) O Museu possue hoje grandes vasos de ceramica trazidos da Serra do Norte. A peça aqui figurada merece destaque especial porque foi a primeira obtida, em 1909.

Os *Tauitês* confeccionam, com os coquinhos da bacába, certo mingáu violaceo (*Uidniarê*) com gosto de folhas verdes, que tomam com muito prazer. Para preparar este *uid-niarê*, socam os frutos da palmeira e depois os colocam, dentro dagua, ao fogo.

Uidniarê é, afinal, um decocto.

•

Não tivemos ocasião de assistir ao preparo de qualquer liquido fermentado. Todavia, os indios fazem bebidas alcoolicas pelo processo usual: mastigação de

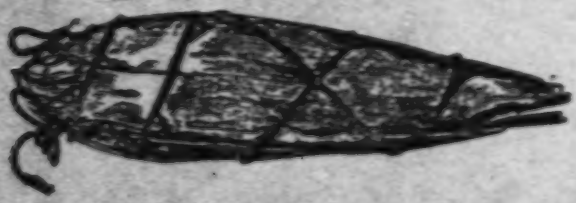


Fig. 25 — Bolsa para proteger esteiras de penas. Indios da Serra do Norte.

mandioca ou milho, fermentação da massa, em grandes panelas. Um licor, assim tirado do ananás silvestre, gozava de horroso conceito entre a gente da linha telegrafica.

•

Gostam especialmente da carne dos macacos, resquicio, quiçá, do antigo paladar antropófago.

Não acredito que exista entre eles o canibalismo. Mas, segundo penso, não ha muito que perderam esse hábito.

E' verdade, no entanto, que costumam increpar uns aos outros dessa pratica; exprimem tal acusação de um modo absolutamente claro, por meio de sinais inequivocos.

•

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Obtêm fogo pelo atrito de dois bastões, em nada dissemelhantes dos que se acham pelo Brasil afóra.

A operação é muito mais longa do que se imagina.

O indio começa forrando o chão com uma folha sêca; sobre ela deita o *ignigeno fixo*, que mantem com o pé e com o joelho.

Fig. 26 — *Holtzl.* — Bastão ignigeno dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Com as mãos espalmadas, imprime ao *ignigeno movel* a rotação necessaria, apertando-o, ao mesmo tempo, de encontro ao primeiro. O movimento faz descer as mãos ao longo do bastão; o indio recomeça, repondo-as na parte superior. De vez em quando pára, rapidamente, e passa a lingua sobre a palma que o atrito requeima. No fim de algum tempo, quando o suor já poreja a fronte do operador, surge a centelha, na molnha que se depositou na folha.

O processo só difere da operação classica pela presença da folha protetora.

Por trabalhoso os indios o executam a contra-gosto. Desejando obter um filme, que documentasse todos os seus tempos, dificilmente obtive que um indio fizesse fogo. Eis a razão por que, dos presentes que se lhes fazem, um dos que mais prezam são os fosforos; fazer fogo pelo seu sistema, em dia de chuva, ou durante tempo humido, é penosa tarefa.

•

Comem tambem, *Tagnanis* e *Tanitês*, certo cogumelo que os outros não aproveitam (*Polyporus sp.*)

•

E' fato curioso a falta de utilização dos palmitos por parte dos indios da Serra do Norte. Gabriel Soares

(1587) deixou bem expresso que o gentio do litoral não desprezava o gomo folhear das palmeiras: "Do olho destas palmeiras se tiram palmitos façanhosos de cinco a seis palmos de comprido e tão grossos como a perna de um homem".

Quanto ao vinho do ananás era bebida corrente; é ainda Soares quem diz: "A natureza deste fructo é quente e humido, e muito damnoso para quem tem ferida ou chaga aberta; os quaes ananazes sendo verdes são proveitosos para curar chagas com eles, cujo sumo come todo o cancere, e carne podre, do que se

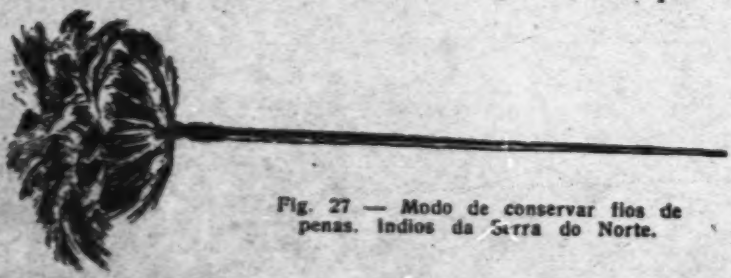


Fig. 27 — Modo de conservar fios de penas. Indios da Serra do Norte.

aproveita o gentio: e em tanta maneira come esta fructa, que alimpam com as suas cascas a ferrugem das espadas e facas, e tiram com ellas as nodoas da roupa ao lavar; de cujo sumo, quando são maduros, os indios fazem vinho, com que se embebedam; para o que colhem mal maduros, por ser mais azedo..."

*

A comida salgada, de nosso uso, não agradava aos indios da Serra do Norte. Mais de um rejeitou o prato que lhe destinavamos, dando a entender que o salino sabor o levava a proceder dessa maneira.

*

O leite (leite condensado) foi tambem, a principio, recusado; diziam, fazendo uma visagem, que era leite de mulher, e portanto repugnante:

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

— *Anungçú!*

E' preciso conhecer a gula dos indios, sua fome insaciavel, seu — *animus devorandi* — continuo, persistente, infalivel, sincero, para bem compreender o nojo que os conduzia a tal renuncia.

*

A's crianças dão tudo para comer; do que levam á bôca vão sempre migalhas ao pequenino que lhes anda perto ou entre os braços.

Mesmo os excitantes de que usam, fumo, por exemplo, são repartidos com os petizes.

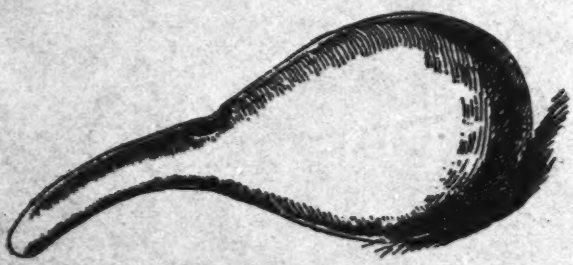


Fig. 28 — Cabaça com tabaco.
Indios da Serra do Norte.

Mais de uma vez tive ocasião de observar indios que davam cigarros a menores de dois anos (153).

As crianças tomam logo parte na comida; as mulheres comem depois..., o que sobra, quando sobra. Aliás, esta é a regra, mesmo entre os indios já civilizados... Mas, em geral, se ha abundancia, cada qual se serve do que ha, quando quer, como quer; a comida é de todos.

*

(153) Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto — "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil" — Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança — Tucuman, 1916.

Do figado dos animais que devoram, retiram, habilmente, a vesicula biliar; no entanto, não reservam para o orgão nome algum especial.

*

Aarú — é um bolo que os *Kôkôzús* preparam, socando num pilão um tatú moqueado, inteiro, até trituração completa dos ossos, e depois misturando-o á massa de mandioca feita beijú.

*

Um rato do chapadão (154), que os Parecís denominam *Cólori*, é iguaria que os Nambikuáras não desprezam. Chamam-no — *Arantaçú*.

*

Dos produtos de sua industria agricola vão se utilizando diariamente por apanha sucessiva; não colhem a tempo certo, nem têm reservas, ou celeiros, senão para o fumo, que conservam entre duas varinhas, dependuradas na palha do teto da cabana.

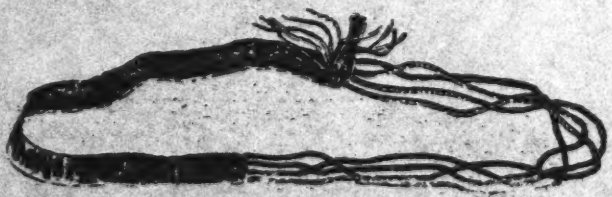
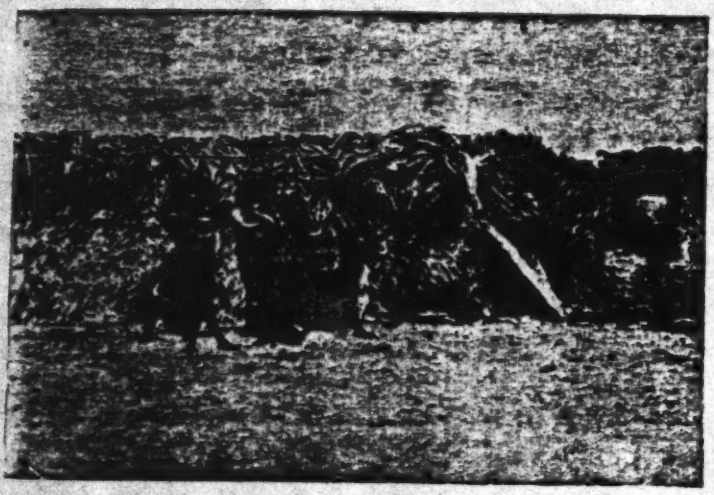


Fig. 29 — Bracelete de algodão — Indios da Serra do Norte.

Em casa ha sempre massa de mandioca, que é o *pão nambikuára*, com o qual acompanham qualquer outro alimento. Guardam a massa dentro de grandes cestas, forradas de folhas de pacóva.

(154) Rato do chapadão — *Scapteromys gnambiquarae*, Miranda Ribeiro.



Maloca — Rio Juina.

Pinguela dos Indios — Rio Juina.

[Facing p. 236]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

O mel que sobra é deixado nas cabaças, onde não chega a fermentar porque, em breve, o desejo de algum índio renasce...

*

Nenhum rito observámos relativo a praticas alimenticias; mas o soldado Gouveia, que em 1911 esteve prisioneiro numa aldeia nambikuára, em seis meses de cativeiro, viu uma cerimonia de tal natureza.

Mataram os indios daquela aldeia (do *Urutáu*) uma grande anta (155). Foi uma festa. Puxaram, arrastando, o animal até a praça da maloca. Depois foram os homens ao cerrado, e voltaram trazendo muitos ramos com que se çobriram, dispondo-se em circulo, acocorados debaixo das folhagens, cantando sempre. Ergueram-se, no fim de muito tempo, e, ainda com os ramos seguros nas costas, puseram-se a dansar ao redor da caça, que foi depois retalhada.

Infelizmente Gouveia era de uma insuficiencia pasmosa. Viveu entre eles, preso, seis meses; *casou-se* lá com uma india, que se esforçara por ensinar-lhe a lingua de seus pais. Afinal fugiu, sem trazer outra contribuição além de informações muito vagas, como esta que, no entanto, julgo acertado deixar aqui registada.

*

Dos excitantes cujo consumo é de regra entre povos selvagens, além dos liquidos alcoolicos já mencionados, o fumo é o principal.

Já se disse que secam as folhas entre duas talas de madeira, que espetam na palha da casa; quando querem fumar, tomam de uma e desfiam-na com os dedos, envolvendo o pó em outra folha, de uma arvore que os *Kôkôzús* denominam *Enandzú*.

---

(155) Anta — *Tapirus americanus*. E' caça relativamente abundante nos rios da região. Presa dificil por ser muito arisca.

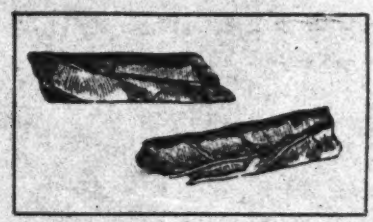


Fig. 30 — *Etú* — Cigarros dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Tambem usam reduzir a pó o tabaco que então conservam dentro de cabaças especiais.

Na Serra do Norte, antes da entrada da Comissão Rondon nenhum dos grupos conhecia cachimbo. Hoje mesmo não o apreciam;. preferem o cigarro, que é pequeno, nada semelhante aos colossais rolos de algumas tribus amazonicas.

Seu fumo é fraco, de aroma agradavel (156).

Quando viajam levam sempre cabaças com o pó, ou varas com folhas de fumo; a meio caminho, se desejam pitar, formam roda. Preparam-se como se fossem realizar uma refeição, acendendo uma pequena fogueira. Terminados os cigarros, continuam a caminhar.

Apreciam imenso o nosso fumo de rolo, especialmente quando posto em cigarros feitos com papel de jornal...

*

Os indios da Serra do Norte andam nús. Homens e mulheres trazem uma tira de palha ao redor do ventre. Os *Kôkôzús* usam pulseiras, braceletes deltoidianos, perneiras abaixo dos joelhos e ao nivel dos tornozelos, todas feitas em embira; *Tagnanís* e *Tauitês* colocam semelhantes ligas nos membros superiores e inferiores, porém, confeccionadas com algodão que aparece tambem, ás vezes, em artefatos dessa natureza, fabricados pelos do primeiro grupo Entre *Tagnanís* e

(156) Fumo — *Nicotiana tabacum.*

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Fig. 31 — Fruto de um *Solanum*, usado pelos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Tauitês é comum achar-se algum indio com os orgãos sexuais externos mais protegidos, pelas pontas da tira de palha passada ao nivel do hipogastro. Mas isso não é a regra. Os *Uaintaçús* raras vezes aparecem com algumas dessas ligas. Alguns indios, em todos os grupos, andam sistematicamente nús de modo absoluto.

As mulheres, meninas puberes, moças ou velhas, solteiras ou casadas, não abandonam a tira abdominal.

Algumas grávidas, que encontrei, não a possuiam; acredito haverem libertado o abdomen daquela forte pressão para respirar melhor, ou, talvez, por temor de que a cinta influisse perniciosamente sobre o féto.

Trazem os cabelos sempre longos, sobre as espaduas: na fronte, aparam as mechas irregularmente, cortando os fios com uma concha de lamelibranquio, ou com lasca de taquara. Gostavam que lhos cortassemos com tesouras.

Apreciam imensamente os chapéus que usamos; pareceu-me que o calor dos raios solares sobre o cranio lhes é muito molesto.

Por um chapéu dão quasi tanto como por um machado de ferro.

Um dos capacetes de couro de onça, existentes no Museu, nós o obtivemos na aldeia do Urutáu, trocando por ele o chapéu de nosso uso, velho e surrado. No entanto, esses capacetes de couro são altamente prezados.

Habitualmente não trazem na cabeça ornatos de couro ou de penas. Cobrem-se com as corôas, que serão descritas, ou com os capacetes de couro de onça, quando estão alegres. Provavelmente, usarão tambem tais ornatos em certas festas; todavia, nada apurámos a respeito.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Fig. 32 — Indio da Serra do Norte com o *Enadjá*, capacete de couro de onça.

Nas orelhas dependuram triangulos de madreperola que tiram de conchas fluviais e, quando o furo se dilacera rompendo o lobulo em duas tiras, não hesitam em praticar novo orificio.

São os homens muito mais vaidosos que as mulheres; enquanto eles se adornam com diademas de penas, brincos, pingentes e colares, elas só com alguns destes se contentam.

Tambem só os varões usam o labio superior e o septo nasal perfurados. As mulheres, nunca.

As crianças de peito não tinham ainda perfurados labios e septo; as que já possuiam os primeiros pequenos molares haviam, porém, sofrido ambos as operações.

E, por isso, acredito que só as realizam quando chegam os meninos aos dois anos.

Só depois dos cinco, ou sete, começam a fixar, no beiço e no nariz, metidas por tais buracos, numas cavilhas finas e caracteristicas, feitas quasi sempre do colmo de um capim.

O seu uso é geral na Serra do Norte. Raros indios vi sem tais cavilhas.

A do labio superior apoia-se entre os incisivos medianos do maxilar correspondente e sai agressivamente para cima; a do septo é mais grossa e mais curta. Ambas são cortadas, na justa medida, por meio de fogo.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Mal caem, logo seu portador as apanha e coloca de novo nos orificios; e algumas vezes que as tiraram, para nos mostrar como se achavam ali seguras, mais que depressa as repuseram de novo, como que envergonhados de estar assim desprovidos de tais adereços.

Em regra, usa cada indio as duas, simultaneamente. Alguns, á modesta cavilha do septo nasal, preferem outra, enfeitada com uma pena de arara ou de mutum.

Ao contrario do que se supunha, tais adornos não parecem representar nenhuma distinção honorifica; não marcam hierarquia.

Fig. 33 — Colar feito com as sementes de uma sapotacea — Indios da Serra do Norte.

Vimos rapazolas de 18 anos paramentados com tais penachos; nenhum indio lhes dava a minima importancia.

Quando usam essas penas, desprezam a cavilha labial.

* *

E' fato notavel a predileção que têm pelas contas de côr negra; fazem-nas de coquinhos, para colares de muitas voltas, e quando deixámos á sua escolha um sortimento de vidrilho, começaram preferindo as pretas.

Acabam, porém, escolhendo todas... Insaciaveis.

A côr negra, todavia, domina nos seus enfeites.

Pulseiras negras e aneis tambem de côcos negros, que usavam pendentes das orelhas, e agora já metem pelos dedos, por imitar as nossas *alianças*, colares, de

alguns metros, de contas negras, penas de aves negras, rostros de coleopteros, negros tambem, tudo atesta aquela preferencia.

Fig. 34 — Tubo de taquara com pó escuro — Paricá? Indios da Serra do Norte.

Dos aneis da cauda do tatú canastra fazem as mulheres, polindo-os em pedras humidas, lindas pulseiras inteiriças.

*

Os indios *Nambikuáras Uaintaçús*, que aparecem em Campos Novos pelo rumo do Guaporé, muito mais grosseiros, insolentes, ariscos, desconfiados, não se esforçam por trazer no labio superior a delicada cavilha usada pelos seus parentes.

Andam alguns com um espinho de ouriço preso ao beiço; outros, com uma lasca de madeira, ou aculeo de uma arvore qualquer.

*

E' tambem caracteristico de toda a população da Serra do Norte e do vale do Juruena um manto de fibras de palmeira (lalaçú), posto ao longo da coluna vertebral, pendente do pescoço.

As mulheres não o carregam; ainda uma garridice masculina.

*

Faz parte do seu adorno, e tanto dela se servem os homens quanto as mulheres, a pintura com o urucú.

Indios Uaintazê
Posto de Campos Novos.

Indio da Serra do Norte
Posto de Campos Novos.

Casal de Kokozêo.

Nambikuára Annazê (Pai de Nuleke).

[Facing p. 242]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Pintam-se nas ocasiões festivas; não traçam linhas sobre a pele, mas estendem a tinta sobre toda a superficie do rosto. As mulheres, depois do banho, avermelham assim o corpo todo.

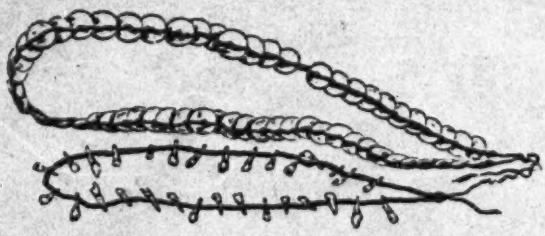


Fig. 35 — Colares de discos de nacar e de dentes de macaco — Indios da Serra do Norte.

Os indios do Juruena dissolvem o pó do urucú nagua pura; os Tagnanís preparam uma pasta, ou crême, com a mesma substancia incorporada á enxundia de alguns animais, e perfumada, bem agradavelmente, por processo desconhecido (157).

Sempre que recebiam bons presentes, machados ou contas, iam ao corrego, e voltavam com o rosto inteiramente afogueado pelo tom sanguineo da pintura.

Para os *Tagnanis*, esta pratica é sinal de especial simpatia quando executada num estrangeiro.

Merecemos todos, em Tres Buritís, essa homenagem...

*

Os homens não arrancam os pêlos pubianos, nem os axilares; algumas vezes, mesmo os bigodes, ralos, e a barba, ainda mais rala, deixam crescer.

As mulheres, porém, depilam-se inteiramente.

*

(157) Os Bororos empregam, para aromatizar a massa do urucú, a resina de almecega — Vide Alfredo de Andrade — "Estudo das materiaes corantes" *in* Arch. Mus. Nac., vol. XXVIII, pag. 183.

Os caminhos por onde transitam são estreitos, parecidos com trilhos do gado, em região pastoril. Em certos pontos o terreno acha-se recortado por eles; nas matas abrem tambem veredas, quebrando galhos.

Para atravessar modestos rios arranjam uma pinguela, derrubando uma arvore da margem e ageitando a quéda do madeiro de modo conveniente.

Fig. 36 — Flutuante de talos de buriti, com que os Indios da Serra do Norte atravessam os rios a nado. Segundo um croquis do Sr. G. Kuhlmann.

Se o rio é largo, fazem um molho de palmas de buriti, á maneira de flutuante, e deixam-se levar pela corrente, cruzando o curso dagua em diagonal.

Não conhecem canôa, nem praticam a navegação. Sabem nadar bem.

Caminham velozmente. Devoram, num dia, muitas leguas, sempre em passo energico, "marcha em extensão" dos fisiologistas, musculos retezos, corpo desempenado.

*

A caçada de grandes animais: anta, capivara, cavalo ou burro (da Comissão Rondon) é feita em grupos. Usam, para certas especies, flechas apropriadas que serão descritas adiante.

Para a pesca não empregavam anzóis, senão flechas proprias (158).

(158) Pesca — Segundo observação de Ehrenreich o uso do anzol não é de regra entre os indios, por causa das piranhas (*Pygocentrus sp.*) cuja voracidade não consente que o pescador se aproveite do pescado. Não obstante, anzóis, *pindá dos tupis*, feitos de espinhos acham-se em muitas regiões.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Os *Tagnanis* usam tambem uma especie de cóvo. Um tipo de flecha de ponta romba, raro aliás, é destinado á captura de aves, com que brincam os pequenos nambikuáras.

Os animais caem em comoção, pelo choque, e são apanhados com facilidade. Alguns se acostumam ao cativeiro feroz; um picapáu (159) era, de vez em quando, preso, por um menino numa cabaça emborcada. Mal o pequeno revirava a cuia, a avezinha, em vez de fugir, saltava para cima dele. Verdade é que passam bem de boca as aves domesticas dos indios, porque lhes estão, a toda hora, dando comida nos labios, *gavando-as* com meiguice.

*

Uma india *anunzê*, na ocasião em que eram tomados seus diametros cefalicos, deixou caír da nuca, com imensa surpresa nossa, um filhote de ratão, que ali parecia viver comodamente, oculto entre as mechas do cabelo, como no capinzal onde nascera.

Fig. 37 — Flecha tridente para pesca. Indios da Serra do Norte.

*

Pombas (160), filhotes de urubú (161), pequenas corujas, macacos, são igualmente domesticados na Serra do Norte.

Antes da Comissão Rondon, não conheciam nem o boi, nem o gado muar, nem o cão. Do boi ainda hoje têm mêdo, por causa dos chifres; dos burros gostam, porque acham sua carne parecida com a da anta.

---

(159) Picapau — *Colaptes campestris*, Viell.

(160) Pomba — *Chamepelius talpacoti* — rolinha.

(161 Urubú — *Sarcoramphus papa* — urubú-rei. *Catharista atratus brasiliensis*, Bonap. — urubú.

Dos cães, que a principio temiam muito, são agora grandes amigos; assim que podem, vão logo furtando alguns; e os roubados afeiçoam-se-lhes depressa, porque tão tratados á tripa fôrra. Na cuia em que o dono come ha sempre lugar para o focinho do seu cão.

*

Transportam seus filhos a tiracolo, numa faixa, que os *Kôkôzús* fazem de palha, e os outros confeccionam de algodão.

Ao menor passeio conduzem tudo quanto possuem; hábito de nomades que sobrevive em gente quasi sedentaria.

*

A caça e a pesca, exclusivamente, não poderiam manter uma população tão grande qual a da Serra do Norte. Seriam os indios obrigados a realizar grandes incursões para outros pontos, em busca de alimento; já estariam, portanto, aniquilados, ha muito tempo; ou teriam perdido suas caracteristicas, que só o isolamento pôde preservar.

Foi o germen da agricultura, que não sabemos donde houveram, se é que ali mesmo não surgiu espontaneamente, o fator que permitiu sua conservação na *idade da pedra* até hoje.

Cultivando terras uberrimas do vale do Juruena e da Serra do Norte, confiando seu sustento ao solo das matas virgens da Amazonia, puderam os Nambikuáras ir vivendo até agora naquele meio relativamente restrito. Essa influencia paradoxal da agricultura talvez não tenha sido encontrada ainda alhures, de um modo tão caracteristico; e, por isso mesmo que eram obrigados a viver da cultura da terra, foram se aperfeiçoando nessa industria, embora permanecendo num estadio de civilização muito elementar. Segregados inteiramente, sem mesmo conhecer os homens brancos e seus animais do-

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

nesticos, o cão, por exemplo, os indios da Serra do Norte tornaram-se agricultores emeritos.

Suas roças são sempre regularmente circulares. Dentro das matas acham-se, frequentemente, grandes espaços abertos; são campos artificiais, antigas roças nambikuáras.

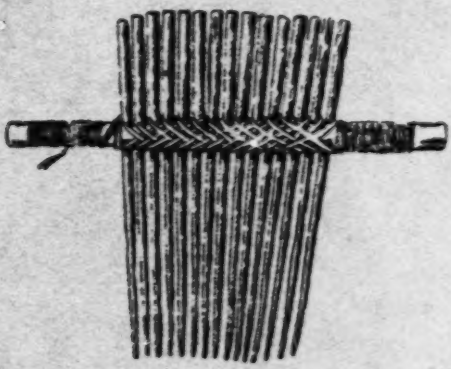


Fig. 38 — *Halatzii* — Pente dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Usam do fogo para limpá-las depois da derrubada que, até agora, efetuavam com machado de pedra.

Para derribar uma arvore de certo porte, com tal instrumento, ajuntam-se-lhe ao redor diversos machadeiros; o lenho, mastigado pela pedra, cede mais depressa do que se pensa. Admiravel, porém, é a resistencia do encabamento do machado.

Um páu ponteagudo abre covas para as sementes.

Milho e mandioca são os principais produtos da agricultura nambikuára. Tanto um como outro não pertencem a especie alguma diversa das que entre nós são cultivadas. O milho é da variedade conhecida por *milho branco*, ou *saboró;* a mandioca se distingue pelas suas qualidades nutritivas e alimenticias. A da Serra do Norte, cultivada pelos Tagnanís, é a melhor que tenho visto, pouco fibrosa e muito rica em amilo.

. Certo, não é á cultura imperfeita dos indios que a raiz deve tais excelencias, e sim aos terrenos fertilissimos em que é plantada.

•

A grande questão etnografica que a agricultura dos aborigenes suscita, e foi posta em fóco muito bem por von Martius, permanece ainda de pé.

Não se encontrou o milho, nem a mandioca, vivendo nas matas. Ou esses vegetais vieram de fóra, com os indios; ou representam especies derivadas de outras que existem em estado nativo, com especies mui diferentes, mascaradas por diversos caracteres.

Entretanto, encontramos uma tribu segregada, na *idade da pedra*, vivendo da agricultura; cultiva milho (162) e mandioca iguais aos nossos...

---

(162) *O milho dos Nambikuáras.* — As espigas de milho dos Nambikuáras, existentes no Museu Nacional, representando tres qualidades, cada qual de uma só côr, espigas bem granadas, grandes, tipo de elite, são de ordem a merecer atenção de nossos geneticistas, principalmente por se tratar do milho, planta heterogama, sujeita aos azares da fecundação cruzada, muito facil no milho que é, por isso, planta de "seleção dificil", como indica o Anuario de 1928, do Ministerio da Agricultura que informa ainda ser impossivel a pureza da variedade, jogando-se com sementes mestiçadas.

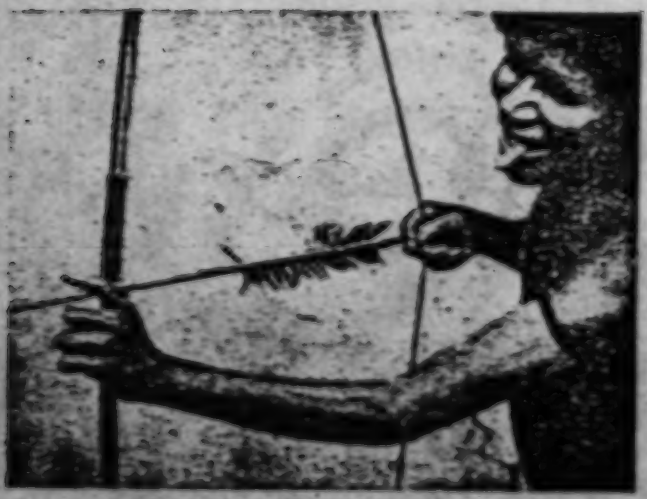
A essas informações do referido orgão, ha a acrescentar, por exemplo, o fato de ser considerado o milho para os botanicos-geneticistas, como um hibrido provavel entre *Euchlaena perennis*, Hitche (o "teosinte" perene do Mexico) e uma especie desconhecida ou extinta, segundo Collins ("Origin of Maize" — Journ. Washington Acad. Cc., 1912) assunto a ser estudado hoje á vista de extensa literatura de que indico especialmente G. N. Collins ("The Phylogeny of Maize" — Bull. of the Torrey Bot. Club, 574, April, 1930) e de Blaringhem ("Les Mutations du Maïs", e especialmente "Note sur l'Origine du Maïs — Métamorphose de l'Euchlaena en Zea, obtenue au Brésil par Bento de Toledo", em Ann. Sc. Nat. Bot., 1924).

Quanto ao milho em cultura, são numerosas as variedades e as raças conhecidas hoje, sendo nesse particular, muito instrutivo o estudo especial do milho, na Bibliotéca Botanica, de Luerssen.

Os geneticistas conhecem bem a extensa literatura sobre o milho; o que devo deixar em evidencia aqui é que o *milho dos Nambikuáras* deve ser de estirpe peruana, precolombiana, tendo, assim, provavelmente caracter secular de rusticidade que, segundo o Prof. Vavilof, deve ser tomado em grande consideração nos campos de cultura para obtenção de novos tipos selecionados.

O segredo do milho selecionado dos Nambikuáras deve ser a cultura de cada variedade em um "campo indigena" inteiramente separado

Nambikuára — Kokoru.



Indio Nambikuára Bochanda.

[Facing p. 248]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Ainda a mandioca tem sido encontrada em estado natural (*Manihot utilissima, Pohl*); si não a especie mesma de que nos servimos, especie do mesmo genero. E o milho?

Onde, na superficie da Terra, existe *milho* em estado nativo, a não ser a *Zea mais* tunicata, de que alguns supõem vir a fórma hodierna?

Que desvendar de misterios, não traria o elucidar da questão?

Fig. 39 — Bolsa de palha onde os Indios da Serra do Norte guardam sementes de cucurbitaceas (Lagenaria?).

•

Vendo os *Tagnanis* que o vaqueiro João Lucas capinava uma rocinha, em Tres Buritis, começaram a rir-se dele, mostrando que mais valia ir desenterrando a planta má; a enxada cortava os caules, mas deixava as raizes, e as hervas brotariam. A capina dos Nambikuáras é o arrancar do que não serve. Suas roças andam sempre limpas.

•

Seu fumo é a nicotiana que vive espontaneamente ali na Serra; urucú e algodão, não se póde dizer que sejam cultivados; são plantados e aproveitados. Algumas favas grandes, de diversas variedades, merecem cita-

---

de outras por matas; essa denominação *campo indígena* foi dada pelo General Rondon ás clareiras que os indios abrem nas matas, para suas culturas.

E' caso de estudar a fundo a agricultura dos indigenas, como já lembrou Roches, pois os produtos *standards* que eles obtêm, evidenciam sobre uma intuição genetica muito acentuada.

A. J. DE SAMPAIO.

Na 4.ª Exposição de Milho (Rio de Janeiro em 1918), foram apresentadas muitas espigas da gramínea cultivada na *Rondonia* e levadas ao certamen pelo o milho dos Nambikuáras deve ser considerado autoctone, isto que apresenta coloridos inteiramente desconhecidos entre os cultivadores do mundo civilizado. Apesar de variar o colorido do tegumento, o albumen do milho da *Rondonia* é sempre muito mole e branco.

ção. Elas se encontram nas cestas dos indios, assim como muitas outras plantas; mas nunca vimos nenhum comendo, ou mesmo utilizando esses vegetais. Até ulteriores verificações, acredito sejam destinadas á medicina, que, só em segredo, velhos e velhas praticam. Diga-se o mesmo da mamona (*Ricinus communis*), planta positivamente adventicia.

Fig. 40 — Fio de algodão — Kondzé — envolto em folhas. Indios da Serra do Norte.

•

Em bolsa de palha, ou de folha de pacóva, resguardam do tempo, da poeira e da chuva, as pelotas de algodão que servirão para fiar, e sementes, que terão destino ainda ignorado.

•

A medicina não nos pareceu fosse exercida por orgãos especiais da sociedade india. Todos tomam parte no tratamento de certos enfermos; nos casos graves, entra em função algum velho experiente.

Sobre as feridas aplicam fibras de palha com certas rezinas (jatobá). As queimaduras, tratam-nas pela agua fria. Fraturas e luxações reduzem-se ao azar.

Sobre as placas do *boonécèdütü* passam saliva, com a palma da mão. Apertam entre dois dedos, longamente, o ponto ferrado pelos insetos.

Os que têm febre recolhem-se a um canto, quietos, quando não se atiram nagua corrente. Durante o acesso nada comem.

Havia, na aldeia do Juina, um velho indio, de cerca de 60 anos. Estava triste, acabrunhado; pouco se animou com os nossos presentes. Punha as mãos na cabeça, para indicar que lhe doia. Um rapaz, que parecia

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

seu filho, pelo extremo de ternura com que o tratava, á revelia dos outros indios, oferecia-lhe mel com agua, repetidas vezes. Ele virava a cara. A' tarde, como o seu estado não melhorasse, chamou o moço, e disse-lhe qualquer cousa.

O rapaz agarrou-lhe a cabeça entre as mãos e colou a boca nas fossas nasais do velho, aspirando com força. Parece que esta sucção, repetida mais tarde, aliviou o enfermo, que se tornou mais expansivo.

Fig. 41 — Instrumento cirurgico dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

O parto deve ser facil, visto que os fétos são excessivamente mal nutridos. As indias, quando não ha leite bastante, tomam na boca um gôle dagua e aplicam os labios aos dos filhos, passando-lhes o liquido num beijo nutridor.

Desejando saber como cortam o cordão umbilical, mostrei a diversos indios, mais acessiveis e mais inteligentes, *Damasceno*, *Nuléke*, *Krikricekneré*, a figura de um livro onde havia um féto com seus anexos. E, das respostas que *Damasceno* ministrou, pude entender que a mãe corta o cordão com os dentes e esconde a placenta debaixo de folhagens.

Esta informação, como se vê, deve ficar sujeita a revisão.

•

O desenho dos indios da Serra do Norte, embora elementar, já apresenta alguns motivos interessantes, tirados da limitação das fórmas animais.

A circunferencia, o triangulo, o quadrado, aparecem desenhados em negro na superficie de algumas cuias.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Cobras e saurios acham-se, ás vezes, representados nos seus traços essenciais (163).

•

A plumaria reduz-se a poucas manifestações; é mesmo insignificante. Uma das estampas deste volume figura interessante diadema de penas, que é contrafacção de objeto semelhante, porém admiravelmente bem trabalhado, que os indios conquistaram a vizinhos do oeste, e tambem se acha no Museu (164).

Fig. 42 — Pingente de penas de tucano. Indios da Serra do Norte.

•

Das suas dansas pudemos observar dois tipos:
uma *dansa guerreira*, que apanhámos em filme cinematografico exibido na Bibliotéca Nacional a 15 de março de 1913, onde figuram indios dos grupos Kôkôzú, Anunzê, e Uaintaçú, e uma *dansa festiva*, em que tomámos parte, em Tres Buritís, executada pelos Tagnanís e Tauitês em nossa honra.

A dansa guerreira cinematografada em Campos Novos foi,

(163) Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto — Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos indios do Brasil — *In* Arquivos Brasileiros de Psiquiatria, Neurologia e Medicina Legal — Rio, 1917.

(164) A distribuição dos ornatos semicirculares de palha para a cabeça compreende, sobretudo, o Estado do Amazonas e inclue ainda os Huari do Guaporé, que têm analogia com os Nambikuáras pelos machados primitivos, pelas casas redondas, etc. (cf. Nordenskjöld, "The ethnography of South America seen from. Mojos in Bolivia").

O uso do algodão deu extraordinario desenvolvimento á plumaria entre os tupis como evidenciei com os belissimos enfeites dos Urubús do Gurupi; os Nambikuáras conhecem o algodão, mas não desenvolveram siquer uma plumaria baseada no trançado ou nos reticulos, o que supõe reduzida tradição de tais recursos texteis. Os Guaiaquis, tupis da cultura rudimentar, segundo Vellard, não têm plumaria nem lavoura (R. L.).

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

depois, repetida tambem pelos Tagnanís, em Tres Buritís.

Armados de arcos e flechas, dispõem-se os guerreiros em linha, colocados a uns 15 metros de um pedaço de páu que figura o inimigo, cantando em compasso binario, marcando o tempo com o bater dos pés no chão.

Dois indios, com as flechas prontas e arcos semitesos, partem da fila, como quem anda cautelosamente oculto entre as moitas do cerrado; fazem uma grande volta e, chegando perto do *inimigo*, desferem as armas contra ele.

E' o sinal do ataque; cessa o canto e uma chuva de flechas cai sobre o *infeliz*...

Logo depois avançam sobre ele, a pauladas, com os arcos, ou com outros cacetes, e sovam-no a valer. Aliás, é sempre essa a função da flecha: imobilizar o inimigo ou a caça. Permitir que o agressor se chegue e acabe sua obra a cacetadas. Caçada ou combate, qualquer ataque é sempre feito de emboscada. Mesmo por que, a certa distancia, o erro de pontaria dos indios é muito maior do que geralmente se acredita. Os Nambikuáras não são dos melhores atiradores. Estão muito longe de atirar com os pés, como os Borôros. Por elevação, alguns atiram bem. Nenhum escudo, absolutamente, empregam, nem na caça, nem na guerra. Depois do ataque, procuram rehaver os projetis; uma flecha dá trabalho para ser feita e não deve ser malbaratada...

Seguram na mão esquerda um molho delas, e atiram com incrivel rapidez, uma atrás da outra.

*

Na dansa festiva tomaram parte homens, mulheres e meninas.

Ao som de uma cantiga intérmina formou-se grande roda. As mulheres á esquerda dos homens, constituiam-se pares sucessivos, fechando o circulo; cada ho-

mem colocava a mão no ombro da respetiva "dama". Dentro da roda, tres meninas da mesma idade, pouco mais ou menos, acompanhavam-nos em fila, muito juntas, com os olhos baixos, as mãos cruzadas sobre o peito. A do centro servia de eixo para todo aquele sistema coreográfico...

Começou-se a rodar ás 7 horas da tarde, cantando sempre. As meninas, sem discrepar, deixavam no chão pulverulento marcas regulares, que a luz da lua alumiava perfeitamente. Dir-se-ia que punham os pés nos mesmos rastros, feitos na primeira volta. Meia-noite. A' beira das fogueiras, que cada familia acende, dormia a gente velha; resmungavam alguns, avivando morrões que pareciam pequenos rubís esparsos. E na roda, suando, cheios de poeira, mais mortos do que vivos, todos nós entravamos no côro:

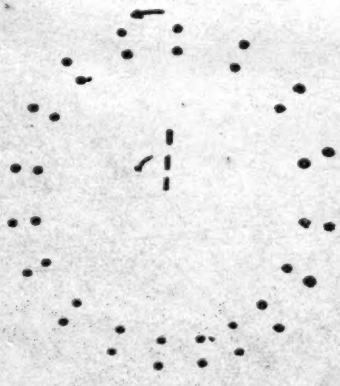


Fig. 43 — Dansa (astrólatra?) dos Tagnanis (esquema).

— *Tagnani-i! Tagnani-i!*

— *Tangrê!*

E assim foi, durante o resto da noite. Quando um de nós fugia, e procurava a rêde, vinham logo dois ou tres latagões reforçados, falando muito; e empurravam para o seu posto o desertor...

*

A letra desses cantos, infelizmente, não foi apanhada. Apenas conhecemos as duas palavras que ali estão: *Tagnani*, nome da tribu; *Tangrê*, estrela. Astrolatria? As tres figuras centrais daquela dansa, em que se falava de estrelas, trouxeram-me ao pensamento a

Mulheres Anunzé — Serra do Norte.

Acampamento dos Tauitês — Em Tres Buritis.

[Facing p. 254]

formosa constelação do Orion, onde existem as Tres-Marias.

*

No fonografo apanhei dois trechos kôkôzús, transcritos aqui. Foram passados para a notação musical pelo professor Astolpho Tavares.

Fig. 44 — Colar de conchas. Indios da Serra do Norte.

O diapasão em que os Nambikuáras exprimem sua musica difere do nosso *diapasão normal* cerca de meio tom, para baixo.

As notas usadas nos temas colhidos são *dó*^{1}, *mi*^{2b}, *fá*^{2}, *fá*$^{2\sharp}$, *sol*^{2}, *lá*^{2}.

Não se encontram ré e si.

Os trechos registrados estão em *la bemol maior* (Fonograma n. 14.599), passando para *mi bemol menor;* e em *mi menor* (Fonograma n. 14.600).

Os motivos musicais desenvolvem-se em tempos binarios.

*

Os indios da Serra do Norte apresentam duas modalidades de organização social bem caracterizadas. Ainda desse ponto de vista *Tagnanis* e *Tauitês* são mais adiantados que *Kôkôzús* e *Anunzês*.

Estes vivem em regime patriarcal; o pai governa a familia, em muitos casos, monogamica. Os filhos, depois da puberdade, constituem familia, á vontade, continuando a venerar seus progenitores.

Tratam com imenso carinho os filhos, aos quais nada recusam. Raras vezes os castigam. Mais de um indio, já de certa idade, caminhava leguas e leguas com

um pequeno ás costas, para chegar onde estavamos e dar-lhe presentes dos que distribuiamos.

Não têm chefes definidos. Alguns, que os tropeiros costumam chamar chefes, são apenas individuos mais influentes, aos quais os outros atendem muitas vezes.

*

Em Campos Novos recebemos, certo dia, a visita dos *Kôkôzús* e dos *Anunzês*. Dormiram ali muitos rapazes desses dois grupos: *Nuléke, Krikriceknerá,* ou Manduca, *Paixão, Preguiça, Damasceno* e o celebre *Cavagnac,* suposto chefe da maloca do Urutáu, tipo malvado, que costumava cercar os tropeiros na linha para tomar-lhes as cargas.

No dia imediato vieram muitos *Uaintaçús,* atrevidos e ariscos; gente bastante desagradavel.

Os outros, quando viram que eles se aproximavam, começaram a dar sinais de impaciencia. Finalmente chegaram os *Uaintaçús* muito excitados pela presença dos nossos hospedes daquela noite. Começou uma interminavel discussão entre os tres grupos. Todos falavam, gesticulavam, irados, olhos brilhantes, a pique de se agredirem. Temendo esse conflito, que seria desastroso, por todos os titulos, começámos a intervir, distribuindo cigarros, fosforos, machados, etc., distraindo-os. Acalmaram-se. Mas alguns rapazes Kôkôzús e Uaintaçús continuaram a discutir e, aos poucos, foram cercados pelos outros que ouviam tudo muito atentos. Falavam dois de um lado. Respondiam dois do outro. Os que falavam eram dois indios mais espertos, inteligentes, ousados, *Damasceno* e o tal *Cavagnac* que nada indicava fossem chefes verdadeiros, reconhecidos como tais em toda ocasião.

Eram chefes transitorios.

Já entre *Tagnanis* e *Tauitês* existem chefes temporais, perfeitamente bem definidos. Um se distinguia por-

que andava sem um enfeite. Efetivamente, ele mandava, e todos obedeciam.

Tinha tres mulheres.

*

A condição da mulher nambikuára não é tão desgraçada como a de outras indias do Brasil. Trabalha muito, é certo. Colhe frutos, rala mandioca, soca ao pilão, arma os toldos, fia algodão, carrega a tralha da familia, cuida dos filhos, toma parte na cultura da roça; mas é tratada, em regra, com muita ternura. Eles são ciosos de suas esposas; e elas timbram em ser fieis. Deixam longe, nesse particular, suas vizinhas Parecís...

Continuamente, os casais se amimam. E nenhuma caricia parece mais suave e mais doce, ao terno amante que o passear dos dedos da eleita pelos seus cabelos.

Compreende-se, porque a cabeça de um nambikuára é um viveiro a enxamear...

O casamento, segundo as informações do soldado Gouveia, obedece a cerimonias simples. O noivo pede, ao pai da sua amada, consentimento para a união. O progenitor, si acede, dá-lhe um arco e um môlho de flechas, dizendo-lhe que deverá, com aquelas armas, manter a familia que vai fundar. Só.

Para mostrar que um certo menino é filho de um indio usam de um gesto expressivo que, na sua inocencia, repetem: curvam o polegar e o indicador esquerdos, em fórma de anel, ao redor do outro indicador em extensão. Batem, depois, no ombro do filho e no do pai, dizendo:

— *Uétũl* (filho).

*

Respeitam muito os velhos. Poupam-lhes as fadigas que podem. Quando voltavamos da aldeia do Urutáu para o posto do Juina, fizeram-nos conduzir, no ar-

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

ção da sela, as cestas de dois velhos do grupo que nos acompanhava em busca de presentes. Os moços e as mulheres lá se foram, cada qual carregando o seu *atiçú* sem apelar para auxilio estranho.

*

De sua religião apenas sabemos que é fetichista. Não conhecemos nada do seu culto, nem do seu regimen; muito menos do seu dogma.

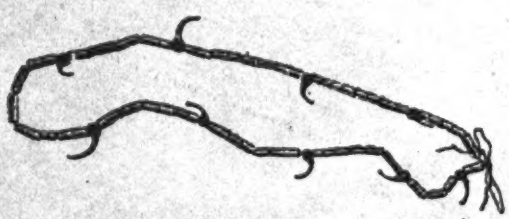


Fig. 45 — *Dodezé* — Colar com rostros de coleopteros. — Indios da Serra do Norte.

Os grupos septentrionais parecem evoluir para a astrolatria. Tendo ameaçado a lua e as estrelas com uma flecha, preparada no arco, prestes a desferir a agressão, levantaram-se bruscamente muitos Tagnanís e sustaram o meu gesto, falando muito exaltados, repreendendo-me, tomando-me a arma, como si aquilo fosse um sacrilegio.

Os *Kôkôzús* e os *Anunzês* ameaçam a tempestade com suas armas, bracejando no espaço para todos os lados, invectivando a chuva em altos brados.

Outras vezes são as mulheres que sobem a uma casa de cupim e, soltando baforadas de fumo, atiram cinzas no ar, para amedrontar a tormenta.

*

Seus ritos funerarios ainda não nos são conhecidos. Ficou todavia apurado que não incineram seus defuntos, nem os devoram. Enterram-nos diretamente no

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

sólo. Os *Kôkôzús*, em cóvas redondas; os *Tagnanís*, em sepulturas alongadas.

*

Os fenomenos da numeração acham-se bem esboçados na população india da Serra do Norte. Na sua mimica, muito expressiva, contam pelos dedos, dizendo para cada unidade:

— *Dêra.*

E quando terminam a passagem dos dedos das mãos, si o numero vai além, levantam um pé, repetindo a mesma palavra, e depois passam ao outro pé.

Um chefe tagnaní, querendo dizer que sua gente vinha já perto de nós, trazendo-nos mandioca, milho, massa, etc., em *muitas cestas*, após haver contado pelos seus proprios dedos e artelhos, bateu nas mãos e nos pés de outros circunstantes, repetindo sempre:

— *Dêra, Dêra, Dêra* (isto, isto, isto).

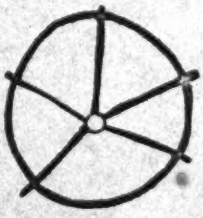


Fig. 46 — Motivo ornamental dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Para contar os dias, passados ou futuros, que os separam de um certo lugar, levam a mão direita á face, inclinam sobre a palma a cabeça, fecham os olhos e resonam fortemente, tantas vezes quantas são as noites cujo numero desejam indicar.

As noções de fórma e extensão acham-se tambem definidas entre eles. Os *Kôkôzús* chamam — *Irengçú* — á circunferencia; *Nendzú*, ao triangulo. Talvez estas palavras nada mais sejam que apelidos de animais ou objetos, dados, por extensão, ás figuras, que traçam perfeitamente.

*

Distinguem o *nascente* e o *poente*. Marcam, aproximadamente, os momentos do dia, indicando, com o gesto, o lugar em que o sol deverá estar sobre o hori-

zonte na hora que desejam determinar. Não parecem distinguir as constelações; sempre deram os mesmos nomes para qualquer estrela que se lhes indicasse. *Tangrê* chamavam os *Tagnanis* indiferentemente, á cintura do Orion, que esquematizavam no sólo, e as estrelas maiores desse grupo excepcionalmente belo: Riegel, Betelgeuse, ou Belatrix. O eclipse total do sol, muito bem observavel na Serra do Norte, em 1912, a 10 de outubro, não impressionou absolutamente os Nambikuáras.

*

Das noções biologicas que, por acaso, já tenham apanhado, não é possivel falar ainda. O que obtivemos não nos satisfez.

*

Os indios da Serra do Norte falam dialetos diferentes, aparentados entre si. Cada um exprimindo-se no seu idioma, entende-se muito bem.

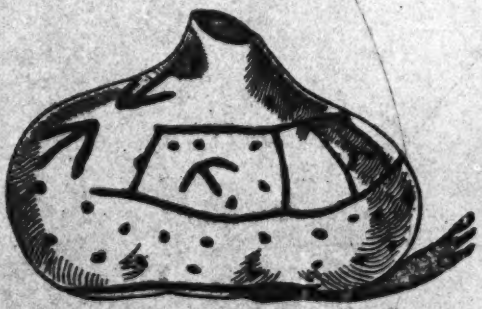


Fig. 47 — Cabaça pintada — Indios da Serra do Norte.

Quatro vocabularios conseguimos: *Kôkôzú, Anunzê, Tagnani* e *Tauitê*.

Os mais abundantes, *Anunzê* e *Kôkôzú*, foram obtidos com o gráu de aproximação e segurança possiveis, e parece-me que suficientes, graças aos indios *Nuléke* e *Krikricêknerá*, amigos dedicados do tenente Py-

Indios do Juina.

India do Juina.

[Facing p. 260]

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

rineus de Souza desde o tempo em que esse oficial estivera dirigindo o posto de Campos Novos.

Fig. 48 — Desenhos dos indios da Serra do Norte.

Nulêke é de tal maneira afeiçoado ao tenente Pyrineus que, quando voltamos em 1912, ele, aflito, não hesitou em transpôr os limites de suas terras, e, saindo de um territorio que nenhum deles, desde muitos seculos, abandonára, veiu com uma tropa a Tapirapuan em busca do amigo.

Foi o primeiro a se entregar, em confiança, á gente brasileira.

Esses dois indios viviam, em Campos Novos, como si fossem *crias* da casa.

A' noite dormiam, ambos, debaixo da rêde do Pyrineus. Falavam já algumas palavras da nossa lingua.

Para o idioma dos Kôkôzús foi auxiliar precioso o indio Damasceno (*Urinenoá*), a quem já consagrei outra nota.

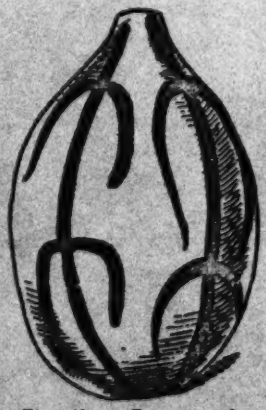


Fig. 49 — Desenhos dos indios da Serça do Norte.

Este foi o mais inteligente que pudemos encontrar. Repartia com ele essa situação, um Tagnani de quem nos separamos com pesar. Entendia o menor dos nossos gestos. Atendia perfeitamente a qualquer pedido nosso. Foi ele quem se prestou a simular um ataque a flechadas, que, por sinais, lhe solicitei, operação que hoje se acha arquivada em um dos *filmes* pertencentes ao Museu, projetado na Biblioteca Nacional, em 1913.

*

Cada palavra dos vocabularios colhidos foi verificada, mais de uma vez, em presença do objeto, ou do fenomeno que exprime.

Muito mais que a quantidade de vocabulos, interessou-nos a qualidade de cada qual.

Isto não quer dizer que julguemos impossivel qualquer retificação; basta confrontar dois lexicos, tomadas por pessoas capazes, entre os mesmos indios, em ocasiões diferentes, para ver como certos termos surgem alterados.

*

O alfabeto da lingua nambikuára compreende as seguintes vogais:

a, ê, i, ô, o, u, ü

com o mesmo valor que têm no alfabeto português; ü — com o som intermediario a *ü* alemão e *eu* francês.

Consoantes:

b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z

h — sempre fortemente aspirado, como *ch* alemão.

Faltam:

f, j, v, x

São grupos consonantais caracteristicos:

an, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kt, nt, nz, tz, td, nç, tç, tzü, gç, gd, ndz, nk.

*

Em todos os dialetos nambikuáras, os vocabulos que designam as partes do corpo humano têm o mesmo radical, ligeiramente modificado, num ou noutro caso — *Uá* ou *Toá*.

	KÔKÔZU	TAGNANÍ	TAUITÊ	ANUNZÊ
Braço	Oá-nukiçú	Uá-nokrí	Toá-rabatndê	Uá-nukizê
Boca	Toá-iuçú	Uá-iurí	Tá-iuirí	Uá-iuarê
Lingua	Toáio-herú	Uái-hêndê	Táiu-hendú	Uáile-herú

A particula *Toá* — (Uá, Oá) — tem aqui o mesmo valor possessivo do grupo *Nu*, nas linguas *Aruaks;* só se encontra nos vocabulos consagrados ás regiões do corpo humano (165).

Fig. 50 — Desenhos dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Quasi todos os vocabulos *kôkôzús* terminam em *zu* ou *çú*, empregados, indiferentemente. As palavras *anunzês* terminam muitas vezes em zê. Mas, neste ultimo som deve ser aproximado do — *gê* — para ser pronunciado convenientemente (165-a). No dialeto dos *Tauitês* e nos dos *Tagnanís* é comum a terminação em *rê, ri, di, tê* (*r* brando).

*

Merece especial menção um grupo, que nessas linguas se encontra com relativa frequencia, muito impor-

(165) Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto — "The Indians of Serra do Norte" — in Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress — Washington, 1917.

(165-a) E' possivel que se trate de um traço linguistico de aproximação Nambikuára-Cê (H. A. T.).

tante para apreciar as relações de tais idiomas com outros americanos.

E o grupo: *gui* ou *gue*:

Kai*gue*tazú — flauta (Kôkôzú). Hau*guidê* — frecha lisa (Tagnani).

Toái*gue*dokrê — mão (Tauitê). Uá*negue*tu — cabeça (Anunzê).

*

Embora existam diversos sistemas foneticos para representação das linguas primitivas — (Alfabeto Kosmos, de Schmidt, etc.) (166) — julguei preferivel usar as letras do alfabeto latino, acrescidas de algumas especiais notações (ũ) ao alcance de qualquer leitor.

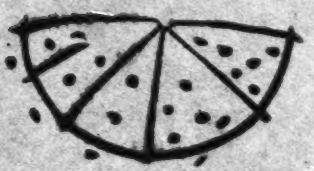


Fig. 51 — Motivo ornamental. Indios da Serra do Norte.

*

Si ainda estivesse em favor a chave linguistica de Martius, a lingua dos Nambikuáras seria incluida entre os idiomas do grupo *Guck* ou *Kôko*. Tal familia, porém, por muito heterogenea, não se manteve; e hoje seus antigos membros acham-se filiados nas tribus *Gê-botucudo* e *Nu-aruak*.

Nesses dois grupos encontram-se os *Guck*, de Martius.

Ora, os idiomas ligados á familia Nu-aruak têm caracteristicas frisantes, que não encontramos nos da Serra do Norte.

Assim, a particula possessiva pessoal — *Nu*, um dos sinais mais valiosos para diferenciar tais idiomas, não se encontra absolutamente entre os Nambikuáras.

(166) O Padre W. Schmidt ("Anthropos", 1907) expõe minuciosamente a evolução-historica da fonetica e os diferentes sistemas que têm sido propostos. Apresenta no mesmo trabalho o seu sistema que tem tido grande aceitação.

Indios da Serra do Norte
Estação de Utiariti.

Parecí e Nambikuára na Estação Telegrafica
de Utiariti.

[Facing p. 264]

?. Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

O vocabulo preposto á designação da agua, um dos melhores elementos de comparação linguistica, pela constancia com que se mantem através de todas as diferenciações dialetais, na familia Nu-aruak (Onê, Uni), não é representado na Serra do Norte por nenhum equivalente.

Bastariam tais elementos para distanciar a lingua dos Nambikuáras dos idiomas Nu-aruaks.

Mas, além disso, é facil verificar a perfeita discordancia dos lexicos. Compare-se o vocabulario parecí, excelente representante da familia Nu-aruak, com o dos indios da Serra do Norte. São completamente diferentes.

*

Si procurarmos, na Sul-America, idioma que ofereca semelhança profundas com os dos Nambikuáras, em vão o faremos.

Fig. 52 — Motivo ornamental dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

E' todavia certo que a lingua dos *Suiás*, do Xingú, mostra algum ar de parentesco com os dialetos da Serra do Norte. Essa aproximação tem o seu melhor argumento na particula possessiva *Woa*, dos Suiás, que é claramente encontrada entre os Nambikuáras, seja *Ua* ou *Toa*.

Por esse carater, pois, e ele é valioso, visto que tem servido de base ao moderno grupamento das nos-

sas tribùs, onde estiverem os Suiás, deverão ser colocados os Nambikuáras (167).

Aqui o problema atinge, talvez, sua maior dificuldade, porque si os botocudos do Xingú são colocados ao lado dos *Gés*, pela autoridade de Ehrenreich, outros conhecedores da linguistica sul-americana julgam, talvez com razão, que eles devem formar ao lado dos Karajás, constituindo o *grupo karajano*, de Chamberlain (168).

Fig. 33 — Motivo ornamental dos indios da Serra do Norte.

Todavia, não é possivel deixar de reconhecer, na lingua dos Nambikuáras, certos caracteres especiais, encontrados na lingua *Kiriri*. Tais caracteres são exclusivamente fonicos e muito menos valiosos do que si fossem lexicos ou morfologicos.

---

(167) Fritz Krause ("Beitraege zur Ethnographie des Araguaya-Xingú Gebietes", in Congr. Int. de Americanistas — Gotemburgo, 1924) depois de confirmar a aproximação linguistica aqui apontada, ainda pretendeu estreitá-la mais, indicando novas palavras de ligação não só com o Karajá como com linguas Gê.

Quanto ao aspecto cultural, o que ressalta, particularmente depois dos Estudos Etnograficos comparativos de Nordenskjöld, é que os Karajás — e como eles tambem os Nambikuáras — soffreram influencia de culturas sub-andinas.

Os Karajás apresentam indicios de ter recebido parte dessa influxo quando ele se estendeu às populações do Chaco que, assim, parece ter sido antigo habitat desse povo. (Cf. Krause, contribuição citada).

Os Nambikuáras por sua vez, conforme já foi expresso em outras notas, parecem ter soffrido tal influencia por outra via; provavelmente o outro caminho, apontado por Nordenskjöld, de expansão de culturas sub-andinas: do nordeste da Bolivia pelas vertentes amazonico-platinas (Nordenskjöld — Estudos citados, vol. I). (R. A. T.).

(168) Krickeberg, Rivet e outros especialistas conservam os Suiás entre os Gês.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Resumem-se na presença dos grupos *tç, tz, kr* admitidos como especiais ao Kiriri — (Baptista Caetano).

•

Sem possuir textos bem traduzidos não é possivel aprofundar mais o exame daqueles idiomas. Mesmo as aproximações acima esboçadas serão sujeitas a revisão, quando houver material linguistico maior.

•

A respeito da coleção do Museu, cabem aqui as seguintes notas:

Os arcos dos indios da Serra do Norte (*Hukiçú*) são de ipê (169), muito longos, de 1m,70 a 2 metros; de secção semicircular. De todas as tribus do Brasil, só a dos Katukinas, do rio Purús, usa amarrar de modo semelhante a corda ao redor da arma (3.686).

Fig. 54 — Arco e sua secção transversal. Indios da Serra do Norte.

A fórma da secção transversal é, porém, diversa; o arco dos Katukínas é quadrangular.

Fizemos experiencia afim de avaliar, aproximadamente, a força necessaria para dar a um arco a indispensavel eficiencia.

Para obter, em um deles, medindo 2m.38 de comprimento, por 0m,047 de maior largura, corda de tucum

(169) Ipê — Vide nota n.º 37 sôbre a planta.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Aproximações

	Nb. kôkôzú	Nb. anunzê	Nb. tagani	Nb. tauitê
Genitalia...	—	—	—	Taguiri
Peito	Toanunkizú	—	—	Tanakaindê
Cobra	Tiçú	—	—	—
Milho	—	—	Ketl	—
Perna	Toaçuçú	Uaçuzê	Uaduri	Talahendê
Boca	Toaiuçú	Uaiuarê	Uaiuri	—
Dente	Toaiuiçú	—	Diûrú	Taiú-iri
Arvore.....	Içú	—	—	—
Lingua	Toaio-herú	Uauisê	Uaihendê	Taiú-hendê

com 0m.002 de diametro, uma flecha de 50 centimetros, foram necessarios 66 kgs. de tração dinamometrica.

Ao atirar, o indio emprega o *modo mediterraneo* (4.º modo de Morse): arco vertical, flecha encostada

Fig. 55 — *Auiaçú* — Flecha de ponta lisa e cilindrica Indios da Serra do Norte.

ao seu bordo esquerdo, presa, pela base, entre o indicador e o médio da mão direita.

Na America esse metodo é peculiar aos Eskimós; os *Peles vermelhas* empregavam outros. No Brasil, nenhuma tribu dele se utiliza, ao que pude verificar; nos-

Linguisticas

(Martius) — Chicriabá	(Martius) — Cherente	(Martius) — Camacan	(Ehrenreich) — Karaiá	(K. v. den Steinen) — Suiá
D'agri	—	—	—	—
—	Dajukudá	—	—	—
—	—	Ti	—	—
—	—	Kechu	—	—
—	—	Guang-gestú	—	—
{Daidana / Datohá}	Dageau	—	Waru	Wanakoni
—	—	Asnkûh-tciokah	Wa-idzu	Woatoá
—	—	—	Iô	—
—	—	—	—	Wanuotó

sos indios atiram a flecha, em geral, pelo terceiro dos metodos sistematizados por Morse.

*

Hermann Meyer, a quem devemos um minucioso e interessante estudo de arcos e flechas do Brasil, classifica os primeiros em cinco grupos:

1.º *Arco Peruano* — Secção quadrilateral ou eliptica. Quasi sempre feito de madeira negra da palmeira chonta (170).

(170) Palmeira chonta — ou palma real dos Bolivianos (Guilielmo Insignis, Mart.) de Mato-Grosso, no limite com a Bolivia, segundo Caminhoá.

2.° *Arco Brasileiro-Septentrional* — Secção semicircular. Madeira vermelha escura, alisada, de uma arvore leguminosa.

3.° *Arco da Guiana* — Secção parabolica. Goteira na face anterior. Madeira parda escura. Pequeno.

4.° *Arco do Chaco* — Secção circular. Madeira vermelha. Pequeno.

5.° *Arco Brasileiro Oriental* — Madeiras diversas. Divide-se este em dois sub-grupos, ligados aos do Xingú, ao norte, e aos dos Kamé, ao sul. Para o ocidente, compreende desde o arco liso, forte, cilindrico, até ao enleiado de cipó, dos Borôros. Para o oriente, abrange os arcos dos Gés. Os Tupís, do Paraguai, acham-se no ramo oriental deste grupo.

Fig. 56 — Uasiçú — Flecha de ponta de taquara dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Além dos cinco tipos, Meyer distingue os que correspondem aos Matacos, Fueginos e Centramericanos (171).

•

A secção transversal coloca o arco dos Nambikuáras entre os do segundo grupo de Meyer. E' mesmo bem semelhante á dos arcos Mundurucús (14.026) - Cod. Mus. Nac.). O enrolamento da corda obedece á pratica das tribus em que se encontra o PERUTYPUS, do mesmo etnologo.

•

(171) O arco de secção quadrangular, dito peruano, encontra-se para L. nos Tupís do Gurupí (Urubús), junto com a flecha de emplumação costurada dita do Xingú (Ararandeuáras, Urubús). A emplumação peruana com resina e o arco contribuem para evidenciar, entre os Nambikuáras, influxos culturais das tribus sub-andinas e amazonenses (R. L.).

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Meyer classifica as flechas do Brasil em sete grupos, hoje insuficientes, porque outros tipos foram encontrados depois da sua publicação. Contudo ali se encontram as principais caracteristicas das nossas flechas. A base dessa divisão é a emplumação das armas:

1.° Tipo — *Emplumação Brasileira-Oriental* ou *Tupi-Gé* — Penas inteiras, presas com fibras. Base revestida de fios enrolados. Pequena penugem na base.

2.° Tipo — *Emplumação da Guiana* — Uma pena, fendida ao meio, longitudinalmente, fornece duas porções que são presas á haste por aneis de fibras passados em diferentes pontos. Na base da flecha ha um fragmento de madeira onde existe um entalhe para receber a corda.

Fig. 57 — *Aié-sinçé*. — Flecha dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

3.° Tipo — *Emplumação do Xingú* — Duas meias penas, como no tipo anterior, presas por fios que atravessam a espessura da haste da flecha.

4.° Tipo — *Emplumação dos Araras* — Duas meias penas, longas, presas, de espaço a espaço, por aneis de fibras; na base, um segmento da haste revestido de fios.

5.° Tipo — *Emplumação Maué* — Semelhante ao n. 1. Duas penas inteiras, presas no apice e na base. Na base da flecha, um fragmento de madeira dura, com entalhe para a corda.

6.° Tipo — *Emplumação Peruana (com fibras)* — E' muito semelhante ao 1° tipo. Só se encontra no Ucaiale.

7.° Tipo — *Emplumação Peruana (com resina)* — Este acha-se dividido em dois grupos: o septentrional, pertencente á Amazonia e o meridional, encontrado no Chaco. Caracteriza-se pelo preparo das penas, fendidas longitudinalmente e depois raspado o tubo até ficar re-

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

duzido ás camadas superficiais. São então amarradas, em helice, sobre a haste, e mantidas por fios e resina preta.

*

A emplumação das flechas dos indios da Serra do Norte pertence, claramente, ao 7.º tipo.

Nossa coleção possue *flechas de guerra, flexas de caça,* e *flechas de pesca.* E' certo, porém, que essa divisão não é sempre mantida; e, quando se faz preciso, os indios empregam indiferentemente qualquer tipo.

Fig. 58 — Emplumação das flechas dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Aniêçú — E' a flecha de ponta de madeira vermelha, cilindrica, lisa, com que caçam macacos (2.111 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

Uaeliçú — Tem ponta aguçada, feita de taquarussú (172). Serve na guerra e na caçada aos grandes animais: capivara, anta, onça. Sangra largamente a vitima e, por isso, é usada para abater as grandes peças.

Fig. 59 — *Aiêraçú* — Flecha para aves. Indios da Serra do Norte.

Entre a haste e a ponta, ha uma porção intermediaria, de madeira vermelha, destinada a enrijecer a faca de taquara, tornando-a mais eficiente. Ainda assim, muitas vezes, quebra-se (1.324 - Co. Mus. Nac.).

Aiêuinçú — E' flecha de ponta lisa, munida de uma farpa na extremidade.

---

(172) Taquarussú — *Merostachys sp.*

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Arukirikatçú — E' tipo perfeitamente original. Tem uma serie de farpas presas com fios e breu. E' revestida de um enduto negro que os indios supõem toxico; por isso protegem-lhe a ponta com bainha feita de colmo de taquara (11.487 - Col. Mus. Nac.). E' arma de guerra.

O *veneno* das flechas nambikuáras é inocuo... (173).

Aieraçú (174) — E' flecha de ponta embolada, destinada a contundir as aves que desejam apanhar vivas, ou livres de sangue, que mancha as penas (14.010 - Col. Mus. Nac.). Muitas vezes empregam para o mesmo fim uma flecha de ponta lisa, que na ocasião envolvem numa pelota de palha (11.625 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

Fig. 60 — Flecha envenenada (arukiritatçú) e bainha protetora dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Especialmente destinadas á pesca, e perfeitamente originais, são algumas flechas de ponta dupla, triplice

(173) O Prof. Roquette-Pinto entregou-me para exame, uma ponta de flecha cuja origem não me foi declarada de ante-mão. A peça continha entre fios que a enleavam, uma substancia resinosa. Raspado todo o material que foi possivel retirar da ponta da flecha, foi pesado, e preparou-se uma solução concentrada certamente muito mais rica em substancias toxicas do que a que se usa habitualmente para injeções de curare nos laboratorios.

A injeção desse liquido, em fortes doses, em rã e em cobaia, não produziu absolutamente nenhuma ação curarizante. Os animais apresentaram apenas fenomenos banais de intoxicação, tais como sobresaltos musculares; na cobaia marcha titubeante e um pouco de salivação.

Em conclusão, pois, não se trata de uma flecha destinada a envenenar o animal que ferir: a resina examinada parece acidentalmente pouco toxica.

ALVARO OZORIO DE ALMEIDA.

(174) O tipo mais geral das flechas para contundir — as de ponta feita de uma raiz — abrange as regiões brasilicas, especialmente os Gês, sendo peculiares (Nordenskjöld) as de cruzeta de pauzinhos dos Jurucarés da Guiana, do Gurupi (R. Lopes), assim como a dos Nambikuáras, com bola de palha.

ou quadrupla, munidas de uma farpa de osso (11.614 a 11.621 - Col. Mus. Nac.). Algumas têm penas na base, outras não. Lembram certa armas figuradas em "Voyage à Surinam", de Benoit, pertencentes aos Karaíbas. E, por outro lado, têm muitos pontos de semelhança com arpões eskimós, destinados á caça de aves marinhas, atirados com estólica.

A haste de todas as flechas da Serra do Norte é feita de taquara fina. O cipó imbé (175) fornece tiras resistentes com que fixam as diversas partes da arma.

*

Um tipo de flecha com a ponta achatada e provida de alguns pares de farpas, que o Museu Nacional recebeu com as primeiras coleções da Comissão Rondon, não é proprio dos Nambikuáras. Representa trofeu guerreiro (1.955 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

*

Fig. 61 — Clavas encontradas entre os Indios da Serra do Norte.

Armas de ataque e defesa, toscas em extremo, são os cacetes (11.925 - Col. Mus. Nac.), simples fragmentos de ramos fortes, cortados na ocasião.

Uma clava trabalhada e polida, revestida de tecido de palha do tipo karajá ou kaiapó (11.933 - Col. Mus. Nac.) é manifestamente exotica; foi parar ás mãos dos Nambikuáras fortuitamente, tal como deve ter acontecido a um pente de madeira (12.046 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

*

(175) Cipó imbé — *Philodendron imbé*, Mart.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Os machados de pedra lascada têm tipo uniforme. Todos de *diabase,* cuneiformes, pesam dois kgs., em média.

São encabados num pedaço de caule voluvel, talvez de uma *Bauhinia.*

O breu e os laços de fios, postos para fixar a pedra, dão ao instrumento solidez surpreendente 11.958 - Cal. Mus. Nac.).

Conseguimos trazer, da Serra do Norte, um fragmento de arvore abatida pelos indios com o seu machado de pedra; figura na coleção do Museu sob o n. 13.333.

*

O breu é feito com resina de almêcega, jataí (176) e cêra, levando ainda outras substancias desconhecidas. Sofre ação do fogo em panelas (2.259 - Col. Mus. Nac.). E' conservado em bolas, presas a tiras de embira (13.235 - Col. Mus. Nac.), ou em pães envoltos em folhas (13.213 - Col. Mus. Nac.). Tanto o *veneno* das flechas, quanto o mesmo breu dos machados são denominados *Duhutaarú,* que quer dizer: cêra.

*

Tephrosia toxicaria — E' leguminea venenosa, especie de *Tingui,* com que os indios pescam. Foi reconhecida pelo Sr. F. C. Hoehne, que, com o Sr. G. Kuhlmann, determinou a maior parte do material botanico da nossa coleção (177).

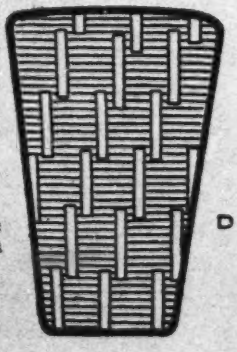
Fig. 62 — Panela com brêu. Indios da Serra do Norte.

*

Não conhecem anzol; empregam, na pes-

(176) Jataí — *Hymenea stigonocarpa* ou *H. stilbocarpa.*

(177) A revisão dos nomes cientificos de plantas e de animais foi feita pelos Profs. A. J. de Sampaio e C. F. Mello Leitão.



A — Arezi-Cogumelo (*Políporus sp.*) de que se alimentam os índios da Serra do Norte.
B — Fio de pêlos de Macaco.
C — Colar feito de tubo de penas.
D — Motivo ornamental dos índios da Serra do Norte.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

ca, uma especie de cóvo, feito de taquara ou do caule do cipó titára (178) (13.211 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

*

Produtos alimenticios, existem na coleção:

Guaiatú — Milho branco (2.272 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

Urinodzú — Massa de mandioca (2.262 - Col. Mus. Nac.). — O exame microscopico mostra ser muito rica em grãos de amilo. A raiz, depois de ralada, é expremida numa fita de palha — *Çaarú* (13.225 - Col. Mus. Nac.) (179). O ralo (13.215 - Col. Mus. Nac.) pertence ao tipo usado pelos indios do Xingú — (Suiás, etc.). E' formado por uma plancha em que se fixam cerca de 2 filas de palitos.

As lagartas de uma borboleta (180) — (5.774 - Col. Mus. Nac.) — que comem vivas.

Katunuzú — Terra dos formigueiros, argila que tambem comem (13.230 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

Amostra de restos de sua alimentação figura no Museu sob o n. 13.231.

*

Um cogumelo, *orelha de pau* (181) utilizado na alimentação, e feijões (182) de aspecto exotico (2.264 - Col. Mus. Nac.) foram igualmente achados numa aldeia.

---

(178) Cipó titara — *Desmoncus sp.* Palmeira de caule escandente.

(179) A distribuição geografica dos expremedores de massa de mandioca, (tipiti — tubo cilindrico e tira trançada aberta, onde o suco é extraido por torção da tira) adscreve, ao verdadeiro tipiti uma distribuição que, das Guianas, deve ter alcançado o vale amazonico e os affluentes do grande rio. (Cf. Métraux — "La Civilisation Matérielle des tribus Tupi-Guarani — Paris, 1928, pag. 103). O mesmo autor considera como tipo primitivo a tira trançada que se encontra nos limites da zona de expansão do tubo cilindrico.

Por forma mais primitiva ainda deve ser tida a simples tira de palha com que os Nambikuáras expremem a massa de mandioca. Tal operação se acha documentada numa das estampas deste livro (H. A. T.).

(180) Borboleta — *Brassolinae.*

(181) Orelha de Pau — *Polyporus sp*

(182) Feijão — *Phaseolus sp.*

Merece especial menção a cabeça moqueada de um tamanduá bandeira (1.934 - Col. Mus. Nac.), encontrada numa cesta, por Miranda Ribeiro, na expedição de 1909.

*

Por meio do fogo excavam pilões (*Nutêzê*) — (11.931 - Col. Mus. Nac.) — em que socam a carne e outros alimentos.

Fazem fogo com bastões de almêcega — (2.232 - Col. Mus. Nac.) e resguardam as pontas dos ignigenos envolvendo-as na palha, para que se não molhem com as chuvas.

*

A cultura da terra é realizada por meio de um bastão aguçado (11.923 - Col. Mus. Nac.). Sementes de

Fig. 63 — Bastões ignigenos protegidos contra a chuva — Indios da Serra do Norte.

urucú, de cabaça (183), de algodão são guardadas em bolsas de folhas (2.260, 1.927 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

Conservados, tambem, frutos medicinais — (*Solamum mammosum*) — 1.923 - Col. Mus. Nac.), raizes, folhas (1.943 - Col. Mus. Nac.), etc.

*

Ha, na coleção, duas amostras de corantes: uma pasta de urucú e gordura, suavemente perfumada, com que as indias se pintam depois do banho, *Huduhukaidi* (13.229 - Col. Mus. Nac.), e uma variedade de ocre vermelho (13.241 - Col. Mus. Nac.)

(183) Cabaça — *Lagenaria sp.*

O tabaco — (2.261 - Col. Mus. Nac.) — acha-se em cigarros, ou em folhas, metido entre duas varas — (13.250 - Col. Mus. Nac.) — para secar.

*

O algodão (184) encontra-se bem representado: caroços de algodão, variedade *rim de boi*, conservados em bolsa de folhas (13.227 - Col. Mus. Nac.); fio de algodão (*Kondzú*) obtido no fuso (*Gdaretatú*) (13.216 - Col. Mus. Nac.); meadas de algodão fiado (13.405 -

Fig. 64 — *Gdaretatú* — Fuso dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

Col. Mus. Nac.); novelo do algodão (12.047 - Col. Mus. Nac.); tecido de algodão (*Sareguêzê*, faixa para carregar crianças).

O fuso é uma lasca de palmeira embutida num disco de ceramica, caco de panela velha...

*

Kateçú — São os frutos da *Lagenaria sp.* de que fazem reservatorios e vasilhas (12.002 - Col. Mus. Nac.). Algumas contêm fumo picado grosseiramente (1.919 - Col. Mus. Nac.) e são arrolhadas com sabugo de milho, processo que os sertanejos usam muito.

*

(184) Segundo os estudos do Padre Schmidt e de Nordenskjöld (a proposito das rêdes), o algodão veiu dos Andes para o Brasil, onde foi cultivado sobretudo pelos tupis no centro da mata equatorial do Amazonas. O seu uso rareia mesmo entre os aruaques. Tal distribuição, em parte devida ás condições da planta, explica a sua existencia entre os Nambikuáras, situados no extremo ocidental do chapadão (R. L.).

Atavios rudimentares merecem analise, pela originalidade do material de que são feitos, alguns colares: formados por pequeninos fiapos de substancia cornea dos tubos das penas o de n. 12.417 - Col. Mus. Nac.); cordas enfeitadas com pelos de *Pithecia satanás* (952 - Col. Mus. Nac.); colar de dentes de macacos (12.851 - Col. Mus. Nac.); feitos com sementes de uma *cyperacea* (*Tanieikerê*) (13.549 - Col. Mus. Nac.), tambem usada pelos Suiás do Xingú. (3.656 - Coleção Paula Castro - von den Steinen - 1884 in Mus. Nac.); colar de contas negras, feitas de côco (4.218 - Col. Mus. Nac.); colar de taquarinha (12.265 - Col. Mus. Nac.); colar de nacar de conchas fluviais (12.071 - Col. Mus. Nac.); colar feito de sementes de uma sapotacea (185) (*Irunguinindê*).

*

Oradaikruzê (13.083 - Col. Mus. Nac.) — E' linda pulseira feita dos aneis da cauda do tatú canastra (186). Parece objeto de marfim. Outras são feitas de côcos do Uauassú ou Pindoba (187).

*

Ligas humerais são de algodão e têm o fecho semelhante ao das parecís (12.165 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

*

E' singelo manto de fibras, muito usado, preso ao pescoço e pendente sobre o dorso o *Ialaçú* (12.460 - Col. Mus. Nac.). De penas negras é o manto registado sob n. 13.109.

Fig. 65 — *Oradaikruzê* — Bracelete dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

*

(185) Sapotacea — *Lucuma sp.*
(186) Tatú canastra — *Dasypus gigas.*
(187) Pindoba — *Orbignya speciosa.*

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

Brincos triangulares são feitos de nacar (12.276 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

Cavilhas para o scepto nasal e para o labio superior, estas muito mais finas e longas do que as primeiras, acham-se em grande numero (12.202 a 12.205 - Col. Mus. Nac.). São feitas de taquarinha ou do colmo de um capim resistente (188).

O mesmo material forma a haste do *Unetizú*, penacho que usam no scepto nasal (13.103 - Col. Mus. Nac.). Ha, na coleção, alguns pingentes de penas de tucano (12.087 - Col. Mus. Nac.), algo parecidos com os da Guiana. Capacetes feitos do couro da onça (12.050 e 13.206 - Col. Mus. Nac.) vermelha ou pintada — representam material interessantissimo, inusitado, naquela região, a não ser pelos Nambikuáras e pelos Kaiabís do Paranatinga.

*

Os trançados dos indios do Brasil foram sistematizados por Max Schmidt, que os dividiu em dois grupos principais:

1. *Palmblattflechterei* — (Trançados de folhas de palmeiras).

2. *Doppelfadengeflechte* — (Trançados de duplo fio).

Porém ele admitiu mais um grupo, no qual dois elementos do trançado em diferentes direções são atravessados por um terceiro. Esse tipo apresenta-se frequentemente no Xingú e se acha representado nas coleções do Museu de Berlim

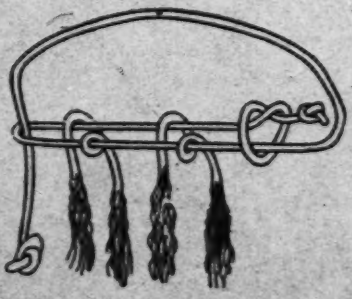
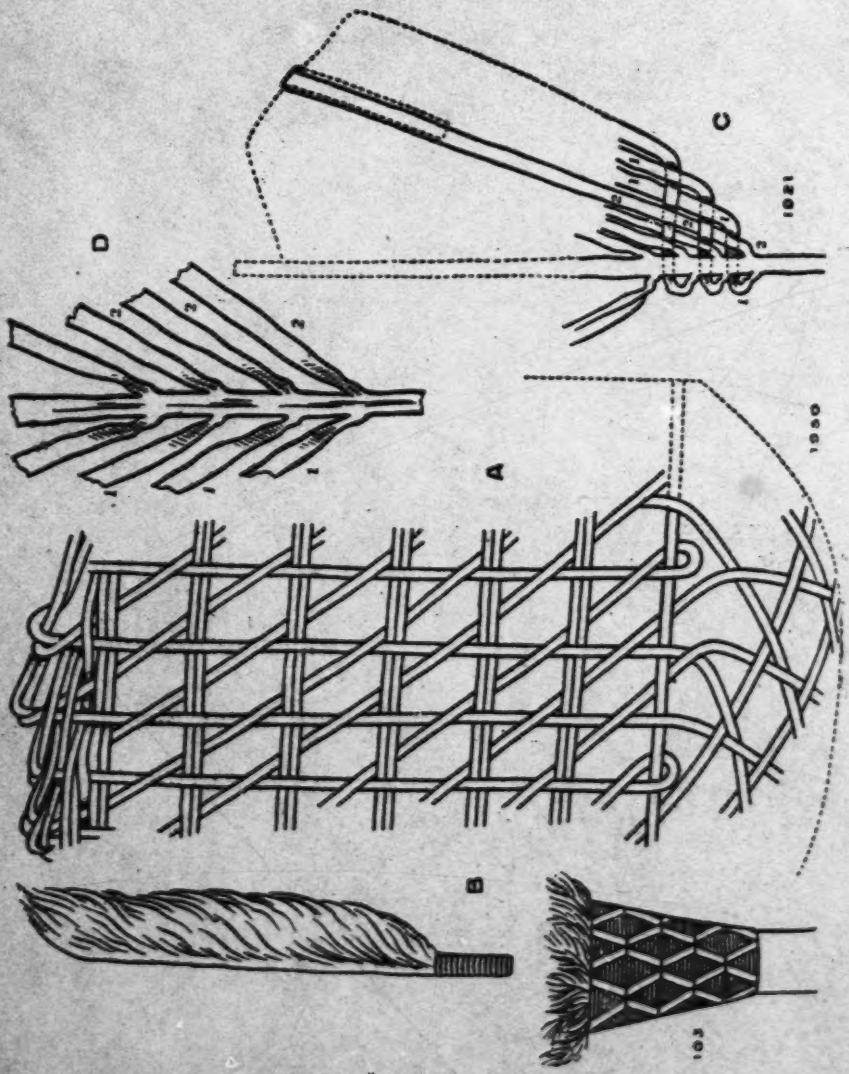


Fig. 66 — Esquema de um "lalaçú", manto de palha dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

(188) Capim — *Andropogon.*



INDIOS DA SERRA DO NORTE

A. — Trançado das cestas feitas com o caule voluvel de um *Desmoncus*.
B. — Detalhes do penacho nasal.
C e *D.* — Trançado de um abano, feito com uma palma.

(Berl. Mus. V. B. 4.331, 4.391, 2.841). E' trançado caracteristico, elementar, que encontramos nas cestas dos nambikuáras (*Atiçú*) — (1.950 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

O material usado pelos nambikuáras é taquara, ou mais frequentemente, *cipó titára.*

*

Nos trançados de folhas de palmeira a unidade primordial resulta do grupamento de tiras, duas a duas, formando o que Max Schmidt denominou: *Geflechtsviereck*, que poderiamos chamar: *quadrilatero de Schmidt.* Estes se desenvolvem como celulas de um tecido, conservando o mesmo tipo, baseado naquela figura geometrica, que ora é um quadrado, ora um paralelogramo. Nos abanos dos nambikuáras (1.921 - Col. Mus. Nac.), feitos com folha da bacába, os folíolos passam para o lado direito do pecíolo, segundo o esquema junto. Tem fórma pentagonal; e, por isso, tambem se parecem com abanos que o Museu Nacional possue, na coleção Paula Castro, vindos do Xingú (13.615 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

Fig. 67 — "Hait-teataçú" — Flauta nasal dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

*

Um tipo de flauta nasal (11.235 - Col. Mus. Nac.) — (*Hait-teataçú*), (189) formada por discos de cabaça, parece-me importado dos Parecís.

Importação das tribus do Tapajós (Mundurucús, Maués etc.) são as flautas duplas (2.266 - Col. Mus. Nac.).

*

(189) Encontra-se flauta de bambú tocada a sôpro nasal entre os Apinagé Cf. coleção feita por Curt Nimuendajú e pertencente hoje ao Museu Nacional) e entre os Botocudos do Rio Doce (Cf. von Ihering, Revista do Museu Paulista, vol. VIII e carta de Herculano M. Ingles de Souza a Ladislau Netto, Arquivo do Museu Nacional, pasta 21, doc, n. 121, de 28 de junho de 1882). (H. A. T.).

Algumas peças da nossa coleção têm especial valor, porque documentam o processo de aculturamento material daquele povo. São, de um lado, objetos em que se nota o aproveitamento do ferro, encontrado, por acaso,

Índio da Serra do Norte tocando *haitentaçú* (flauta nasal). — 1 — Orifício de entrada do ar. — 2-3 — Orifícios obturados com os dedos médios.

nos trilhos dos caçadores e seringueiros; por outro lado, são artefatos de imitação, nos quais se reconhece a mão inhabil do primitivo, desejando copiar produtos de uma industria mais adiantada, e repetir fórmas de uma arte superior á sua.

Ornato de penas — Indios da Serra do Norte. (Col. Mus. Nac. n.º 2268).

Diadema dos Indios da Serra do Norte. (Col. Mus. Nac. n.º 2251).

Fig. 98 — Imitação de chapéo de palha, feito por um indio do Juruená.

A contrafacção é visivel nos diademas que procuram imitar grosseiramente os de ns. 13.110, 13.111 e 12.051 Col. Mus. Nac., encontrados entre elles, mas que, manifestamente, são produtos adventicios, conquistados a tribus septentrionais, em que o trabalho das penas atingiu outro desenvolvimento.

Tendo aprendido a apreciar as vantagens do chapéu

Os Arikêmes. — Na memoria "Les indiens Arikêmes" (Travaux du XIX Congrès des Américanistes", Gotteborg, 1924) publiquei os resultados do estudo efetuado, por sugestão do prof. Roquette-Pinto, sobre o importante material do Museu Nacional, relativo ao culto dos mortos entre essas indios do Jamarí, e sobre afinidades etnograficas da região das cachoeiras do Madeira, complemento geografico da Rondonia.

O nome tribal proprio destes indios, é *Ahdyeku*; vivem, sob chefes chamados *apáo*, em quatro aldeias cada qual com uma casa religiosa (*pajóc*) e tres habitações, palhoças em forma de "casco de tatú", com uma só porta — quando Rondon os revisou á civilização, o descreveu nas suas "Conferencias".

Seus arcos são do tipo peruviano, de secção tendente á oval, como os dos Nambikuáras. As flechas têm emplumação do tipo Arára, indicando relações tribaes.

Os homens usam cavilhas de madeira ou plumas nas furas das orelhas. Não furam o septo nasal nem os labios como estes vizinhos; os tembetás das cintas funebres devem ser trofeus.

O culto dos mortos. — O enterramento usual é nas casas, sob as rêdes, modo commum com os tupis do Oy e outras tribus amazonicas.

O culto do *pajóc*, porém, é um complexo original, ao bem que outras tribus da região (os parecís, os *kepkiriwát*), tambem casas religiosas.

Deve-se a Rondon interessante descrição do *pajóc*: — uma rêde (*ewembí*) com cabellos de plumas e cruzes, ao meio do teto pendem uma pele de jaguar pelos tricolica e um machado de pedra, furadas; nas paredes, flechas e arcos tomados de outras tribus: dentro da rêde um cacho de liber com os ossos do *herdí*, e, amarrada, uma cuia com o seu craneo. Duas mechas de cabello são presas á rêde e os dentes postos numa cestinha (*chiropamo-lia*), suspensa do teto.

Encontra-se já o rito especial (*chiropamo-lia*), suspensa do teto.

Encontra-se já o rito especial do enterro do chefe, já o endocanibalismo com bebida das cinzas, na bacia do rio Negro, observando Koch-Grunberg que o fundo psicologico do tabu nasce é a crença de que os ossos contêm a alma. Não podemos precisar si os mesmos Arikêmes praticaram o endocanibalismo (que existiu em outras bordas da familia Pano) mas o fato é que se encontram em algumas das suas cestas ossos

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

de que usamos, prezam muito tal peça do nosso vestuário; e, por isso, um indio infeliz, a quem não se deu, por brinde, um dos tais, tratou de compô-lo para seu gozo, trançando e ajeitando foliolos de bacába...

---

carbonizados. Foi constatado não ser de osso humano uma discutida flauta dos *Kepkiriuate* (Tupis da Rondonia).

Os Araúnas, segundo o "Itinerario do Amazonas á Bolivia" de A. P. Labre, têm casas templos, reservadas aos homens, festas agricolas, idolos de madeira e pedra (geometricos) protetores dos homens e das cousas; um deus "Hipimará", pedaços de madeira elipsoide; e "guardas-deuses", varas ornamentadas (cp. os Parecis.

Segundo as cronicas, cultuavam os restos dos heróes, em rêdes, os tapajós e os guaranis (*).

As cestas funerarias foram tambem usadas na Guiana; além do exemplo humboltiano de Ataruipe, uma legenda do Surinam refere a colocação dos despojos de um herói aruaque num cesto ornado de plumas (apud Coll., em "Anthropos", II, 987). Os Briori, Chibchas de Costa Rica, segundo Seimer, proticam o transporte dos ossos em sacos de liber, para uma casa de mortos. Keller achou num rancho caripuna urnas, pedras sobre covas, cestas ornadas. Araúnas e Arikêmes não apresentam (ao contrario do "templo" guaraio visto por Labre), simbolos antropomorfos; contribuem pois para tornar compreensiveis casos como a ausencia de figurações humanas no material do burgo lacustre maranhense — a "tabatinga" do Cajarí (v. R. L. — "La civilisation lacustre du Brésil", Gotoberg, 1924 (**).

São possivelmente simbolicos, entre os Arikêmes, além dos numerosos pares de objetos rituais, nos exemplares da coleção, o das casas da aldeia.

As cestas com a sua forma tripode e o uso dos sacos num povo que ignôra de ceramica, sugerem condições mais primitivas que o periodo "arcaico" da ceramica centro-americana e do que o proprio uso da fiação. (***).

Pela lingua e pela cultura pertencem os Ahôpôvo ao grupo *Puno*, embora com muitas afinidades heterogeneas.

Conservaram seus velhos ritos, como os Nambikuáras sua primitividade, no coração da America do Sul, nas terras virgens da Rondonia.

R. Lopes.

(*) A rêde ainda é usada, entre matutos brasileiros, para transportar o cadaver. Gonçalves Dias, em linda poesia escrita durante os seus estudos na Amazonia, refere-se ao uso dos indios, de carregar, na vida nomade, os cestos dos seus.

(**) Ultimamente, nas jazidas do Turi, encontrei outros tipos lacustres, com algumas figuras humanas, de barro.

(***) A teoria dos motivos do trançado de Max Schmitt leva a professora Heloisa A. Torres, em estudo sobre a "Ceramica de Marajó", a admitir uma elaboração artistica precursora da arte do barro na grande ilha.

R. L.

XI

NÃO se póde ainda tentar a síntese definitiva da situação etnografica dos aborigenes da Serra do Norte.

Mas, o que se apurou, nas paginas precedentes, permite, desde já, indicar pontos importantes da sua vida social, suficientes para marcar-lhes um posto definitivo entre os grupos humanos existentes, em estado natural, no territorio da Sul-America.

Que se mantiveram longe da ação européa, não ha duvida. Martius, aliás, concluindo pela alta antiguidade dos aborigenes americanos, mostrava que a *idade da pedra* caracterizava as populações conservadas fóra daquela influencia.

E, se fosse possivel reconhecer, no Brasil, os dois periodos classicos (Paleolitico e Neolitico) caberiam no primeiro os Indios da Serra do Norte, cujos machados são toscamente lascados, e cuja cultura bem se aproxima daquela que se admite seja peculiar ao paleolitico (197).

Sua antiguidade, naquela região, deve ser muito grande.

•

A' primeira vista, poderia parecer que os Nambikuáras fossem antigo ramo parecí atrasado.

(197 Esquematicamente, e em relação aos seus vizinhos, os nambikuáras lembram os paleoliticos; mas a sua cultura, com rudimentos de lavoura e de fiação, e com machados toscos mas de gume aliado, assemelha-se mais aos aspectos proto-neoliticos ou do periodo de transição. A tendencia atual é para admitir no Novo Mundo, technicas paleoliticas — p. ex., em Trenton, E. U. — e suas derivadas (R. Lopes — "Pontas de Silex Lascado no Brasil), mas não, uma formal superposição de periodos como na Europa. (R. L.).

O que sabemos, porém, de ambas as nações, quanto á antropologia, quanto á etnografia, no tocante á lingua, protesta contra a identificação.

Ha, todavia, sinais certos de influencia pareci na sua cultura. O primeiro é a casa *do feitio de forno*, que

Ornatos usados dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

os Parecis de outrora construiam. Trata-se de uma importação no meio nambikuára; a casa primitiva dos habitantes da Serra do Norte é o *toldo de folhagens*, semelhante ao *Kijême* dos Botocudos (Windschirm, dos etnologos alemães), que bem recorda os *Wig-wam*, dos indios Norte-Americanos.

E se não foi dos Parecis que receberam a grande *casa-redonda*, foi então, de indios bolivianos.

•

Material que demonstra influencia exterior é o *penacho nasal*, que os Parecis de hoje não ostentam, e os de outróra não dispensavam, pelo testemunho de Antonio Pires; e tambem a *ocarina nasal*, que fazem vibrar de modo inhabil, como quem usa instrumento mal conhecido, cujos segredos ainda não descobriu.

A *flauta dupla*, parece ter sido trazida do Norte. Deve ser importação de Maués e Mandurucús, com os quais, conforme já se viu, os indios da Serra do Norte têm tido atritos sérios.

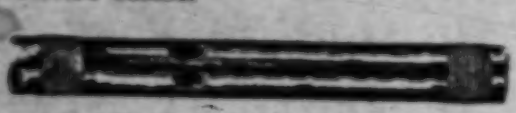


Fig. 70 — "Kaiguiarú" — Flauta dupla dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

O *trançado* que sua arte emprega, tem fórmas positivamente caracteristicas do Xingú (*Trumais* e *Nahukuas*); documenta relações que sua cultura elementar faria supôr existissem entre eles e as tribus atrasadas daquele rio.

O *moquém quadrangular*, fóra dos moldes usuais, é só empregado pelos grupos mais adiantados (*Tagnanis*, etc.); lembra o dos Javaés, tal qual o figurou Fr. Krause (198).

•

Bem parecidos com os dos Suiás, são os *enfeites de palha* dos Nambikuáras. Porém, muito mais que isso, prova relações entre eles, a semelhança das *linguas*. Porque não existe outro povo que fale dialeto

(198) "F. Krause — "In den Wildnissen Brasiliens" — Leipzig, 1911.

tão parecido com o dos Nambikuáras, quanto á morfologia dos vocabulos, apesar de serem, ainda assim, no resto, bem diferentes os dois idiomas.

•

Interessante é a aproximação espontanea que se estabelece entre duas tribus distantes e igualmente primitivas, como são os *Guaiakis* do Paraguai e os Nambikuáras da Serra do Norte, pelo uso do *capacete de couro de onça*.

Todavia, creio antes estes o hajam copiado de seus vizinhos Kaiabis, do rio Paranatinga, os quais se cobrem com elmos do mesmo material.

•

A *ignorancia do cachimbo*, objeto muito encontradiço nos *mounds* norte-americanos e nos *sambaquis* do Brasil, bem como a da *bananeira*, mostra quão velhos são, naquela Serra, os Nambikuáras.

•

Que o grupo Gê-Botocudo seja um dos mais antigos representantes da gentilidade Sul-Americana, hoje não se discute mais (199).

Sobre ligações desse grupo, porém, com os outros que se têm isolado, desde a chave de von Martius até as

---

(199) Todas as descobertas de material humano osseo ou de qualquer outra natureza que pretenderam determinar a existencia de um homem fossil americano não resistiram a uma critica seria. Embora admitindo com Boule ("Les Hommes Fossiles") — muito menos exigente do que Hrdlicka ("Early Man in North America" e "Early Man in South America", Bureau of American Ethnology) que esses achados atinjam o fim do pliocenno, serão ainda muito mais recentes que os do Velho Mundo onde se encontram restos humanos desde o inicio do quaternario.

Por esse motivo e por não apresentarem os crania considerados mais antigos na America caracteres de diferenciação dos crania dos atuais indigenas não se pôde firmar a teoria do autoctonismo do homem americano. Antes, teria sim, pela, emigrado de outros continentes, em ondas sucessivas.

Da Asia, provavelmente pelo estreito de Bhering, deve ter chegado a maior massa de povoadores, sendo que Hrdlicka é hoje o mais ardente

modernas investigações de Rivet, Koch-Gruenberg e outros, ha muito que indagar. Tenho para mim que o problema etnologico mais interessante do Brasil indigena, deixando á margem questões insoluveis, é a ligação dos grupos entre si, a filiação das diferentes culturas que apresentam.

E' fóra de duvida, para mim, que os grupos linguisticos correspondem a tipos de civilização ascen-

---

defensor dessa ideia ("The Genesis of the American Indian", XIX Congr. Am., Washington, 1915).

Sauvageot ("Eskimo et Ouralien" — Journ. Soc. Am., Paris, tomo XVI, 1924) estabeleceu o parentesco linguistico dos Esquimós com os Fino-Ugrianos.

* * *

Rivet ("L'Anthropologie", 1925) fazendo pesquisas comparativas, no terreno da antropologia fisica, da etnografia e da linguistica (em seguimento ás observações levadas a efeito pelo P. Schmidt e por Graebner, quanto a relações malaio-polinesias americanas) arrolou uma serie de concordancias entre grupos indigenas americanos, de um lado, e malaio-polinesios (abrangendo civilizações indonesia, melanesia e polinesia) e australianas, de outro.

Já De Quatrefages havia apontado semelhanças entre cranios da Nova-Guiné e da Lagoa Santa. Ten Kate reconheceu a existencia desse mesmo tipo craniano entre indios da California e ilhas da costa adjacente.

A concordancia entre varios fatos etnograficos generalizados ainda é mais eloquente: por exemplo, entre tantos, a cabeça trofeu, o remo com cabo em forma de muleta, o propulsor de flechas, as mutilações de dentes, a trepanação, etc., etc.,

No terreno linguistico, as aproximações se apresentaram até agora, em extensões geograficas mais limites. Mias de cem palavras de linguas malaio-extensões geograficas mais limitadas. Mais de cem palavras de linguas malaio-polinesas foram reconhecidas no Hoka costa do Pacifico, desde o Oregon até o istmo de Tehuantepec).

A penetração malaio-polinesia parece ter se realizado em diferentes ocasiões e provavelmente pelo Pacifico, o que se explica facilmente, dado o desenvolvimento da navegação dessa gente.

* * *

A varios cranios Patagões, Ona, etc., têm sido apontadas semelhanças com cranios australianos (Topinard, Verneau, Lebzelter).

As concordancias etnograficas são menos numerosas aqui. Existe, entre outras, uma particularmente interessante de se anotar neste livro: a identidade absoluta do machado australiano e do Nambikuára, tipo que tambem é comum aos Huari de Nordenskjöld.

Com relação ás linguas, é notavel que todas as poucas palavras que são comuns á quasi totalidade de dialetos australianos se encontram tambem na Familia Tchon (Patagões e Fueginos). As outras concordancias linguisticas relacionam mais esta lingua com o australiano da metade oriental do continente.

Os recentes estudos citados identificaram, pois, quatro elementos de outros continentes que concorreram para o povoamento do Novo-Mundo.

(H. A. T.).

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

dente, embora quasi sempre mal caracterizados, pelas interferencias perturbadoras estranhas; e poderiam ter resultado, em parte, da evolução gradual de uma cultura primitiva, dominante na *raça Paleamericana*, de De Quatrefages.

Na Serra do Norte foi surprehendido, pela nossa civilização, um povo de *cultura Gé*, evoluindo para a *cultura Nu-Aruak*, cujos pródromos apenas havia atingido.

•

Resumindo tudo quanto apurámos em relação áquela gente, podemos formular algumas proposições documentadas neste trabalho:

I. Os Indios da Serra do Norte foram descobertos pelas Expedições Rondon, a partir de 1907, no vale do Juruena, e depois em toda a Cordilheira.

Até então só se possuiam vagas noticias deles; as primeiras datam de 1718.

II. Todos os nomes que lhes davam seus vizinhos, todas as denominações recolhidas por viajantes e sertanejos são absolutamente estranhas á sua lingua. Um certo grupo será provavelmente identificado aos chamados *Tapanhúnas*, ou *Tapaiúnas*, de que falam alguns autores, como se fossem mocambos de negros africanos involuidos. Convem conservar-lhes o nome geral *Nambikuáras*, para evitar futuras confusões.

III. Todos os Indios da Serra do Norte viviam, até agora, em plena *idade* litica, usando machados de pedra mal poïda, facas de madeira, ignorando a navegação, dormindo diretamente sôbre o sólo, ignorando a fabricação da ceramica, e a rêde de dormir.

A ceramica, mui grosseira, de que usam, é obtida de tribus vizinhas, por conquista, ou por troca. Até hoje, apesar de um contacto de mais de cinco anos, ninguem ainda os viu fabricar peças ceramicas.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

IV. Permaneciam, quasi, em absoluta segregação; muitos ainda não tinham visto homens de raça branca, ou negra.

V. Vivem em grupos isolados, falando dialetos da mesma lingua, em via de diferenciação. Os vocabulos que designam as principais regiões do corpo humano, de acôrdo com verificações realizadas, de ha muito, entre o geral dos indios, são os que mais dificilmente obedecem ao processo de diferenciação morfologica.

VI. Esses grupos não se acham no mesmo gráu de desenvolvimento de cultura. Os que habitam o vale do Juruena são os mais atrasados: são menos sociaveis, mais agressivos; constroem casas rudimentares; não usam o moquem; não têm chefes permanentes. Os que vivem no extremo da Serra do Norte já atingiram civilização acentuadamente mais elevada, que se revela na sua arte e nos seus costumes sociais.

VII. De todos os grupos linguisticos da America, aquele em que mais facilmente se podem incluir os indios da Serra do Norte, é o *Gê-Botocudo*. As linguas, cujos caracteristicos maiores semelhanças oferecem com o seu idioma, são o dialeto dos Suiás, do Xingú, descobertos em 1884 pela expedição Karl von den Steinen e o dos Karajás do Araguaia.

Uma outra lingua, todavia, em que se póde encontrar semelhança com os dialetos da Serra do Norte é o *Kiriri*.

VIII. Além de afinidades linguisticas, os indios da Serra do Norte apresentam caracteristicos etnograficos peculiares ás tribus *Gê-Botocudas*, raramente encontrados entre indios de outros grupos: ignorancia da rêde, da navegação, ausencia de ceramica, toldos de folhagem, etc. (200).

Sendo assim, os Indios da Serra do Norte — (Nambikuáras) — continuam para oeste a cadeia dos

(200) Traços tais de atraso cultural tambem se encontram em varias tribus do Chaco (Nordenskjöld) e mesmo da mata amazonica.

povos *Gés*, cujos representantes mais ocidentais, até agora conhecidos, eram os Sauiás.

IX. Vizinhos dos Parecís durante seculos, os Nambikuáras quasi não sofreram a influencia desses indios. As duas culturas evoluiam até agora, lado á lado, em graus diversos de adiantamento, com poucas reações mutuas.

X. A agricultura surgiu temporã, na população da Serra do Norte; o fato parece derivar das solicitações do meio geografico. E' quasi certo, todavia, que o surto dessa industria foi condicionado por influencias estranhas, ainda não conhecidas, por meio das quais obtiveram os indios o material necessario, visto como não se encontram entre eles senão as mesmas especies cultivadas pelos seus companheiros de *habitat*.

XI. Do ponto de vista antropologico, os indios da Serra do Norte são absolutamente inconfundiveis com os seus vizinhos. Dos indios americanos os que mais se aproximam deles, pelos caracteres anatomicos, são os *Nu-Aruaks*.

XII. Os indios da Serra do Norte são atacados por uma dermatose especial, diferente do purú-pûrú, que seus vizinhos não conhecem. Essa molestia, *Baanêcê-dútú*, cuja existencia ficou bem documentada em lugar competente deste trabalho, ainda não pôde ser etiologicamente classificada. E', provavelmente, uma voriedade de *tinea imbricata*.

Pialho dos Indios da Serra do Norte.

XIII. Seus parasitas principais são sifonapteros, (bicho do pé) (201), suposto originario da Africa, mas, positivamente, especie da America intertropical, e hemipteros do genero *pediculus P. humanus*, encontrados em todas as populações

(201) Bicho de pé — *Tunga penetrans*.

7: Roquette-Pinto SP17 Nambicuara

da terra. Talvez mereça, este inseto, pelo seu tamanho, ser considerado *variedade* (202).

XIV. Os indios da Serra do Norte parecem ter chegado ao coração da America do Sul em época mui remota.

XV. Sua arte plumaria é pobre. Apenas se inicia. Sua musica demonstra uma elaboração bem adiantada. Seus desenhos — (lineares, poligonais, circulares) — são regularmente executados; fórmas vivas, só desenham de alguns animais: saurios, ofidios (estilizados).

XVI. Da antropofagia parecem existir, entre eles, vivas reminiscencias, se é que a não praticam mais.

XVII. Sua religião é um fetichismo panteista, nos grupos mais atrasados; nos mais adiantados, ha sinais de nascente astrolatria.

XVIII. Qualquer que seja a situação em que estudos ulteriores possam colocar os indios da Serra do Norte, seu encontro naquela região, e naquele estado de cultura, veiu alterar profundamente o que se admitia como certo na etnografia indigena do Brasil.

XIX. Se forem definitivamente incluidos entre os *Gé*, tornar-se-á dificil admitir, por mais tempo, a origem oriental, ou litoreana, desse grupo (203).

---

(202) A idéia que as raças humanas apresentam variedades proprias de piolhos é bastante antiga, tendo sido manifestada pela primeira vez no começo do seculo passado, quando Fabricius chamou de *Pediculus negriturum* aos parasitos dos negros africanos. De 1915 a 1926 esta suposição adquiriu maior vulto com a publicação dos trabalhos de Fahrenholz e Ewing, onde os nomes *P. capitis angustus*, *P. capitis marginatus*, *P. humanus chinensis* e *P. humanus americanus* figuram para designar variedades encontradas em chins, japoneses e numa mumia do Perú. Não seria, porém, facil a um especialista que considerasse a deficiencia dos meios de exame ao alcance de Fabricius e julgasse criteriosamente o valor das diferenças apontadas pelos autores citados, admitir as conclusões a que chegaram. Faltava, entretanto, a prova em contrario para um juizo absolutamente seguro, prova esta que acaba de ser anunciada pelo Prof. Ferris, da Universidade de Stanford.

Contudo o exame dos especimens colhidos sobre Nhambiquaras, na epoca em que não tinham contacto com o homem civilizado, não apresenta menor interesse, como confirmação ao resultado das pesquisas de Ferris.

FABIO LEONI WERNECK.

(203) Vide notas ns. 167 e 168.

XX. Se forem colocados no grupo *Aruák*, mais importantes ainda serão as consequencias de sua descoberta, visto como, pela teoria de von de Steinen a região de origem de um povo é aquela em que se encontram seus representantes em cultura mais atrasada.

XXI. A migração dos Nu-Aruaks, neste caso, deveria ter sido realizada — de sul a norte —, ao inverso do que pretende a etnologia classica da Sul-America.

XXII. Possuindo caracteristicos antropologicos proximos dos *Aruaks*, falando idioma isolado, tendo traços etnograficos apresentados pelos *Gé*, os indios da Serra do Norte documentam a realidade de um fato *antropogeografico* importante, já suspeitado desde a exploração do Xingú.

Foi no grande planalto do Brasil que se iniciou o trabalho de diferenciação etnica sul-americana.

NAMBIKUÁRAS

ANTROPOMETRIA — HOMENS

(QUADRO A) K — Kôkôzú-Nenen A — Anunsê T — Tagnani Ud — Uaindusê

N.º da ficha	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	MEDIAS
Grupo	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	A	A	A	A	A	T	T	T	T	Ud.	
Altura total ..	1,66	1,68	1,68	1,70	1,62	1,89	1,58	1,62	1,63	1,60	1,57	1,61	1,60	1,58	1,62	1,63	1,62	1,62	1,62
Circ. torácica .	0,80	0,83	0,84	0,90	0,82	0,79	0,79	0,81	0,80	0,78	0,79	0,81	0,82	0,78	0,85	0,87	0,89	0,63	0,81
CABEÇA: (em milimetros):																			
Occipito-frontal.	0,189	0,184	0,184	0,185	0,175	0,173	0,180	0,174	0,183	0,174	0,176	0,184	0,182	0,175	0,172	0,175	0,174	0,178	0,184
Transverso.....	0,144	0,141	0,147	0,141	0,140	0,149	0,135	0,141	0,143	0,140	0,140	0,139	0,136	0,142	0,141	0,140	0,149	0,142	0,140
Frontal minimo	0,100	0,096	0,100	0,100	0,096	0,094	0,091	0,104	0,096	0,114	0,098	0,103	0,097	0,096	0,100	0,100	0,101	0,105	0,099
Bi-zigomatico .	0,117	0,137	0,145	0,143	0,138	0,133	—	0,136	0,129	—	—	—	—	0,132	0,175	0,137	0,133	0,142	0,134
Naso-mentoniana	—	—	0,123	0,112	0,106	0,103	0,110	0,111	0,111	—	0,098	0,101	0,110	0,109	0,107	0,106	0,119	0,132	0,110
NARIZ: (em milimetros):																			
Altura.....	0,051	0,047	0,047	0,050	0,048	0,047	0,044	0,042	0,053	0,047	0,043	0,043	0,050	0,046	0,046	0,048	0,051	0,052	0,047
Largura	0,040	0,041	0,041	0,046	0,036	0,040	0,040	0,041	0,041	0,035	0,033	0,040	0,039	0,044	0,040	0,041	0,041	0,041	0,040
Saliencia	0,016	0,020	0,018	0,019	0,016	0,014	0,018	0,020	0,016	0,018	0,016	0,014	0,016	0,020	0,017	0,019	0,019	0,020	0,017
Olho: (em milimetros):																			
Bi-palpebral ext	0,097	0,101	0,102	0,100	0,096	0,091	0,097	0,093	0,086	0,096	0,090	0,093	0,097	0,093	0,096	0,096	0,093	0,101	0,096
Bi-palpebral int.	0,067	0,040	0,035	0,030	0,032	0,031	0,034	0,035	0,036	0,033	0,029	0,033	0,036	0,030	0,034	0,031	0,031	0,037	0,033
ORELHA DIREITA (em milimetros):																			
Comprimento .	0,067	0,060	0,063	0,063	0,062	0,054	0,060	0,060	0,053	0,051	0,066	0,066	0,066	0,060	0,061	0,058	0,062	0,048	0,060
Largura	0,033	0,032	0,030	0,037	0,036	0,033	0,036	0,036	0,031	0,030	0,035	0,034	0,032	0,038	0,030	0,038	0,032	0,032	0,033
Indice cefalico	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	75
Indice nasal	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	85

NAMBIKUÁRAS — Retrato falado

(QUADRO 2)

HOMENS

Ficha	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Fronte:																		
Inclinação																		
Altura																		
Largura																		
Nariz:																		
Profundidade da raiz																		
Dorso																		
Base																		
Altura																		
Saliencia																		
Largura																		
Orelha:																		
Helix — Origem																		
Helix — Superior																		
Helix — Posterior																		
Lóbulo — Contorno																		
Lóbulo — Adherencia																		
Lóbulo — Tamanho																		
Anti-trago — Inclinação																		
Anti-trago — Tamanho																		
Pavilhão																		

NAMBIKUÁRAS

(QUADRO C) **MULHERES**

NUMERO DA FICHA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Média
Altura total	1,43	1,44	1,47	1,45	1,52	1,45	1,55	1,47
PELVIMETRIA :								
Bi-espinha	0,22	0,22	0,23	0,21	0,21	0,21	0,21	0,21
Bi-crista	0,24	0,23	0,24	0,23	0,23	0,23	0,25	0,23
Bi-trocanter	0,26	0,26	0,26	0,25	0,26	0,26	0,28	0,26
Sacro-pubiano ext.	0,17	0,18	0,17	0,17	0,16	0,17	0,19	0,17

RETRATO FALADO

FICHA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
FRONTE :							
Inclinação	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
Altura	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
Largura	p	p	p	p	p	p	g
NARIZ :							
Profundidade da raiz	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
Dorso	r	r	vex	r	r	r	r
Base	ab	p	ab	h	h	h	ab
Altura	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
Saliencia	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
Largura	p	p	p	g	g	g	p
ORELHA :							
Helix — Origem	p	p	p	g	g	p	p
Helix — Superior	g	p	g	g	p	p	p
Helix — Posterior	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
Lóbulo — Contorno	q	q	q	q	q	d	q
Lóbulo — Adherencia	l	l	s	l	l	l	l
Lóbulo — Tamanho	p	g	p	p	p	p	g
Anti-tragus — Inclinação	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
Anti-tragus — Tamanho	p	p	p	p	p	p	g
Pavilhão	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

TIPO ANTROPOLOGICO DOS INDIOS DA SERRA DO NORTE

(Nambikuáras)

DETERMINADO PELO METODO DO RETRATO FALADO

Fronte:

INCLINAÇÃO — Vertical 80%; Fugidia 20%.
ALTURA — Pequena 72%; Média 12%; Grande 16%.
LARGURA — Pequena 80%; Grande 16%; Média 4%.

Nariz:

PROFUNDIDADE DA RAIZ — Grande 56%; Pequena 33%; Média 11%.
DORSO — Rectilineo 44%; Convexo 56%.
BASE — Abaixada 45%; Horizontal 50%; Levantada 5%.
ALTURA — Grande 50%; Média 11%; Pequena 39%.
SALIENCIA — Grande 22%; Pequena 78%.
LARGURA — Grande 99%; Média 1%.

Orelha:

HELIX (Origem) — Grande 44%; Pequena 56%.
HELIX SUPERIOR — Grande 44%; Pequena 56%.
HELIX POSTERIOR — Grande 5%; Pequena 95%.
LOBULO — Contorno — Quadrado 78%; Descendente 22%.
ADERENCIA — Fundido 100%.
TAMANHO — Grande 33,5%; Pequena 66,5%.
ANTITRAGUS — Inclinação: Horizontal 44,5%; Obliquo 55,5%.
PAVILHÃO — Quadrangular 11%; Oval 89%.

FORMULAS DACTILOSCOPICAS DOS INDIOS NAMBIKUÁRAS

HOMENS

Ficha n. 1	V. 4333 V. 4222	Ficha n. 10	I. 2242 E. 4333
Ficha n. 2	V. 4333 V. 3222	Ficha n. 11	V. 4444 V. 4444
Ficha n. 3	V. 4343 V. 4222	Ficha n. 12	V. 4343 V. 4242
Ficha n. 4	V. 4333 V. 4222	Ficha n. 13	V. 4444 E. 4444
Ficha n. 5	V. 4444 V. 4442	Ficha n. 14	V. 3333 V. 2222
Ficha n. 6	V. 4344 V. 4244	Ficha n. 15	V. 3333 V. 2242
Ficha n. 7	V. 4444 V. 4444	Ficha n. 16	V. 3344 V. 2244
Ficha n. 8	V. 4344 V. 4244	Ficha n. 17	V. 3344 V. 4244
Ficha n. 9	V. 4333 V. 4242	Ficha n. 18	V. 4444 V. 4444

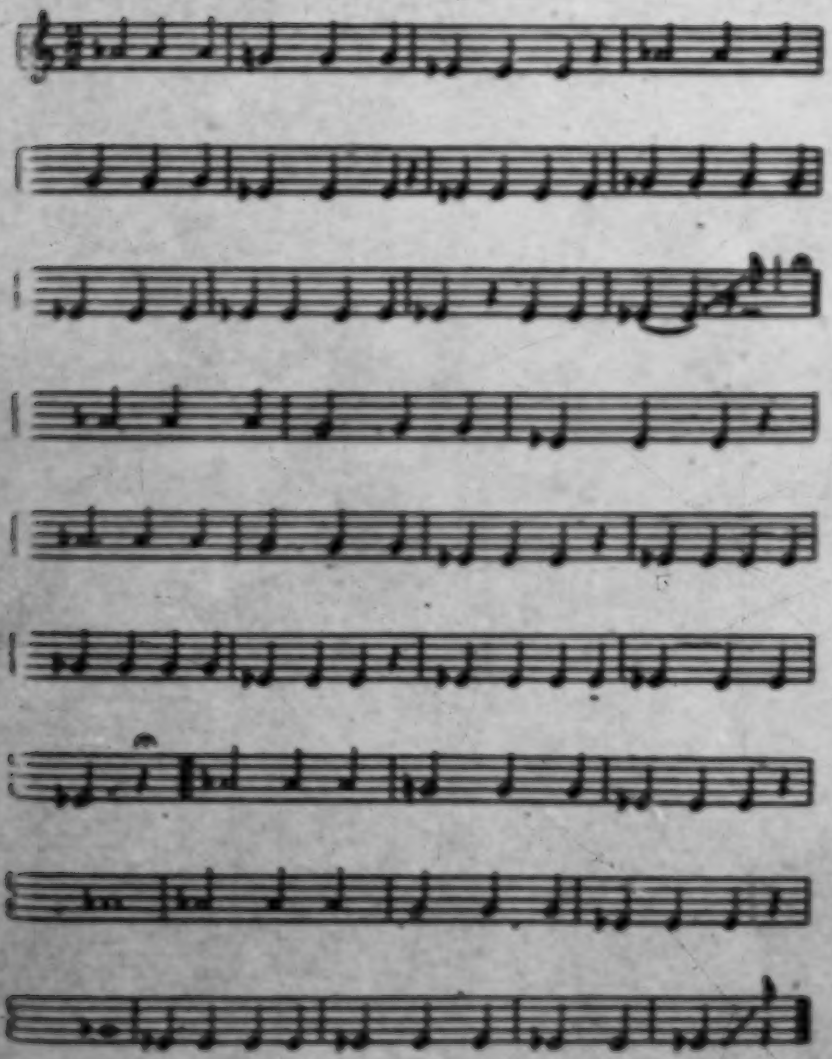
MULHERES

Ficha n. 1	V. 4443 V. 4442	Ficha n. 4	V. 3343 V. 4442
Ficha n. 2	E. 4333 V. 4242	Ficha n. 5	V. 4343 V. 4344
Ficha n. 3	V. 4443 V. 4242	Ficha n. 6	V. 4444 I. 4444
Ficha n. 7	V. 3343 V. 2222		

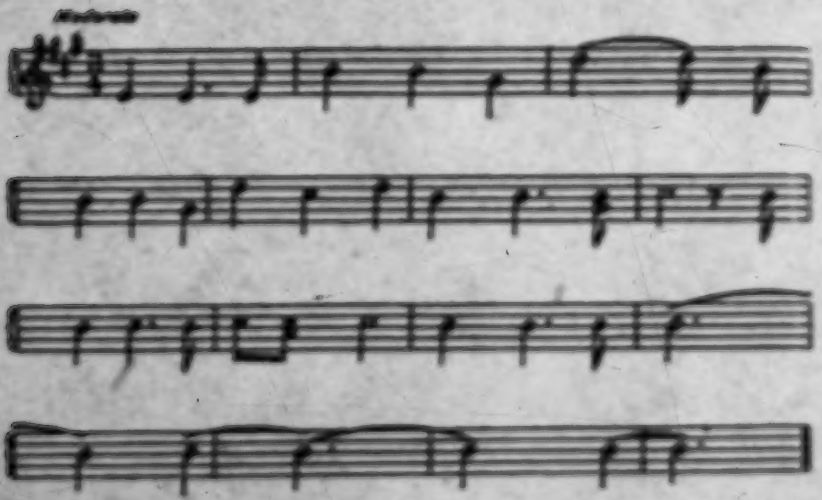
RONDONIA 333

FONOGRAMA 14.500

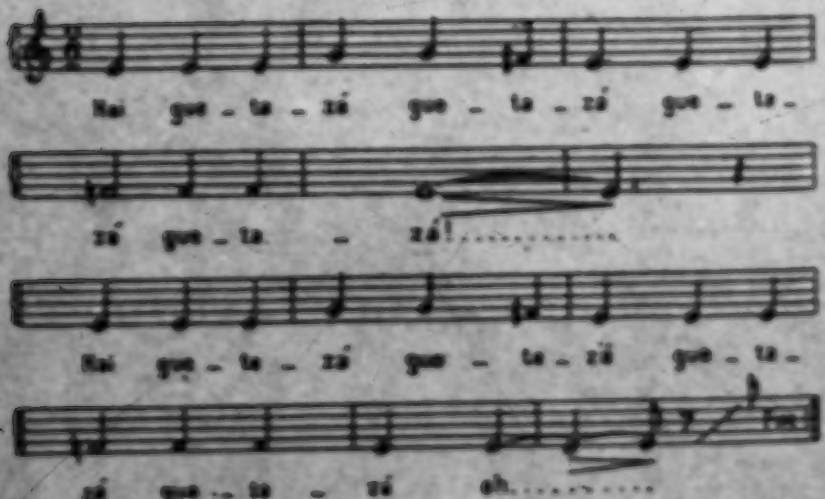
(INDIOS DA SERRA DO NORTE)



FONOGRAMA 14.032
(ÍNDIOS PARECIS)



FONOGRAMA 14.033
(ÍNDIOS DA SERRA DO NORTE)



Vocabulario Nambikuára-Tauitê

Ante-braço — Tanokrê.
Barba — Taiuitê.
Boca — Taiúiri.
Bracelete — Iái-ndê.
Braço — Toarabatndê.
Cabelo — Tanaguitê.
Céu — Uátcindê.
Cotovelo — Tanokurukri.
Criança (filho) — Tauhitê.
Cuia — Ualotê ou Kautê.
Dedo — Tahitê.
Dorso — Taragutnari.
Joelho — Tacinguedukrê.
Labio — Taiunindê.
Lingua — Taiú-hendii.
Mão — Toaiguedokrê.
Nariz — Taiúiran-di.
Olho — Taiandê.
Orelha — Tanakalatndê.
Panela — Uat-ndi.
Pé — Taiutê.
Peito — Tanokaindê.
Penis — Taguiri.
Perna — Talahendê.
Queixo (mento) — Taiukautê.
Seio — Tanohurê.
Ventre — Tatahari.

Vocabulario Nambikuára-Tagnan.

SERRA DO NORTE — RIO FESTA DA BANDEIRA

(Rio Karumi)

Agua — Narutundú.
Algodão — Gündê.
Ante-braço — Uánokri.
Arco — Hutê.
Axila — Uenakalauendi.
Bastões ignigenos — Haitandii.
Boca — Ualuri.
Bracelete — Talâte.
Braço — Uanokri.
Cabeça — Danakitú.
Cabelo — Uonekitê.
Carne — Lutú ou Lutê.
Cavilha para o labio — Tauiriri.
Cavilha para o septo nasal — Kondii.
Cesta — Tchirê.
Cigarro — Etii.
Cinta de palha — Iahundürü.
Cotovelo — Uonokurokri.
Coxa — Uacednori.
Cuia — Eruendi.
Dedo — Uahitê.
Dente — Düüirú.
Dorso — Ueragodnê.
Estrela — Tangrê.
Faca de pau — Hikauti.
Flecha de taquara — Uaindê.
Flecha romba — Duhündê.
Flecha lisa — Hauguidê.
Fogo — Ekatê.
Fronte — Uignakri.
Fumaça — Tchindê.
Gafanhoto — Kiguitê.
Gritar, grito (laringe)? — Uilakurokri.
Joelho — Uaneguerú-kurandê.
Labio — Uikohuin-ndi.

Lingua — Ualhendê.
Macaco (*Cebus sp.*) — Hotê.
Machado de pedra — Hiaugnindi.
Mandioca — Hiritê ou Chiritê.
Mão — Uahitê.
Massa de urucú — Huduhúkaidi.
Moquem — Hiriri.
Milho — Guiaté ou Kuetê (ou ã).
Nariz — Oiranindê.
Olho — Uignindi.
Orelha — Unaçolandê.
Para chamar — Heron! Heron!
Para perguntar — Iriri? Iriri? ou endutrá?
Pau — Irikatê.
Pé — Ualutê.
Peito — Uaenakaedê.
Pelos pubianos — Uoguiri.
Perna — Uanaduri.
Pescoço — Uaelatgotê.
Rêde de dormir (nossa) — Teendê.
Seio — Uano-huri.
Sol — Tchondi.
Tatú — Ualutndũ.
Terra — Alôre.
Unha — Uegatndê.
Urucú — Uduhúkaidi.

Vocabulario Nambikuára-Kôkôzó

Rio Juína

Abano — Kuêkiçú.
Abelha bojuí — Detoçú (P).
Abelha borá-cavalo — Arukitaçú (P).
Abelha jatí — Oiaçú (P).
Acender — Hanêçú.
Agua — Unrazú.
Andar — Aikedũtũ.
Anta — Iunzú (P).
Ante-braço — Oanukizú (ou çú).
Apagar — Unritirá.
Arara — Aranzú (P).
Arco — Hakiçú.
Artelho — Toaiugualizú.
Aspas das flechas — Aiêuinçú.
Bacaba — Uêdodũ.
Beija-flôr — Duniriguizú.
Bigode — Toaiôetaçú.
Boca — Toaiuçú.
Bocejar — Toaiá endauzú.
Bolo de tapioca — Urikanzú.
Bonito — Uarú.
Borboleta — Uodedeçú.
Bosta — Iaiguenoçú.
Bracelete de fibras — Koiá-antçú.
Braço — Oanukiçú (ou zú).
Brinco — Arokiçú.
Buriti — Hêêrú.
Cabeça — Toanekiçú.
Cabelo — Uaekikiçú.
Cajú — Erekiçú.
Calor — Uanindũtũ.
Caminho — Dihinuçú.
Campo — Uentzũ.
Cantar — Haiguedazũ.
Caracol — Baánendũtũ.
Casa — Siçú.
Caveira — Mamakiizú.
Céu — Ocendjú.
Cesta — Atiçú.
Chorar — Nandũtũ.

Chuva — Ueçú.
Cinta de contas pretas — Kaisundzú.
Cinta de fibras — Iaiáçú.
Cipó — Hukinzuú.
Circunferência — Irengçú.
Cobra — Diçú (ou Tiçú).
Coelho — Iakeçú.
Colhereiro — Diglizú.
Comer — Iarúrindütü.
Como se chama? qual o nome? — Iriritoá?
Concha, dos brincos — Nenzú.
Corda — Alonuçú.
Coruja — Kalendzú.
Correr — Ikedütü.
Criança — Uetá.
Cuia — Kateçú.
Cupim — Cahú.
Defecar — Tonsignucú.
Dente — Toaiuiçú.
Doente — Itonendü..á.
Doer — Itonendütü.
Dormir — Akguriguidütü.
Dorso — Toadaçuçú.
Espirrar — Uaikacé-inguikêçú.
Estrela — Ikitaçú.
Faixa de carregar criança — Çáarú.
Feio — Iukiú-tinikidutú.
Figura, desenho — Korenaná.
Filho — Uetü.
Fio de algodão, das flechas — Kondzú.
Fio de fibras, das flechas — Kaceçú.
Flauta — Kaiguetazú.
Flauta nasal — Hait-teataçú.
Flecha de ponta chata — Aieraçú.
Flecha de ponta lisa cilíndrica — Anieeçú.
Flecha de ponta de taquara — Uaeliçu.
Flôr — Talatçú.
Fogo — Aseiüberú.
Folha — Adenzundzú.
Folha para cigarro — Enazzú.
Fronte — Toaiêkuzuzú.
Fumo — Etú.
Fumaça — Aiokeçú.
Fuso — Gdarêtatú.
Grão de galo — Alzinikiçú.
Gravatá — Koaloneatçú.
Grilo — Baguedaçú (P).
Gritar — Kaiguetauçú.
Guarirova do campo — Konin-tê.
Herva — Ikazú.
Homem — Noçú.
Isso, esse — Dêra.
Jatobá — Oiarú.
Jacaré — Nuntaçú.
Joelho — Toakiritanzú.
Lagarto — Enarú.
Lagartixa — Ianoçú.
Leite — Anzngçú.
Levantar-se — Ihái-cenogodotü.
Lingua — Todioberú.
Longe — Uetçú.
Lua — Irikiçú.
Macaco — Hotú.
Mama — Anzngueticú.
Mangaba — Katêkiçú.
Mão — Todi-ikiçú.
Massa de mandioca — Urinodzú.
Mastigar — Iaigoedutú.
Mata — Daikiniotçú.
Mel — Duhiazú? (P).
Morrer — Aninduti.
Mulher — Doçú.
Nariz — Toiaionendzú.
Nó de taquara — Karitandçú.
Olho — Toai-ikikiçú.

Onça — Iemarã.
Orelha — Toasenendzú.
Orifício no lábio superior — Ionkon-nandetã.
Orifício do septo nasal — Oaonkon-nandetã.
Palha do umbigo — Uenandzú.
Palpebra — Toaiecindjá.
Pau (arvore) — Içã.
Pau santo — Hinekiçã.
Pé — Toaiukizú.
Peito — Toanunkizú.
Peixe — Aizitchá.
Pelos pubianos — Toaikertaçã.
Penas das flechas (sariema) — Kolatoedçã.
Penis — Toakiçã.
Perdiz — Uitsá-guiçã.
Perna — Toaçuçã.
Pescoço — Toaietoiozú.
Pilão — Notã.
Pingente de fibras para o dorso — Iaiaçã.
Piolho — Kani-iniçã.
Piqui — Aarã.
Raio — Uaduguezú.
Rato — Tomarã.
Resina das flechas — Niaendçã.
Sangue — Toatiçã.
Sariema — Kolatzú.
Sentar-se (acpcorar-se) — Acikiuekedotã.
Sepultura — Iluriedãtã (204).
Sim — Han-han!
Sol — Uterikuçã.
Suor — Uaienoçã.
Taquara — Ikuirikazú.
Taquara das flechas — Arukirikatçã.
Terra — Inoçã.
Terra de formigueiro — Katunazú.
Testículos — Toaikiçã.
Tocanguira — Tietátágüizú (ou çu).
Triangulo — Nendzú.
Trovão — Taridzú.
Tucura — Taketazú.
Umbigo — Takodadlizú.
Unha do pé — Toaiutçuakezú.
Urinar — Kerreguetauçã.
Urucú — Dukiçã.
Ventre — Toaendzú.
Vulva — Akioçã.

As palavras marcadas (P) pertencem a um vocabulario colhido pelo tenente Pyrineus em 1911.

Vocabulario Nambikuára-Anunzé

ZONA DO NORTE — DO 12 DE OUTUBRO

Ante-braço — Uanunzé.
Arco — Ulizé.
Bastões ígnigenos — Haitzã.
Boca — Uainarê.
Bom — Idaknikdaçã.
Braceiete — Nokonlguizé.

(204) Esse vocabulo parece formado de um termo tupyzé, alto — terra, e outro Idãtzé-nandetã — orificio, buraco: Alto-nandetã — buraco na terra.

Braço — Uanukizê.
Breu (resina) — Duhutaarú.
Brinco — Nan-ninzê.
Cabeça — Uaneguetû.
Cajú — Eehrú.
Cavilha para o nariz — Uonedezê.
Cera — Dubutaarú.
Céu — Uacinzê.
Colar de contas — Kairizê.
Comer — Ikduzê.
Coração — Iakzê.
Cotovelo — Uanokundunzê.
Coxa — Uanikizê.
Dedo — Uaikuenrezê.
Dente — Uauizê.
Dorso — Uatiuzê.
Escrotos — Uaiariguinizê.
Espadua — Uanotuarizê.
Faca — Iurê.
Figado — Aierê.
Flauta — Kiazê.
Flecha em geral — Hauktiçú.
Fogo — Anizê.
Fronte — Uaenakezê.
Homem — Idnizê.
Jacaré — Nuntaçú.
Joelho — Uaguididanzê.
Lingua — Uaileherú.
Linha — Kuituiçú.
Machado de pedra — Eun-etú.
Manto de palha — Ieiaçú.
Mão — Uaikizê.
Mulher — Ducê.
Nariz — Uanonzê.
Olho — Uaiekedakzú.
Orelha — Uonaninzê.
Pau — Içuzê.
Pé — Uaiukizê.
Pena para o nariz — Unetizú.
Penis — Uakizê.
Pente — Halatzú.
Perna — Uaçuzê.
Pingente de penas — Ieiakizê.
Queixo (mento) — Uaiukluenzê.
Raspador (de dente de capivara) — Iakizû.
Remedio — Inekiaçú.
Tatú — Nunzê.
Tatú galinha — Hatdenandzú.
Terra — Inozê.
Tripa (intestinos em geral) — Aiokzê.
Unha — Uaitnakezê.
Umbigo — Uaikedanzê.
Urucú — Duhiazê.
Veado — Iatarú.
Ventre — Uatiçú.

Cores

Amarelo — Katetiçú.
Azul — Iadneaçú.
Branco — Kuidiçú.
Preto — Kaikiduçú.
Preto — Iadeneazú (breu).
Verde — Cedecededenoçú.
Vermelho — Duhiaçú.

Vocabulos colhidos pelo ten. A. Pyreneus de Souza

Abelha achopé — Arazi.
Abelha borá regina — Kaiudêzê.
Abelha mandaguari-vermelho — Iuzê.
Abelha manduri — Kloarizê.
Abelha tatá — Arizê.
Abelha tibuna — Tararê.
Abóboza (noma) — Ariatecê.
Arára — Aranzê.
Araticum — Ararê.
Carne — Uanozê.
Coatá — Kadozê.
Garça — Mokarê.
Gordura — Ionezêzê.
Grilo — Dakizê.
Lacrau — Aiiam-dacê.
Lambari — Kaiarê.
Lagartixa — Ianuzê.
Maribondo — Urutecê.
Mel — Dezazê.
Mulateira — Kuruaiudezê.
Pacú — Mambire.
Palmeira castiçal — Kaicê.
Piriquito — Kakaitezê.
Piáu — Akurizê.
Pintado — Uanuncê.
Pomba — Tuizê.
Porco — Iakizê.
Quan-quan — Peantezê.
Que nome tem? — Uaiziguidi?
Que é isso? — Ianakere? ou Uazanakerê?
Rato — Dodecê.
Rio 12 de Outubro — Ori-handezê.
Rio Nambicuaras — Oareioákandezê.
Roça — Aitiê.
Sol — Ikidazê.
Urubú — Uruciá.

8:Vellard D,E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

The Preparation of Curare by the Nambicuara
/Préparation du Curare par les Nambikwara/

J. Vellard

Paris, 1939

Journal de la Société des Américanistes
New Series, Vol. 31, pp. 211-221, Pl. III-V

Translated from the French by Priscilla Reynolds

Human Relations Area Files

1966

/Title page/

/211/

114
278 Numerous travelers and physiologists have concerned themselves with curare without succeeding in exactly determining its nature and its method of preparation. For some curare is purely vegetable; for others it appears to be composed largely of animal materials. Without analyzing here all the literature on this subject, it will be enough to recall that most former authors and travelers of the past century name diverse species of Strychnos as the principal base of curare; many other plants belonging to various families have also been mentioned as possibly entering in this poison. The partisans of an animal or mixed origin for curare, practically all travelers, assert that the venoms of snakes, batrachians, and arachnids, and fish and insect extracts, etc.... play an essential role in its preparation. Despite numerous opinions to the contrary the presence at least of certain venoms in some curares (1) is indisputable.

[113]

1. Vellard and Anis, "Études immunologiques sur le curare /Immunological Studies on Curare/." Annales de l'Institut Pasteur. Paris, LII, 102, 1934.

Often these controversies on the composition of curare have lost sight of one essential fact. Curare is not a set substance and does not correspond to one single formula. There is not one but a number of curares, more or less complex, peculiar to each region, each tribe, and in many cases to each preparer.

Besides it is the general but false practice to call every paralyzing arrow poison of South America curare. The application of this term should be limited, in accordance with its classical physiological definition, to any poison suppressing the passage of excitations of the nerve to the muscle while preserving direct excitability of the muscle and that of the motor nerve.

/211 cont./

True curares are becoming difficult to find. Many of the modern products brought back as curares or existing under this name in /212/ trade are paralyzing poisons of variable toxicity but with a weak or no curarizing effect. The curarizing effect itself does not interest the Indian; he is only looking for a halting poison producing rapid paralysis with loosening of muscular tonus, no matter by what mechanism, for his arrows. Often also the good faith of travelers has been betrayed and the Indians, anxious about their secret, have given them false recipes or poisons different from true curare. Lastly, some curares are hard to preserve, making it impossible to ascertain their properties upon the return of expeditions.

These causes, so diverse, have always left doubt about the exact composition and method of preparation of curare.

I. Curare of the Ñambikwara /Nambicuara/

During my last trip to the central plateau of the Mato Grosso with my colleague Lévi-Strauss, I was present at the preparation of a very simple but active curare by the Ñambikwara and accompanied these Indians on the search for the necessary plants.

Curare had not been mentioned as existing among the Ñambikwara. The Rondon Commission had certainly observed the existence of an arrow poison among them, but later investigations carried out on arrows sent to Rio de Janeiro had given negative results (Alvaro Osorio de Almeida and Roquette Pinto). The cause of this failure can only be attributed to the material used in the experiments, which was too old; the arrows keep their activity only a few weeks.

The composition of curare is the same for all the Ñambikwara, but its method of preparation varies from group to group. It must be emphasized that the preparation of this poison is surrounded with more mystery as one goes toward the

/212 cont./

278 187 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 126 [114] I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] [117] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[120] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[121] [122] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

/213 cont./
last Çabanè-Tagnani survivors, again showed me the complete preparation of curare. All the information gathered in the various Nambikwara groups visited agrees with what I was able to observe.

In possession of these facts I prepared several times a certain quantity of curare identical to that of the Nambikwara. The action of these different samples was tested in the field in order to be used in comparison with later experiments upon the return of the mission; thus any possibility of error due to a possible alteration of these products was eliminated.

A year has gone by since this time, and the various solutions brought back have kept their activity; they made it possible to examine rigorously their curarizing properties.

Preparation of Curare

Plant. Nambikwara curare is prepared with only one plant, a Strychnos which grows in the sandy brushwood of the central plateau of the Mato Grosso. Although not rare this species is not abundant anywhere.

It is a bush two meters high (Pl. III. A), with a rather strong stem and downward-hanging branches, more or less sarmentous and sometimes changing into tendrils at the ends; I never saw a really twining example of this species. The branches have a reddish bark, /214/ without thorns, which is covered, as is the stem, with white concretions. The leaves are elongated and small or medium in size. The species is very polymorphous. No specimen bore flowers or fruit.

The Strychnos group is one of the most difficult to study. Many species rarely flower, and in the absence of flowers it is often impossible to identify them.

In certain features the species of the Nambikwara is comparable to St. medeola. It exists in the plant collection of the Rondon Commission, but also without flowers and undetermined.

/214 cont./

278 Only the bark of the roots impregnated with a reddish,
224 gummy juice is used in the preparation of curare. The plants which grow in sandy places are considered to be richer in poison; they are recognized by the bright red color and moisture exuding from incisions made in the bark. Roots from clayey earth are dry and considered incapable of giving an active product.

The Ñambikwara of the Juruena consider it essential to gather the roots in the morning at dawn before the sun gets too hot, and they only use fresh bark. The Çabanè use dried, stored bark by preference.

Çabanè Curare

278 The preparation of Çabanè curare may be taken as typical. It comprises three main operations: draining of the bark in portions with fresh water; rapid boiling to rid the product of some of its impurities; slow concentration at low heat.

[412] Immediately after their harvest the roots are washed and then scraped with a splinter of bamboo or a piece of iron to detach the bark. Small, very fine shavings are thereby obtained which are dried and kept in baskets or gourds.

[415] Draining of the bark. The bark is placed in a small, elongated basket (kọnọsimatá) of bamboo lamellae reinforced by large leaves (kọnọkọnọsi) and hung by two vertical supports over an earthen dish. Over the bark they pour 200 to 250 cubic centimeters of cold water; a blood-red liquid filters off slowly. The filtering takes 15 to 20 minutes; when it is almost over fresh water is again poured over the bark. This operation is repeated six to eight times until the bark is exhausted (Pl. IV, A-B).

[412] Boiling on a brisk fire. After each operation the liquid obtained is poured into a receptacle placed directly over a strong fire; it is constantly /215/ stirred with a wooden spatula and does not take long to boil in large bubbles. When it

/215 cont./

278 threatens to overflow it is removed from the fire for a second and then put back to boil. A thick, reddish scum forms which [414] holds the largest impurities; it is removed as it appears with a straw from a palm tree (Pl. V, A). After five to ten minutes on an average the boiling diminishes; the liquid turns brown [415] and begins to thicken. It is then taken from the fire and poured with the aid of a funnel (kōli) made from a rolled leaf into a new receptacle to be concentrated (Pl. IV, C).

[415] [177] Concentration. The concentration is done in a receptacle (here, a tin can from the mission) suspended 40 or 50 centimeters above a small fire, into which successive portions of liquid are added as they are prepared. The concentration takes two to three hours. According to its degree /of concentration/ they obtain a thick blackish-brown liquid, reddish when looked through, ready to be applied to the arrows with a straw, or a black paste which becomes very hard on cooling and can be kept for a long time. Before being used this paste must be softened at low heat.

The Çabanè recommend that one not touch the curare with the fingers nor even breathe the steam from it during the boiling. This hypothetical toxicity of the steam had already been noted by former travelers; it was even asserted that these emanations were so dangerous that the Indians had the curare prepared by old women who almost always succumbed to it. One can see (Pl. V, A) that the Çabanè sorcerer is not afraid of it.

Curare does not enter healthy skin, and the Ñambikwara of the Juruena press the water-soaked bark between their hands, taking the sole precaution of washing immediately afterward. The steam that I voluntarily inhaled never caused me the least sickness.

[142] The Çabanè call curare and the plant which produces it iríwa, and the still unconcentrated liquid from soaking iriwiya. The Taguani name the plant and the curare naBdé.

Rio Juruena

/215 cont./

278 Curare of the Ñambikwara of the Rio Juruena

The technique of the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena is more primitive.

They use only bark which has just been gathered. The draining off of the bark is done only once and with warm water: the bark /216/ is put on the fire in a rather large amount of cold water, and the operation is ended when the temperature reaches 37° to 40° /centigrade/. It is filtered quickly by squeezing the bark with the hands to extract all the liquid from it. Then comes rapid boiling over a high fire and skimming. After several minutes of a rolling boil the fire is lowered and the liquid kept at a temperature a little below boiling until it has a pasty consistency.

[415] [237] The curare is kept in paste form in bamboo tubes or changed into a very hard mass by the addition of meliponine beeswax.

This method exposes the curare to strong heat for at least two hours. The Çabanè method reduces this time to ten minutes, the other operations being carried out at low heat. Both produce curares with about the same activity.

[192] [411] The Rio Juruena Ñambikwara call curare and the plant a'utísú or a'ukisú; the roots ta'ãdisú; the poisoned arrow aurú kiritkatsú, and its protective bamboo sheath aṣirikatsú.

Utilization of Curare

278 411 The Ñambikwara are not familiar with the blowgun. They use curare to poison large arrows with long, notched points, capped with a protective bamboo sheath. The points of the Tamandé curare arrows are shorter and more slender than those of the other Ñambikwara. They are usually placed in twos, threes, and fours under a single protective sheath.

According to the Indians an arrow's activeness does not last more than three or four months. The curare in paste form is kept for a longer time (close to a year). Hard curare can be kept for years.

/216 cont./

224 The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain ani-
278 mals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys.
911 Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediate-
[344] ly.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[344] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be
[352] eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanê do not even take this precaution.

278 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their
911 principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess
746 only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanê, are very lightly attached to their shafts.

/217 cont./

Properties of Nambikwara Curare

278 The toxicity of Nambikwara curare is high. Among mammals and birds it provokes an initial sensation of unlocalized irritation accompanied by cramps; the animals are restless and scratch themselves sometimes on one part of the body and sometimes on another. Then tremors appear, at first localized in certain groups of muscles, and then becoming general; in some cases they appear in the form of sudden, intermittent muscular jerks; at a more advanced stage certain muscles begin to fibrillate. Finally paralysis appears; the animal presents a progressive asthenia; it becomes immobile, avoids all movement; soon its paws give way, it sinks down, and the paralysis becomes complete.

The swallowing muscles and those of the larynx are reached very early in the dog; its voice becomes faint, its tongue hangs out of its mouth, saliva is no longer swallowed. The tendinous reflexes disappear first, followed by the ocular reflexes. At the beginning breathing is accelerated, panting; the respiratory movements slow down very rapidly, diminishing in extent; periods of apnea appear, varying for dogs from ten to 60 seconds, and coming closer and closer together. After breathing definitely stops the heart continues to beat for several more minutes. Autopsy has revealed only ordinary lesions of suffocation and a greater or less extended yellow coloration of the muscles at the points of injection.

Claude Bernard's experiment, using a frog, one foot of which was isolated from the general circulatory system by a ligature cutting off the sciatic /nerve/ shows that after an injection of curare into the dorsal lymphatic sack /218/ the mobility of the isolated foot and retention of nerve excitability are preserved.

The curarizing action has been studied in a more precise fashion with solutions brought back with the help of ordinary

/218 cont./

278 inductive apparatus and with the usual equipment for the study of chronaxie at the laboratory of M. Miguel Ozorio de Almeida at the Institute Oswaldo Cruz of Rio de Janiero.

It is known that the South American pseudo-frogs are curarized with difficulty and in an incomplete fashion; toads in contrast the Bufo marinus among others, constitute choice reagents.

After 15 minutes the Bufo marinus (30 to 40 gr.) present perfect curarization, with doses from 0.01 to 0.05 cc. of liquid curare injected into the ventral lymphatic sack: the gastrocnemii no longer react to excitation of the sciatic /nerve/ by the discharge of condensers of five microfarads, nor even to that of a six-volt battery, while keeping their direct excitability.

Lizards are very sensitive; 0.001 to 0.01 cc. curarize Anolis or Tropidurus of average size.

An intramuscular injection of 0.2 cc. paralyzes a hen in two minutes and kills it in 15 to 20 minutes; 0.05 cc. produces a paralysis which only disappears after four or five hours.

Mammals are particularly sensitive to this curare.

A dog of eight kg., having had the end of an arrow point (45 mm.) in his thigh muscles for 15 minutes, immediately after being wounded had tremors localized at first in his forequarters, then they extended to his dorsal muscles. Three minutes later the animal fell; paralysis was complete after 12 minutes; pupillary reflexes disappeared in 15 minutes, the time when the arrow point was extracted; the definite stoppage of respiration occured in 41 minutes, and the heart stopped three minutes later.

A ten-kg. dog who had received an intramuscular injection of 0.25 cc. of solution in tu thigh displayed immediate restlessness and generalized irritation; in three minutes tremors began in the forequarters. The animal staggered (4'), then fell paws outspread (5'). Paralysis of the voice in six minutes and

W 278 /218 cont./ panting respiration; eight minutes, repeated muscular jerks in the forequarters; nine minutes, total paralysis, disappearance of the pupillary and corneal reflexes, tongue hanging out of the mouth; ten minutes, the first periods of apnea; 13 minutes, definite cessation of breathing; 16 minutes, heart stops.

There is no point in further stressing here the physiological action of the arrow poison of the Nambikwara. These few observations suffice to /219/ show that we are dealing with a genuine curare and not with a simple paralyzing poison. Compared with a former curare, in a jar labeled "Indios tapuios do baut Rio Negro /Tapuio Indians of the upper Rio Negro/" Nambikwara curare has shown itself considerably more active. It distinguishes itself from the classic curare of the Ticuuna by the muscular tremors which it produces at the beginning of the poisoning among all the mammals studied.

II. Curare of the Pareci

? 278 P [178] The Pareci Indians, not very numerous and very civilized today, were acquainted with curare. They give it, with almost the same accentuation, the same name as the Çabanê: kiwê.

P [124] [124] I was not able to obtain any as the Pareci no longer prepare it; the information on it was given to me by some middle-aged Pareci, who had spent their youth in some villages which were still independent at this time where the men used this poison.

The chief ingredient was the Strychnos used by the Nambikwara, but accompanied by other plants which my informants did not know or did not want to bother gathering. One of the botanists from the Rondon Commission, Hoehne, cites six species of *Strychnos*, not completely identified plants, which were pointed out to them by a Pareci Indian as entering into the composition of their arrow poison. But this poison did not keep and could not be studied.

Paressi SP19

/219 cont./

278 The Pareci have a story about the discovery of the toxic
539 properties of this Strychnos. A Pareci on a visit to the Utiarity
[191] /Utiariti/ station gave me a rather long version of it in Portu-
[124] guese and a summarized version in Pareci.

Here is the first one:

The old ones said: "A man went hunting and found an armadillo's burrow. The man had a wound in his leg. The man dug to find the armadillo. Suddenly he found an iriwá root. He cut it. He cut several of them. Suddenly the point of a root touched his wound. He died. The roots began to talk; they said 'Who has killed this man?' The big root (the main, taproot) said in a large voice, 'Me, I killed him.' A little root with a thin voice said, 'Me, I killed him.' Then the men carried the root to the village and they knew that it was poisonous."

The second version is much shorter:

makulisá	siketá	ẽnzá	ẹkọstirausú	iriwá	tẽ̃áre
armadillo	digging	man	wound	poison	root

irikut'á	ẹkọstirausú	/220/	aplọtú'a	wahini	iriwá
grazed	wound		burst	he died	poison

tẽ̃áre	irawená	salá a'iẹ́ne	natiú	na'iẹ́ne
root	says	(who has killed) (1)	it is me	I killed

1. I am not very sure about the exact translation of these two words, the informant being a very poor one.

maisá	natiú	na'iẹ́ne.
small	it is me	I killed.

This tale seems to indicate that the Pareci acquired curare perhaps relatively recently. But as our goal was the Ñambikwara region, our contacts with the Pareci Indians were very superficial and none of those whom we saw was able to give us more precise information.

/220 cont./

The Tamandé Ñambikwara, of the upper course of the Roosevelt River, assured me that curare had come to them from other Indians living farther to the north, in the region of the Gy Paraná /Gi-Paraná River/; it was not possible to make them specify what kind of Indians these were.

The Cabixiana /Cabishi?/ of the Rio Mequem, to the northeast of Ñambikwara territory, also use curare. According to a civilized Indian of this group encountered at the post of Baron de Melgaço, their product with a complex vegetable base is prepared secretly and only by a few old men; it is a hard curare in a jar. It is used for hunting, even of tapir, and for war.

The Pareci, along with the Ñambikwara, represent the extreme southern point of the spread of curare, the use of which as one goes toward the Amazon becomes more and more frequent and its preparation surrounded with more mystery.

All the curares are not as simple as the Ñambikwara curare, but all appear to have as their principal base a species of Strychnos which varies according to the region. Certain Strychnos such as St. toxifera Benth., Str. lethalis Barb. Rod., and especially St. crevauxiana Baill. are particularly toxic; others like St. pseudo-quina are very low in poisonous elements.

Besides the Strychnos, active elements of curare, of numerous other plants generally poisonous but with very diverse properties, and of animal substances such as venoms, often enter into the composition of this poison. Their addition answers different ends.

Sometimes these are resins or gums whose sole utility is to harden the product and to assure its preservation.

Sometimes they are toxic substances destined to reinforce or to complete the action of the Strychnos.

/221/ In other cases other substances without any actual effect but with magical properties are added to curare. Their nature is infinitely variable.

/221 cont./

In many cases also the complexity of the curare seems to have no other end than to mask the real active elements and to assure the monopoly of its preparation by a few individuals.

We have thus led to divide curares into:

simple curares, with a base solely of Strychnos.

composite curares, in which diverse vegetable or animal elements are added to the Strychnos with the ends: a) of hardening the product. b) of reinforcing its physiological action. c) with magical aims. and d) to conceal its real composition.

The Nambikwara curare represents the most simple type.

Beyond its ethnographic aspect the knowledge of the exact composition of this curare interests physiologists; it will make it henceforth easy to prepare a very active curare with a constant action for research laboratories.

S:Vellard--15 D.E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

115
278
[291]
[516]

B

D

See captions on next page.

[482]
[291]
[302]
[516]

A

C

Plate III

BrVetlard--16a D.E-6 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Plate III

271 Preparation of curare by the Nhambikwara Indians
(right bank of the Juruena)

A. Stalk of Strychnos sp., the root of which is used to prepare curare.

[16] B. The Nhambikwara Julio digging up a root of iriwa (Strychnos sp.)

C. The Nhambikwara Julio carries back some roots of Strychnos sp.

D. Root of Strychnos sp.

BrVellard--16 D.E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Çabanè

Plate IV

278
192
415
302
516

A

B

278
415
516

C

Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A-B. Draining of the bark with cold water.

C. After boiling the liquid is transferred into another receptacle where it will be concentrated at low heat.

8:Vellard--17 D.E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Gabaré

Plate V

/See captions on next page./

ErVellard--17a D,E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Çabanè

Plate V

271 Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A. The curare is skimmed during the boiling.

[413] B. Testing of the degree of concentration of the product with the aid of a straw.

[415] [824] C. Funnel made of a leaf rolled into a horn and the leaf used to make it.

[415] [223] D. A pot of grey clay, badly baked, used to prepare and keep curare (Nhambikwara of the Cabixi River).

[For information on the collection of samples of curare and their testing by the author in the field, see category 126.]

S: Vellard SP17 Nambicuara

JOURNAL

DE LA

SOCIÉTÉ DES AMÉRICANISTES

(RECONNUE D'UTILITÉ PUBLIQUE)

NOUVELLE SÉRIE — TOME XXXI

AU SIÈGE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ
Musée de l'Homme
Palais de Chaillot — Place du Trocadéro
PARIS, XVIe

1939

[Title Page]

[P 241]

PRÉPARATION DU CURARE PAR LES ÑAMBIKWARA.

Par J. VELLARD,
Chargé de recherches.

(*Planches III-V*).

De nombreux voyageurs et physiologistes se sont occupés du curare sans parvenir à déterminer exactement sa nature et son mode de préparation. Pour les uns, le curare est purement végétal ; pour d'autres, il serait composé en grandes parties de matières animales. Sans analyser ici toute la littérature à son sujet, il suffit de rappeler que la plupart des anciens auteurs et des voyageurs du siècle passé indiquent comme base principale du curare diverses espèces de *Strychnos* ; beaucoup d'autres plantes, appartenant à des familles variées, ont été également signalées comme pouvant entrer dans ce poison. Les partisans de l'origine animale ou mixte du curare, presque tous des voyageurs, soutiennent que des venins de serpents, de batraciens, d'arachnides, des extraits de poissons, des insectes, etc..., jouent un rôle essentiel dans sa préparation. Malgré de nombreuses opinions contraires la présence, au moins, de certains venins est indiscutable dans quelques curares[1].

Souvent ces polémiques sur la composition du curare ont perdu de vue un fait essentiel. Le curare n'est pas une substance définie et ne correspond pas à une formule unique. Il n'existe pas un curare, mais des curares, plus ou moins complexes, propres à chaque région, à chaque tribu et dans bien des cas à chaque préparateur.

L'habitude s'est d'ailleurs généralisée à tort d'appeler curare tout poison de flèche paralysant de l'Amérique du Sud. Il faut limiter l'application de ce terme, d'après sa définition physiologique classique, à tout poison supprimant le passage des excitations du nerf au muscle, tout en conservant l'excitabilité directe du muscle et celle du nerf moteur.

Les vrais curares deviennent difficiles à trouver. Beaucoup de produits modernes rapportés comme curares ou existant sous ce nom dans le

1. Vellard et Anna, *Étude immunologique sur le curare*. Annales de l'Institut Pasteur. Paris, LII, 191, 1934.

9: Vellard SP17 Nambicuara

connaissons aussi des poisons paralysants, de toxicité variable, mais d'action curarisante faible ou nulle. L'action curarisante elle-même n'intéresse pas l'Indien ; il ne cherche pour ses flèches qu'un poison d'arrêt produisant une paralysie rapide avec relâchement du tonus musculaire, peu importe par quel mécanisme. Souvent aussi la bonne foi des voyageurs a été surprise et les Indiens, jaloux de leur secret, leur ont donné de fausses recettes où des poisons différents du vrai curare. Enfin certains curares se conservent mal, rendant impossible au retour des expéditions la vérification de leurs propriétés.

Ces causes si diverses ont toujours laissé un doute sur la composition exacte et le mode de préparation du curare.

I. — Curare des Nambikwara.

Dans mon dernier voyage au plateau central du Matto Grosso, avec mon collègue Lévi-Strauss, j'ai assisté chez les Nambikwara à la préparation d'un curare fort simple mais très actif, et accompagné ces Indiens à la recherche des plantes nécessaires.

Le curare n'avait pas été signalé chez les Nambikwara. La Commission Rondon avait bien observé chez eux l'existence d'un poison de flèches, mais les recherches postérieures réalisées sur des flèches envoyées à Rio de Janeiro avaient donné des résultats négatifs (Alvaro Osorio de Almeida et Roquette Pinto). La cause de cet échec ne peut être attribuée qu'au matériel trop vieux employé dans les expériences ; les flèches ne conservent leur activité que quelques semaines.

Chez tous les Nambikwara la composition du curare est uniforme mais son mode de préparation varie avec les groupes. Il faut souligner qu'en remontant de la limite méridionale du territoire de ces Indiens vers l'Amazone, région d'origine du curare, la préparation de ce poison s'entoure de plus de mystère. Chez les Nambikwara les plus excentriques, ceux de la rive droite du Rio Juruena dont la culture matérielle est d'une extrême pauvreté et qui ne possèdent pas de sorcier, tous les hommes savent préparer le curare. Chez les Tagnani habitant la région de Campos Novos et du Rio 12 Octobre, et les Çabanè vivant entre les campos de Vilhena et le Rio Commémoration la préparation du curare est réservée soit au chef, soit plutôt au sorcier (Çabanè). Les Tamandé du Rio Roosevelt se sont refusés à toute information précise sur le curare dont la préparation est l'apanage exclusif du sorcier ; le poison de leurs flèches que j'ai pu étudier est identique à celui des autres groupes. Les Nambikwara du Rio Cabixi emploient aussi le curare, mais je n'ai obte-

un sur sa préparation contre détail de ces Indiens venus en visite à notre campement où ils ne passèrent qu'une soirée.

C'est avec les Nambikwara de la rive droite du Rio Juruena que j'ai assisté pour la première fois à la préparation du curare.

Parmi les objets réunis pour ma collection se trouvaient quelques flèches empoisonnées. Les premières expériences réalisées sur divers animaux soit avec les flèches, soit avec l'eau de lavage des pointes, révélèrent une symptomatologie rappelant celle du curare. Nos deux principaux informateurs, se faisant appeler par les civilisés José Maria et Julio, étaient les personnages influents du groupe et les principaux auteurs du massacre de la mission protestante nord-américaine du Juruena en 1930. De patientes négociations les amenèrent à me montrer la plante employée par eux puis, un peu plus tard, à me faire assister à la préparation du poison lui-même.

Non sans crainte d'une mystification j'essayai le produit préparé : son action était en tout point identique à celle des poisons des flèches. Les Nambikwara avaient été honnêtes.

Deux mois plus tard dans les campos de Vilhena le sorcier cabaré, appartenant au groupe mixte réunissant les derniers survivants cabaré-tagnani, me montrait de nouveau la préparation complète du curare. Toutes les informations recueillies dans les divers groupes Nambikwara visités concordent avec ce que j'ai pu observer.

En possession de ces données j'ai préparé à plusieurs reprises une certaine quantité de curare identique à celui des Nambikwara. L'action de ces différents échantillons a été vérifiée sur place pour servir de comparaison avec les expériences postérieures au retour de la mission ; ainsi était éliminée toute possibilité d'erreur due à une possible altération de ces produits.

Un an s'est écoulé depuis cette époque et les diverses solutions rapportées conservent leur activité ; elles ont permis de contrôler rigoureusement leurs propriétés curarisantes.

Préparation du curare.

Plante. — Le curare Nambikwara est préparé avec une seule plante, un Strychnos poussant dans les taillis sablonneux du plateau central du Matto Grosso. Sans être rare cette espèce n'est abondante nulle part.

C'est un arbuste de un à deux mètres de hauteur (*Pl. III, A*), à souche assez forte et à rameaux retombants, plus ou moins sarmenteux et transformés parfois en vrille à leur extrémité ; je n'ai jamais vu cette espèce devenir réellement grimpante. Les rameaux à l'écorce rougeâtre, dépour-

vus d'épines, sont couverts, ainsi que la souche, de concrétions blanches. Les feuilles sont allongées, petites ou moyennes. L'espèce est très polymorphe. Aucun exemplaire ne portait de fleurs ni de fruits.

Le groupe des Strychnos est un des plus difficiles à étudier. Beaucoup d'espèces fleurissent rarement et en l'absence de fleurs il est souvent impossible de les identifier.

Par certains caractères l'espèce des Ñambikwara se rapproche de *St. amicis*. Elle existe dans les herbiers de la Commission Rondon, mais également sans fleurs et indéterminée.

L'écorce des racines imprégnée d'un suc gommeux rougeâtre est seule employée dans la préparation du curare. Les plantes poussant dans les endroits sablonneux passent pour plus riches en poison ; on les reconnaît à la couleur rouge vif et à l'éclat humide des blessures faites à l'écorce. Les racines venues en terrains argileux sont sèches et considérées comme incapables de donner un produit actif.

Les Ñambikwara du Juruena jugent essentiel de recueillir les racines le matin à l'aube, avant que le soleil ne devienne trop chaud et ils n'utilisent que les écorces fraîches. Les Çabanè se servent de préférence d'écorces séchées et conservées.

CURARE ÇABANÈ.

La préparation du curare çabanè peut être prise comme type. Elle comprend trois opérations principales : épuisement fractionné des écorces par l'eau fraîche ; ébullition rapide pour débarrasser le produit d'une partie de ses impuretés ; concentration lente à chaleur douce.

Aussitôt après leur récolte, les racines sont lavées puis grattées avec un éclat de bambou ou un morceau de fer pour en détacher l'écorce. On obtient ainsi de petits copeaux très fins qui sont séchés et conservés dans des paniers ou des calebasses.

Épuisement des écorces. — Les écorces sont placées dans un petit panier allongé (*kṇṇṇimatá*), en lamelles de bambou, doublé de larges feuilles (*kṇṇṇkṇṇi*) et suspendu à deux supports verticaux au-dessus d'une terrine. On verse sur les écorces 200 à 250 cc d'eau froide ; un liquide rouge sang filtre lentement. La filtration demande 15 à 20 minutes ; quand elle est presque achevée, on verse de nouveau de l'eau fraîche sur les écorces. Cette opération est répétée six à huit fois, jusqu'à épuisement des écorces (*Pl. IV, A-B*).

Ébullition à feu vif. — Après chaque opération le liquide obtenu est versé dans un récipient placé directement sur un feu vif ; il est constam-

mant remué avec une spatule de bois et ne tarde pas à bouillir à gros bouillons. Quand il menace de déborder, on le retire du feu un instant puis on reprend l'ébullition. Il se forme une épaisse écume rougeâtre entraînant les plus grosses impuretés ; elle est enlevée à mesure de son apparition avec une paille de palmier (*Pl. V, A*). Après cinq à dix minutes en moyenne l'ébullition diminue ; le liquide brunit et commence à épaissir. Il est alors retiré du feu, versé à l'aide d'un entonnoir (*kôl*), fait d'une feuille enroulée, dans un nouveau récipient pour être concentré (*Pl. IV, C*).

Concentration. — La concentration se fait dans un récipient (ici, une boîte de conserve provenant de la mission) suspendu à 40 ou 50 cm. au-dessus d'un petit feu où les fractions successives de liquide sont réunies à mesure de leur préparation. La concentration demande deux à trois heures. Suivant son degré on obtient un liquide épais brun noir, rougeâtre par transparence, prêt à être appliqué sur les flèches avec une paille ; ou une pâte noire, devenant très dure en refroidissant et de longue conservation. Avant d'être utilisée cette pâte doit être ramollie à chaleur douce.

Les Çabanè recommandent de ne pas toucher le curare avec les doigts ni même d'en respirer les vapeurs pendant l'ébullition. Cette hypothétique toxicité des vapeurs a déjà été signalée par d'anciens voyageurs ; on a même prétendu que ces émanations étaient si dangereuses que les Indiens faisaient préparer le curare par des vieilles femmes qui presque toujours succombaient. On peut voir (*Pl. V, A*), que le sorcier çabanè ne les craint pas.

Le curare ne traverse pas la peau saine et les Ñambikwara du Juruena prennent entre leurs mains les écorces macérées dans l'eau, prenant seulement la précaution de se laver aussitôt après. Les vapeurs que j'ai volontairement respirées ne m'ont jamais causé le moindre malaise.

Les Çabanè appellent le curare et la plante le produisant *iriuz* et le liquide de macération, non encore concentré, *iriuiya*. Les Tagnani nomment la plante et le curare *naãdj*.

CURARE DES ÑAMBIKWARA DU RIO JURUENA.

La technique des Ñambikwara de la rive droite du Rio Juruena est plus primitive.

Ils se servent uniquement d'écorces venant d'être récoltées. L'épuisement des écorces se fait en une seule fois et à l'eau tiède : les écorces

sont mises sur le feu dans un assez grand volume d'eau froide et l'opération est terminée quand la température atteint 37° à 40°. On filtre rapidement en pressant les dernières avec les mains pour en extraire tout le liquide. Puis vient l'ébullition rapide sur feu vif et l'écumage. Après quelques minutes d'ébullition à gros bouillons le feu est diminué et le liquide maintenu à une température un peu inférieure à l'ébullition jusqu'à consistance pâteuse.

Le curare est conservé sous forme pâteuse dans des tubes de bambou, ou transformé en une masse très dure par addition de cire de mélipones.

Cette méthode expose le curare à une forte chaleur pendant au moins deux heures. La méthode yahuna réduit ce temps à dix minutes, les autres opérations se faisant à chaleur douce. Toutes deux donnent des curares sensiblement de même activité.

Les Nambikwara du Rio Juruena appellent le curare et la plante d'où on l'extrait : *ta'ñdisú* les racines ; *auré kiritkoré* la flèche empoisonnée et *auritkoré* son étui protecteur de bambou.

Utilisation du curare.

Les Nambikwara ne connaissent pas la sarbacane. Ils se servent du curare pour empoisonner des grandes flèches à longue pointe dentée, emplie d'un étui protecteur de bambou. Les pointes de flèches à curare des Tamandé sont plus courtes et plus fines que celles des autres Nambikwara. Elles sont d'ordinaire réunies par 2, 3 ou 4 sous un seul étui protecteur.

D'après les Indiens l'activité d'une flèche ne se maintiendrait pas plus de trois ou quatre mois. Le curare pâteux se conserve plus longtemps (près d'un an). Le curare dur se garde pendant des années.

Les flèches empoisonnées sont destinées à la chasse de certains animaux, quelques gros oiseaux, les cervidés et surtout les singes.

Les oiseaux blessés par une de ces flèches tombent presque de suite.

Le singe blessé à mort avec une flèche ordinaire ou même une balle reste souvent accroché aux branches. Sous l'action du curare il se tient d'abord immobile, puis se met à trembler et tombe quelques minutes plus tard (3 à 10 au maximum) dès que se produit la paralysie.

Un pécari ou un petit cerf tel que le *Cervus campestris* blessé au corps court une à deux minutes, puis il s'arrête épuisé, est pris de tremblements et se couche.

Le tapir, très volumineux, résiste longtemps ; il peut courir deux heures avant de s'arrêter ; aussi les Indiens ne le chassent pas avec le curare.

8: Vellard SP17 Nambicuara

La chair des animaux tués avec le curare peut être consommée sans inconvénient ; les Nambikwara du Juruena se contentent de couper autour de la blessure les chairs imprégnées de poison et colorées en jaune ; les Çabanê ne prennent même pas cette précaution.

Les flèches empoisonnées servent aussi pour la guerre et c'est peut-être leur principale destination dans beaucoup de groupes Nambikwara qui n'en possèdent que très peu d'exemplaires en temps normal.

Aucun de ces indiens ne connaît de contre-poison efficace. D'après tous nos informateurs les blessures ne furent sérieusement toujours mortelles pour l'homme. En arrachant immédiatement la flèche il serait possible de survivre à une blessure à un membre ; pour rendre plus difficile leur extraction la pointe des flèches empoisonnées, surtout celles des Çabanê, sont très légèrement fixées à leur hampe.

Propriétés du curare Nambikwara.

La toxicité du curare Nambikwara est élevée. Chez les mammifères et les oiseaux il provoque une sensation initiale d'irritation mal localisée accompagnée de crampes ; les animaux sont inquiets et se grattent tantôt une partie du corps, tantôt une autre. Ensuite surviennent des tremblements d'abord localisés à certains groupes musculaires, puis se généralisant ; dans quelques cas ils se produisent sous forme de brusques secousses musculaires intermittentes ; dans une période plus avancée, certains muscles entrent en fibrillation. Enfin apparaît la paralysie : l'animal présente une asthénie progressive ; il s'immobilise, évite tout mouvement ; bientôt ses pattes se dérobent, il s'effondre et la paralysie se complète.

Les muscles de la déglutition et du larynx sont atteints très tôt chez le chien ; la voix s'éteint, la langue pend hors de la bouche, la salive n'est plus déglutie. Les réflexes tendineux disparaissent les premiers suivis des réflexes oculaires. Au début la respiration est accélérée, haletante ; très vite les mouvements respiratoires se ralentissent, diminuent d'amplitude ; des périodes d'apnée variant chez le chien de 10 à 50 secondes apparaissent, se rapprochant de plus en plus. Après l'arrêt définitif de la respiration le cœur continue à battre encore quelques minutes. L'autopsie ne révèle que de banales lésions d'asphyxie et une coloration jaune plus ou moins étendue des muscles au point de l'injection.

L'expérience de Claude Bernard, de la grenouille dont une patte a été isolée de la circulation générale par une ligature excluant le sciatique montre après injection du curare dans le sac lymphatique dorsal la con-

8: Vellard SP17 Nambicuara

servation de la motilité de la patte isolée et la conservation de l'excitabilité du nerf.

L'action curarisante a été étudiée de façon plus précise avec les solutions rapportées à l'aide de l'appareil d'induction ordinaire et avec le dispositif habituel pour l'étude de la chronaxie, au laboratoire de M. Miguel Osorio de Almeida à l'Institut Oswaldo Cruz, de Rio de Janeiro.

On sait que les fausses grenouilles sud-américaines se curarisent difficilement et de façon incomplète ; par contre les crapauds, le *Bufo marinus* entre autres, constituent des réactifs de choix.

En quinze minutes les *Bufo marinus* (30 à 40 gr.) présentent une curarisation parfaite avec des doses de 0,01 à 0,05 cc. de curare liquide injectées dans le sac lymphatique ventral : les gastrocnémiens ne réagissent plus à l'excitation du sciatique par la décharge de condensateurs de cinq microfarads ni même à celle d'une batterie de six volts, tout en conservant leur excitabilité directe.

Les lézards sont très sensibles ; 0,001 à 0,01 cc. curarisent des *Anolis* ou des *Tropidurus* de taille moyenne.

L'injection intramusculaire de 0,2 cc. paralyse une poule en 2 minutes et la tue en 15 à 20 minutes ; 0,05 cc. produit une paralysie ne disparaissant qu'en 4 ou 5 heures.

Les mammifères sont particulièrement sensibles à ce curare.

Un chien de 8 kg. ayant conservé pendant 15 minutes dans les muscles de la cuisse l'extrémité d'une pointe de flèche (45 mm.) présente aussitôt après avoir été blessé des tremblements localisés d'abord au train antérieur, puis s'étendant aux muscles dorsaux. Trois minutes plus tard l'animal tombait ; la paralysie était complète en 12 minutes ; les réflexes pupillaires disparurent en 15 minutes, moment où fut retirée la pointe de flèche ; arrêt définitif de la respiration en 41 minutes ; arrêt du cœur 3 minutes plus tard.

Un chien de 10 kg. ayant reçu dans la cuisse une injection intramusculaire de 0,25 cc. de solution manifeste une inquiétude immédiate et une irritation généralisée ; en 3 minutes début des tremblements dans le train antérieur. L'animal titube (4') puis tombe les pattes écartées (5'). Paralysie de la voix en 6 minutes et respiration haletante ; 8 minutes, secousses musculaires répétées dans le train antérieur ; 9 minutes, paralysie totale, disparition des réflexes pupillaires et cornéens, langue pendant hors de la bouche ; 10 minutes, premières périodes d'apnée ; 12 minutes, arrêt définitif de la respiration ; 15 minutes, arrêt du cœur.

Il est inutile d'insister davantage ici sur l'action physiologique du poison de flèches des Nambikwara. Ces quelques observations suffisent pour

montrer qu'il s'agit d'un véritable curare et non d'un simple poison paralysant. Comparé avec un curare ancien, en pot étiqueté « Indios tapuios do haut Rio Negro », le curare Nambikwara s'est montré sensiblement plus actif. Il se distingue du curare classique des Ticuna par les tremblements musculaires qu'il produit au début de l'intoxication chez tous les mammifères étudiés.

II. — Curare des Pareci.

Les Indiens Pareci, aujourd'hui peu nombreux et très civilisés, ont connu le curare. Ils lui donnent, à l'accentuation près, le même nom que les Çabanè : *iriuê*.

Je n'ai pu en obtenir, les Pareci ne le préparant plus ; les informations à son sujet m'ont été données par des Pareci d'âge moyen, ayant passé leur enfance dans des villages encore indépendants à cette époque et où les hommes se servaient de ce poison.

L'élément principal était le Strychnos employé par les Nambikwara, mais accompagné d'autres plantes que mes informateurs n'ont pas su ou n'ont pas voulu se donner la peine de récolter. Un des botanistes de la Commission Rondon, Hoehne, cite six espèces de plantes différentes incomplètement déterminées, qui lui furent indiquées par un Indien Pareci comme entrant dans la composition de leur poison de flèche. Mais ce poison ne se conserva pas et ne put être étudié.

Les Pareci possèdent un conte sur la découverte des propriétés toxiques de ce Strychnos. Un Pareci en visite à la station d'Utiarity m'en a donné une version assez étendue en portugais et une version résumée en pareci.

Voici la première :

Les anciens disaient : « Un homme s'en fut à la chasse et trouva un terrier de tatou. L'homme avait une blessure à la jambe. L'homme creusa pour trouver le tatou. Tout à coup il trouva une racine d'*iriuê*. Il la coupa. Il en coupa plusieurs. Tout d'un coup la petite d'une racine toucha sa blessure. Il mourut. Les racines se mirent à parler ; elles dirent : « qui a tué cet homme ? » La grosse racine (la racine principale pivotante) dit d'une grosse voix « Moi je l'ai tué ». Une petite racine à voix fine dit « Moi je l'ai tué ». Alors les hommes apportèrent la racine au village et ils surent qu'elle était vénéneuse ».

La seconde version est beaucoup plus courte :

nahaliuê	*nhatê*	*hoçê*	*çhaxiranxê*	*iriuê*	*tâtxo*	*iriluê'ê*	*çhaxiranxê*
tatou	creusant	homme	blessure	poison	racine	écorche	blessure

8: Vellard SP17 Nambicuara

ẓoiṭd'a wuhlai iriwa tjihṛ iraweṇd saiá d'iṭṇ natiá nu'iṭṇ
écluse il mourut poison racine dit (qui a tué)[1] c'est moi j'ai tué

maiá natiá nu'iṭṇ.
petite c'est moi j'ai tué.

Ce conte paraît indiquer une acquisition peut-être relativement récente du curare par les Pareci. Mais, notre but étant la région des Ñambikwara, nos rapports avec les Indiens Pareci ont été très superficiels et aucun de ceux que nous avons vus n'était capable de nous donner des informations plus précises.

Les Ñambikwara Tamandé, du cours supérieur du Rio Roosevelt, m'ont assuré que le curare leur était venu d'autres Indiens habitant plus au Nord, dans la région du Gy Paraná ; il n'a pas été possible de leur faire préciser quels étaient ces Indiens.

Les Cabixiana du Rio Mequem, au Nord-Est du territoire des Ñambikwara, emploient aussi le curare. D'après un Indien civilisé de ce groupe rencontré au poste de Baron de Melgaço, leur produit à base végétale complexe serait préparé en secret et seulement par quelques vieillards ; c'est un curare *dur*, en pot. Il servirait pour la chasse, même celle du tapir, et pour la guerre.

Les Pareci représentent avec les Ñambikwara l'extrême pointe méridionale de l'extension du curare dont l'usage en remontant vers l'Amazone devient de plus en plus fréquent et la préparation entourée de plus de mystère.

Tous les curares ne sont pas aussi simples que le curare Ñambikwara, mais tous paraissent avoir pour base principale une espèce de Strychnos variable suivant les régions. Certains Strychnos tels que *St. toxifera* Benth., *Str. lethalis* Barb. Rod., et surtout *St. crevauxiana* Baill, sont particulièrement toxiques ; d'autres comme *St. pseudo-quina* sont très pauvres en principes vénéneux.

A côté des Strychnos, éléments actifs du curare, de nombreuses autres plantes en général vénéneuses mais de propriétés très diverses, et des substances animales telles que des venins, entrent souvent dans la composition de ce poison. Leur addition répond à des fins diverses.

Tantôt ce sont des résines ou des gommes dont la seule utilité est de durcir le produit et assurer sa conservation.

Tantôt ce sont des substances toxiques destinées à renforcer ou à compléter l'action des Strychnos.

1. Je ne suis pas bien sûr de la traduction exacte de ces deux mots, l'informateur étant très mauvais.

B: Vellard SP17 Nambicuara

Dans d'autres cas le curare est additionné de substances sans action réelle mais jouissant de propriétés magiques. Leur nature peut varier à l'infini.

Dans bien des cas aussi la complexité du curare ne semble avoir d'autre but que d'en masquer les véritables éléments actifs et assurer le monopole de sa préparation à quelques individus.

Nous sommes ainsi conduits à diviser les curares en :

curares simples, à base uniquement de *Strychnos*.

curares composés dans lesquels des éléments végétaux ou animaux divers sont ajoutés aux *Strychnos* dans le but : a) de durcir le produit, b) de renforcer son action physiologique, c) avec des fins magiques et d) pour dissimuler sa composition réelle.

Le curare Nambikwara représente le type le plus simple.

En plus de son aspect ethnographique la connaissance de la composition exacte de ce curare intéresse les physiologistes ; elle rend désormais facile de préparer pour les laboratoires de recherches un curare très actif et d'action constante.

[P 222 is blank]

8:Vellard
[P 292-A]

SP17 Nambicuara

A

B

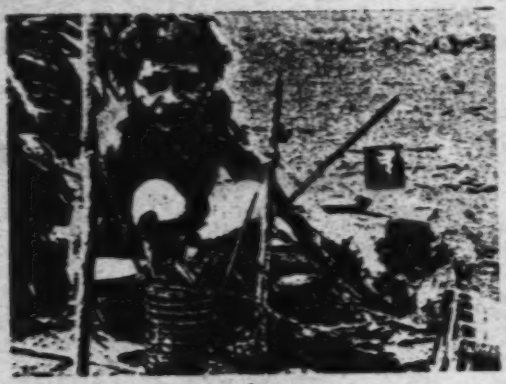
C

D

Préparation du curare par les Indiens Nhambikwara (rive droite du Juruena).

A. - Pied de *Strychnos* sp. dont la racine est utilisée pour préparer le curare.
B. - Le Nhambikwara Julio déterrant une racine de *iritsu* (*Strychnos* sp.).
C. - Le Nhambikwara Julio rapporte des racines de *Strychnos* sp.
D. - Racine de *Strychnos* sp.

[P 222-B]



A

B

C

Préparation du curare çabané (région de Vilhena).

A-B. – Épuisement des écorces par l'eau froide.

C. – Après ébullition, le liquide est transvasé dans un autre récipient où il sera concentré à chaleur douce.

8:Vellard
[P 204-C]

SP17 Nambicuara

A

B

C

D

Préparation du curare çabanè (région de Vilhena).

A. - Le curare est écumé pendant l'ébullition.
B. - Vérification du degré de concentration du produit, à l'aide d'une paille.
C. - Entonnoir fait d'une feuille roulée en cornet et la feuille servant à le confectionner.
D. - Pot en argile grise, mal cuite, servant à préparer et à conserver le curare (Nhambikwara du Rio Cabixi).

114 However, all the works mentioned in the preceding paragraphs contain various linguistic data—generally limited to mediocre vocabularies—and a description of material culture, carefully undertaken in Rondonia. Nowhere do they treat of family life and social organization. Under these circumstances it may be surprising that the Nambikwara seem to have been completely forgotten after the publication of the work of Roquette Pinto. It was natural that our own expedition, begun exactly
● 121 26 years and two months after /3/ the beginning of Roquette Pinto's trip, should be dedicated to filling in—even partially—the gaps of preceding research. We have sought more extensive and precise linguistic information; paid more attention to the "dynamic" aspect of the material culture, considering less the finished products than the processes of their fabrication; and above all, we have dedicated ourselves mainly to the study of family and social organization, the description of which is the object of the present work.

114 It is superfluous to stress that an exhaustive study of the life and society of the Nambikwara will not be found here. We were only able to share the life of the Indians during the nomadic period, and that alone would be enough to limit the extent of our research. A trip undertaken during the sedentary period would no doubt furnish some important information, and would permit correcting the general perspective. We hope to be able to undertake this some day. As Roquette Pinto wrote at the beginning of Rondonia: "Lentas hão de ser sempre as construcções cientificas en tal terreno". ["Scientific building in such country must always be slow."] (1) His book, however, must always

1. Prefacio da Segunda Edição, p. 13.

be merited with having called attention to one of the most interesting cultures of indigenous Brazil and having been the first to produce a lively and charming picture of it.

131 The territory occupied by the Nambikwara Indians extends from the
133 Papagaio River in the east to a zone in the northwest ending approximately at the junction of the Commemoração de Floriano and Barão de Melgaço Rivers, both branches of the Machado River or Gi-Parana. This point marks, at the same time, the end of the plateau which occupies nearly the entire central and western parts of the state of Mato Grosso. The southern boundary is placed at the middle course of the Guaporé River, and, farther to the west, it follows the entire course of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The location of the northern

101 Tamaindé, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
114 comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
197 the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -ĵore, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiaté, and the name Tamaindé was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b1) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

121 What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each [28] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

197 This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjutu, -kedutsu -ki'titu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Doze de Otubro River and the Camararé River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
181
291
301

> 2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
[513] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
[101] Paresi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaikoakoré, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the grated pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

789 Poison is thus nãnde par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a curare reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of curare, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the strychnos.

Besides the notion of nãnde we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the atʉsu (a1). Atʉsu signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: atʉsu, "it is the animal." Atʉsu also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, atʉsu is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the atʉsu if one does not defend oneself in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick [ẽpieu] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated with black and white bark weaving (javelin: hĩdosu [a1], kẽʉ̃ere

(Antonio Pires de Campos, "Breve noticia, etc.," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 25, 1862, p. 445). Cf. also C. Lévi-Strauss, "The name of the Nambikuara," American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, 1945. 101

is the problem of a syncretistic culture which one finds so frequently in South American ethnology. 157 182

When taken from the geographical point of view, the statement of the problem is easily reconstituted. One may ask one how best to interpret the presence of a nucleus of low cultures placed symmetrically, as regards the tributaries of the right bank of the Amazon, to that which occupied, and still occupies, eastern Brazil. Under the two wings of the "T" which sketches the distribution of far more evolved cultures of the Amazon valley, and the Madeira, with the long vertical zone which extends from the Xingu to the Tocantins, the low level Gé to the east, and the Nambikwara to the west, produce an equilibrium, like isolated islands. In the case of the Nambikwara, a supplementary problem is raised, that of the duality of their culture and their type of life. The latter can be explained either by taking as a basis the most elementary form of adaptation, and by assuming the borrowing of agricultural life from groups of a more evolved culture, or by leaving the higher form as an impoverishment determined by cultural isolation, or by the [130] suppression in particularly inhospitable regions which would have imposed secondary forms of adaptation. However, it is only by an appeal to all the available sources of information which should include, besides sociological studies, the study of the language and the material culture, and by comparison with the groups living in the same geographic atmosphere, that an attempt to interpret these problems can reasonably be undertaken. 121

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

which are to be found, always and everywhere, as prerequisites for the existence of human society.

The simpler organisms may provide a better field for the study of organic functions than those which exhibit the same functions, although under a more complex form. Simple human groups render the anthropologist the same kind of service without any need of surmising that they represent survivals of older types of organization. Now, to call upon the notion of function in the field of anthropological sciences is no discovery. This notion, first introduced by Durkheim in 1894,[1] has been only too much exploited since then, sometimes in the most abusive way. There are indeed functions of the social life as well as functions of the organic life. But neither in one domain nor in the other does everything correspond to, nor may it be justified by, its functional value. To state the opposite view could lead to only two results: either an anthropological come-back to eighteenth century Providentialism, where culture would play in relation to man the same utopian tutelary part which was attributed to nature by the author of *Paul et Virginie*,[2] or the reducing of the notion of function to a mere tautology—to say, for instance, that the function of the notched lapel on our coats is to gratify our esthetic feeling would be meaningless, since, here, obviously, the feeling results from the custom, and not the contrary. The custom has a history which explains its existence. It doesn't, under present circumstances, possess any function.

The preceding may appear to be a very ponderous introduction to an address dedicated by its title to the psychological aspects of chieftainship in a small Brazilian tribe. But I do not believe that the data which I am going to present, if considered only as data on chieftainship among a hitherto little known group, would honestly deserve one hour of attention. Similar facts have been recorded many times, either joined or separately. The particular interest offered by the Nambikuara is that they confront us with one of the simplest conceivable forms of social and political organization. Chiefs and chieftainship exist, among all human groups, under very different forms, but it would be vain to assign a special functional value to each of the modali-

[1] In "Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique": "The function is the correspondence between the considered fact and the general needs of the social organism." p. 117.

[2] In his "Etudes de la Nature" (1784) Bernardin de Saint Pierre suggested that Nature devised melon ribs to make the fruit easier to divide on the family table, and that it made fleas black so that they could more easily be caught on white skin.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organisation and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brasil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brasil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Orenoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupí-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

621 people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves 121 with such questions as the type of political organization in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

[36] Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the 621 gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It 601 does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between [602] two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The [582] Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[1] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown 602 by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage system functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive 621 narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss. "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians." American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1943.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 515 182 liabilities of their sex, are his helpers, comforters and assistants. They are, at the same time, leadership's prize and instrument. Can it be said, from the native point of view, that the prize is worth the trouble? To answer that question, I shall now have to consider the problem from a broader angle, namely, what does this elementary social structure, the Nambikuara band, teach us about leadership, its basis and its function?

● 121 There is a first point which does not require great elaboration. Nambikuara data contribute, with many others, to destroy the belief originated by early anthropologists, and temporarily revived by psychoanalysis, that the primitive chief could find his prototype in a symbolical father, and that the simpler forms of the State could progressively have grown out of the family. We have found at the root of the crudest forms of chieftainship a decisive step, which introduced something entirely new in respect to biological relations—and this step consists of *consent*. Consent, we have seen, is at the same time the origin and the limit of leadership. Unilateral relations such as right of age, autocratic power, or others, may appear in groups having an already complex structure. In simple forms of social organization, such as the one I have tried to describe, they are inconceivable. Here, on the contrary, the relationship between the chief and the group can be seen as a perpetual process of arbitration where the chief's talents and authority on the one hand and the group's size, cohesion and willingness, on the other, constantly react on and influence each other. If I had the time, and if it were not so far removed from my topic, I would have liked to show what considerable support modern anthropological observations bring, in this respect, to the analysis of the eighteenth century social philosophers. I am well aware of the fact that Rousseau's "social contract," which is the step by which individuals resign their autonomy in favor of the General Will, is entirely different from the nearly contractual relations existing between the chief and his followers. It remains true, however, that Rousseau and his contemporaries displayed a keen sociological feeling when they understood that cultural attitudes and elements such as "contract" and "consent" are not the result of secondary processes, as claimed by their opponents; they are culture's raw materials, and it is impossible to conceive a political or social organization in which they would not already be present. If I understand correctly, the recent analysis, by modern American

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

anthropologists, of the state-growth significance of military societies among the Plains Indians leads to exactly the same conclusion.[6]

My second point is but an exemplification of the first: consent is the psychological basis of leadership, but in daily life it expresses itself in, and is measured by, a game of give-and-take played by the chief and his followers, and which brings forth, as a basic attribute of leadership, the notion of reciprocity. The chief has power, but he must be generous. He has duties, but he is entitled to several wives. Between him and the group, there is a perpetual balance of prestations, privileges, services and obligations. The notion of reciprocity, originated by Marcel Mauss, was brilliantly analysed by Malinowski in his "Crime and Custom in Savage Society." In respect to leadership, he says: "The claims of chief over commoners, husband over wife, parent over child and vice versa are not exercised arbitrarily and one-sidedly, but according to definite rules, and arranged into well-balanced chains of reciprocal services."[7] This statement needs somewhat to be completed. Malinowski is right when he points out that the chief-commoners' relationship, as every relationship in primitive society, is based on reciprocity. In the first case, however, the reciprocity is not of the same type as in the others. In any human society, whether primitive or civilised, two different cycles of reciprocity are constantly at work: first, the chain of individual prestations linking the isolated members of the group; and, next, a relation of reciprocity binding the group considered as group (not as a collection of individuals) and its ruler. In the case we have studied, this is well illustrated by the rules of marriage. Taken in its broadest sense, the incest prohibition means that everybody in the group is obliged to deliver his sister or daughter to an individual; and, conversely, is entitled to receive his wife from the latter (whether from the same man, as in exchange-marriage, or from a different one). Thus, a continuous chain of reciprocal prestations is directly or indirectly set up between all the collective or individual members of the group.[8] This may be called qualitative reciprocity; but incest prohibition also provides the basis for a quantita-

---

[6] R. H. Lowie. 1927. The Origin of the State: 78-107; New York. K. N. Llewellyn & E. A. Hoebel. 1941. The Cheyenne Way. Part II, ch. 5. University of Oklahoma Press.

[7] B. Malinowski. 1940. Crime and Custom in Savage Society: 48. New York. (Third Printing).

[8] See the late F. E. Williams' remarkable analysis in "Papuans of the Trans-Fly": 167-182. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1936.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

121 tive reciprocity. We may consider it as a "freezing" measure, which, while it forbids the appropriation of women who are at one's natural disposal, prepares the formulation of marriage rules allowing every man to get a wife. Therefore, a close relationship exists in a given society between the forbidden degrees and the extent to which polygamy is allowed. How does the preceding apply to the Nambikuara? If they had cross-cousin marriage associated exclusively with monogamy, there would be a perfectly simple system of reciprocity (from the individual's point of view) both qualitative and quantitative. This theoretical formula is, however, upset by the chief's privilege to polygamy. The withholding of the simpler rule, in favor of the chief, creates for each individual an element of insecurity which would otherwise not exist. Let us state this in other terms: the granting of polygamous privilege to the chief means that the group has exchanged *individual elements of security* resulting from the monogamous rule for *collective security* provided by leadership. Each man receives a wife from another man, but the chief receives several wives from the group. In exchange, he offers to guarantee against need and danger, not to the individuals whose sisters or daughters he marries; not to those who will be deprived of a spouse by his polygamous right; but to the group, taken as a whole. For it is the group, taken as a whole, which has withheld the common law in his favor. The preceding considerations may have some bearing upon the theory of plural marriage; but, most of all, they remind us that the interpretation of the State, conceived as a security system, recently revived by discussions about a national insurance policy (such as the Beveridge plan and others), is not a modern development. It is a return to the basic nature of social and political organization.

So much for the group's point of view on leadership. What about the chief's own attitude in relation to his function? What is his incentive in assuming duties of which I have given a not too favorable account? We saw that the Nambikuara band leader has a tiresome and exacting role; that he must exert himself without pause to maintain his position. What is more, if he does not constantly improve it, he runs the risk of losing what he has taken months or years to achieve. This explains why many men, as I have already said, shun leadership. But why do others accept and even seek it? It is always difficult to appraise psychological motives; and the task is almost impossible when a culture totally alien to our own is considered. I venture to say,

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

however, that the polygamous privilege, highly valued as it may be from the point of view of sexual gratification, sentimental appeal and social prestige, would not suffice to determine a leader's vocation. Plural marriage is but a technical prerequisite of chieftainship; its individual value can only be residual. There must be something more; and, going over the moral and psychological features of the Nambikuara chiefs I knew, and trying to hold on to those fugitive and irreplaceable glimpses at their intimate selves (of which no scientific approach may certify the accuracy, but which gain, from a deep feeling of friendship and human communication, some sort of intuitive value), I feel imperiously led to this answer: there are chiefs because there are, in any human group, men who, unlike most of their companions, enjoy prestige for its own sake, feel a strong appeal to responsibility, and to whom the burden of public affairs brings its own reward. These individual differences are certainly emphasised and "played up" by the different cultures, and to unequal degrees. But their clear-cut existence in a society as little competitive as the Nambikuara strongly suggests to my mind that their origin itself is not cultural. They are rather part of those psychological raw materials out of which any given culture is made. Men are not all alike; and, in primitive societies, believed by early anthropologists to be overwhelmed by the crushing power of custom, these individual differences are as keenly perceived and worked out as in our so-called "individualistic" civilization. |2|

It is remarkable how far the practical experience of colonial administrators has outgrown, in relation to the previous considerations, anthropologists' theoretical studies. During the past twenty years, Lowie's pessimistic appraisal of anthropological work in the field of political institutions[9] has certainly not lost its value. We have much to learn from the scientifically untrained who deal with native institutions. I shall not here record Lyautey's testimony without reservation: "In every society, there is a leading class born for leadership and without which nothing can be accomplished."[10] What may be true for the simpler structures cannot be considered equally valid when considering the complex ones, where the function of leadership does not manifest itself any more in a "pure" state. But let us listen to Eboué who passed away a few months ago. Himself a full-blooded negro, he

[9] At the beginning of Chapter XIII of "Primitive Society."

[10] Quoted in: Governor-General Felix Eboué's Memorandum on "Native Policy," issued on November 8,1942.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[12] wrote the following when he was Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa in special relation to those nomadic tribes which, as he put it, "live under a regime of organized anarchy." I quote: "Who is to be chief? I shall not answer, as was the custom in Athens, 'the best.' There is no best chief, there is just a chief;" and further; "the chief is not interchangeable . . . the chief pre-exists."[11] This is precisely what was suggested to us from the start of our analysis of Nambikuara society.

In conclusion, I submit that, when developing the study of political institutions, anthropologists will have to pay more and more attention to the idea of "natural leadership." I am well aware that this expression is almost contradictory. There is no possible form of leadership which does not receive its shape and specification inside of a given cultural context. But this expression can be taken as a borderline case, or as a limit—as say the mathematicians. While the limit can never be reached, simple social structures give us, in the order of their simplicity, an even closer approximation of it. In such studies, we may accordingly foresee a privileged field for close cooperative work between anthropology and individual psychology.

---

[11] *Ibid.*

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

121 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 177 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

7: Roquette-Pinto--15 E-4,5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

141 144 According to Ehrenreich's tables, in terms of stature the Indians of the Serra do Norte occupy a position intermediary between the Paressi and Nahuqua, and come close to the Bacairi, Mehinacu, Trumai and Yamamadi.

[212] The percentage of elevated statures (19 percent) places the Nambicuara near the Cayapo (20 percent) and far from the Bacairi (0 percent), Nahuqua (6.6 percent), Trumai (0 percent) and Paressi (11 percent).

The difference in height between the sexes (0.12 meters) places them far from the Tupian Indians, among whom the man is often shorter than the woman, and from the Arawakan groups, where men and women are of the same height (Barbosa Rodrigues).

In the circumference of the chest, equal to one half their total height, they approach the normal types of the white race (De Giovanni). The index between total height and chest circumference is 50.

This is not the rule among Brazilian Indians, whose chest circumference is usually more than one half their total height. In Ehrenreich's tables, the Indians closest to the Nambicuara in this respect are the Caraja of the Araguaia River, whose index is 53.3.

141 121 144 The Manouvrier [Skelic] Index expresses the ratio between the length of the upper part of the body and that of the lower limbs, which together add up to the total stature. Morphologically and physiologically, the upper part of the body (head and trunk) is much more important than the lower limbs. To determine its relation to the total height, therefore, is to disclose to some extent the biological worth of the individual (Montessori).

Manouvrier distinguished three basic types in terms of this index, which he named macroskelic, mesatiskelic and brachyskelic. In the middle type (mesatiskelic) the upper part of the body adds to slightly more than half the total height (index 52); in the macroskelic type, the index varies from 52 to 50; in the brachyskelic type, from 53 to 55.

[213] . . . This ratio applies to adults, for the proportions of the body undergo basic modifications in the course of growth . . . . The [three types] occur among all races and all peoples; however, research has shown that there is a certain prevalence of brachyskelic types among the yellow races, of macroskelic types among the black races, and of mesatiskelic types among the whites.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

● 122 I especially wish to thank Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica, not only for his enthusiasm and sympathetic understanding of the research program, but for contributing the funds necessary to maintain the students in the field. I also wish to thank the staff of the Escola for their counsel, particularly Dr. Antonio Müller and Dr. Otavio da Costa Eduardo. I am particularly grateful to the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios whose assistance has been of immeasurable help in the field. I wish to acknowledge, too, the help of the personnel of the Fundação Brasil Central for their assistance while we remained at their camp in the Upper Xingú.

ooo Finally, I wish to express my appreciation for the assistance and kindness extended to me by the American missionaries who are active in northern Mato Grosso, particularly, Rev. C. Thomas Young, Rev. W. L. Buckman, Rev. Robert E. Meader, and Rev. Emil W. Halverson.

And now I wish to thank my wife, Lois, for her critical comments and for typing the draft of this monograph.

[p. vii (c)]

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 124 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups:[2] Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauité][1]. Among the Uaintaçu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians 302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A[2] and B.

2 [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]
1 [Nambicuara sub-groups — Analyst]

302
751

Indians are as well protected against the actinic action of the sun as if they were wearing the thick clothing of the Sahara tribes. Because they are nude, however, the air circulates freely around their body, reducing the heat and hastening the evaporation of perspiration.

"If exposed to sunlight, in accordance with the property described above, urucu absorbs only slightly the heat of the sun, reflecting the red rays and also the heat rays. For this reason the white man or one with slight pigmentation, when smeared with urucu, does not perspire excessively as does the Negro under the same circumstances.

"In view of the properties ascribed to urucu by our experiments, and of the widespread usage of this dye among the Indians of tropical America, we believe that it should be considered not as merely ornamental but as an effective means of protection against tropical light and heat."

164 [184] The manifestations and evolution of the disease lead us to believe that it is a dermatomycosis. The habitat of the pathogenic fungus is probably to be found in the soil. This would explain why the personnel of the Line, who have lived among the Nambicuara for years, have not yet contracted the disease. This also applies to the Paressi, [513] who are now in contact with the diseased Indians. Both groups, unlike the Nambicuara, make use of hammocks and never sleep on the ground.

To this day, no microscopic examination of the scales has been made, and I am not responsible for this failure. In 1912 the Indians [123] would not allow us to collect the necessary materials; they were still suspicious.

/212 cont./

278 184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 126 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] [117] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[114] [62] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

551 scrapes it to eat it. Brother! Scrape!"

551 177 The Indians feel very strongly the inconvenience of the system, especially when they are in contact with the whites. Those among them who intermittently frequent the posts of the Rondon Line have very rapidly adopted the Brazilian names which they hear pronounced around them, and they are—or have been—baptized Julio, José Maria, Luiza, Iracema, etc., giving these surnames some strange distortions. Sometimes too, there are nicknames like Lebre (lièvre = rabbit), Assucar (sucre = sugar) or Cavaignac (the shape of beard worn by the famous general). Several Indians have preserved this last name, thus perpetuating in the backwoods the memory of the time when Rondon lived and flourished.

We could use these names to designate them in the course of this study, or also their real names insofar as we have been able, in certain cases, to restore them. But these Brazilian names are only carried by the small minority of Indians who are in contact with the posts of the Rondon Line; [38] and the authentic names are lacking to us in a great number of cases. At any rate, the process would not be true to reality. For the remarkable point is that, in daily life, one does not hear a single name pronounced. It thus seems to us more in 128 conformance with the indigenous atmosphere to refrain, in the course 551 of this work, from using names to designate individuals, and we shall content ourselves with symbols indicating the sex, the group, and the place in the group of the individual considered (for each group, respectively A, B, C; capital letter for a man, small letter for a woman, followed by a figure identifying the subject.)

551 ●124 Nevertheless, as has just been indicated, it has been possible for us, for group a1, to collect a complete list of names. This is how: one day when we were playing with a group of children, one of the little girls was struck by a playmate. She came immediately to take refuge near us, and began, in a very mysterious manner, to murmur something in our ears which we did not understand, and which we were obliged to have repeated for us several times, so that the adversary realized the trick, and, apparently furious, came in turn to reveal what appeared to be a solemn secret. After several hesitations and questions, the interpretation of the incident left no doubt. The first little girl had come, out of revenge, to give us the name of her enemy, and when the latter saw this, she told us the name of the other one, as a means of reprisal. From this moment on, it was very easy, if not very scrupulous, to arouse the children against one another, and to obtain from each of them the name of all the others. After this, a little complicity thus having been created, they gave us the

551 ●124 names of the adults without too much difficulty. When the latter found out our secret meetings, the children were harshly reprimanded, and the source of our information cut off. However, during a moment of great confidence one day, A1 gave us the names of her parents and great-grandparents, so that at the end of the account the list of proper names covers a total of five generations:

551 601

1. Mother of the mother of A1 ..... Arigudadusu.
2. Father of the father of A1 ..... Itʼitilisu, Irʼgudusu.
3. Mother of the father of A1 ..... Etuaugluglusu.
4. Father of the mother of A1 ..... Igluʼkulusu.
5. Father of A1 ..... Arakudadusu.
6. Mother of A1 ..... Tuuuarusu.
7. A1 ..... (missing)
8. a2 ..... Guenderesu.
9. a3 ..... Uaʼterekaneru.
10. a4 ..... Uaarakaneru.
11. Mother of a4 ..... Uaarasu.
12. Father of a4 ..... Nisuaniʼrusu.
13. a5 ..... Guenderekineru.

[39]

14. A6 ..... Tairiʼsu.
15. a7 ..... Nariisu, Niãniaʼkinere.
16. a8 ..... Tairiʼkineru.
17. a9 ..... Tairiʼkineru.
18. A10 ..... Niʼkloerekinẽdetu.
19. a11 ..... Seliʔitirokaisu.
20. a12 ..... Seliʔitikineru.
21. A13 ..... Tareesakaresu.
22. a14 ..... Njoselese.
23. A15 ..... Nikãkitasu.
24. A16 ..... Njoseleselekiraru.
25. A17 ..... Kajãkaresu.
26. a18 ..... Sonaasakaresu.
27. a19 ..... Sonaasakaneru.
28. a20 ..... Sonaasakarikiritasu, Kjatorekineru.
29. A21 ..... Karlolesu.
30. a22 ..... Itatãnjẽdetu, Idonerekineru.
31. a23 ..... Kjedikitasu, Kuẽtitõdesukineru, Karlokineru.

591
621

[361]

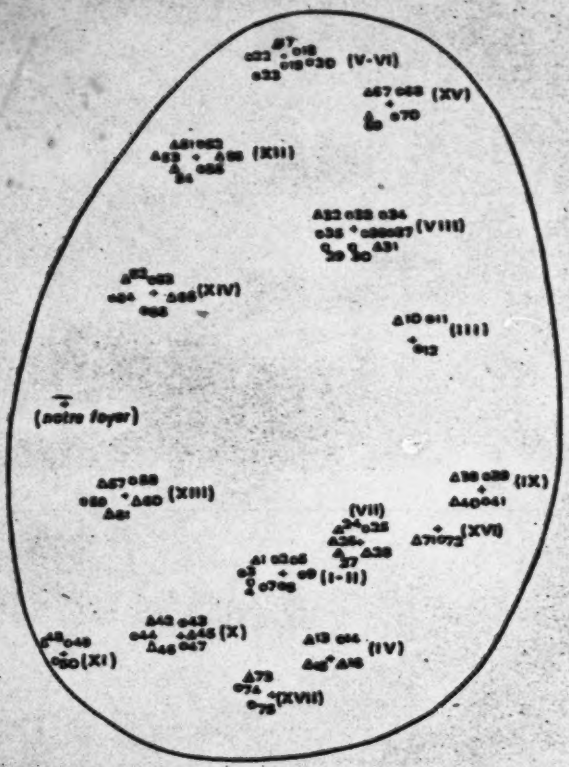


Fig. 14. --Distribution of Families in Temporary Residence.

fire, and the group of six persons has arrived late at the reunion, after an isolated trip. Fires 16 and 17, united at the winter camp (II), are completely isolated in camp (chart III); the same for fires 14 and 15 and for fires 3 and 10.

[24] (3) Since several families join around the same fire, it does not seem possible to deduce any rules of residence, which seems to confirm the impossibility of obtaining from the informants a clear answer to the question of whether the young couples establish themselves separately after marriage, or remain near the parents of the wife or the husband. In two cases, we see the daughters rejoin their parents fire: a12, abandoned by her husband, and a22 at the time of her widowhood. During the winter camp, the household of fire 4 resides with the parents of the husband; and household 6 with the wife's parents (fire 5 in the two cases). Likewise at this time, fire 2 is installed in the hut of the husband's "father." Finally, in two cases, one sees parents, unfit for the economic battle because of age or widowhood, installed at their daughter's fire, as A65 and a66, and

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[573] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
●[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[858] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

595
601

2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiesu a?ouerelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nuk•na?tere, which could be a feminine of nuk•na?ore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

7:Roquette-Pinto--1 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following
124 groups: Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauité]. Among the Uaintaçu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians
302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A and B.

2 [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]
1 [Nambicuara sub-groups — Analyst]

115 We managed to obtain four different word lists: Cocozu,
124 Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite. The two lengthier ones--Anunze and Cocozu--were obtained with us much exactitude and certainty as possible (and, I believe, as much as necessary) thanks to Nuleke and Krikricêknerá. These two Indians had been devoted friends of Lt. [Plates p. 261.] Pyrineus de Souza since the days when he had managed the post at Campos Novos.

[Fig. 48]

Nuleke is so fond of Lt. Pyrineus that when we returned in 1912 he did not hesitate to cross the borders of his territory, leaving the land none of his people had abandoned in centuries, to follow the muleteers to Tapirapuã in search of his friend.

He was the first to place himself trustfully into Brazilian hands.

These two Indians lived at Campos Novos like adopted children of the household. At night they both slept under Pyrineus' hammock. They already spoke a few words of our language.

[Fig. 49]

The Indian Damasceno (Urinenoá), already mentioned above, was of great help with the Cocozu language. He was the most intelligent boy we could find. One Tagnani shared this honor, and we were sorry to part with him. He understood the slightest gesture, and carried out to perfection our every request. It was he who consented to simulate an arrow attack which I asked for by means of signs and which is now recorded on a film belonging to the [National] Museum and shown at the National Library in 1913.

[262] Each word on the lists was verified more than once in the presence of the object or phenomenon it describes.

We were more interested in the quality than in the quantity of words.

This does not mean that we believe no corrections are possible; it is sufficient to compare two lexicons compiled by capable persons among the same Indians, on separate occasions, to see how differently certain terms may be rendered.

194 The Nambicuara language contains the following vowels: a, ê, i, ô, o, u, ü, with the same values as they would have in Portuguese; the sound of ü is intermediate between German ü and French eu.

relationships with other American languages. This is the gui or gue particle:

Kaiguetazú -- flute (Cocozu)
Hauguidê -- smooth arrow (Tagnani)
Toáiguedokrê -- hand (Tawite)
Uáneguêtu -- head (Anunze)

Although various phonetic systems are in existence for the transcription of primitive languages (Kosmos Alphabet, Schmidt's Alphabet, etc.) (1), I deemed it preferable to use the letters of the

1. Fa. W. Schmidt (Anthropos, 1907) describes in detail the historical evolution of phonetics and the various systems which have been suggested. In the same paper he presents his own method, which has been granted wide acceptance.

Latin alphabet in conjunction with a few special signs such as the umlaut, which are within the grasp of any reader.

[Fig. 51]

If Martius' linguistic scheme were still accepted, the Nambicuara tongue would be included among the languages of the "Guck" or "Koko" group. This family, however, was not maintained in view of its great diversity; and now its former members are [considered] to belong to the Ge-Botocudo and Nu-Arawakan groups.

The languages of the Nu-Arawakan family, however, own certain significant characteristics which are not encountered among the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

For instance, the personal possessive particle nu, one of the most valuable traits in the identification of these languages, is never found among the Nambicuara.

[265] The word used to designate water, one of the best elements for purposes of linguistic comparison because of its constancy throughout the Nu-Arawakan dialects in spite of other differences (onê, uní), has no equivalent in the Serra do Norte.

[For information pertaining to field methods of collecting information, see also category 115.]

● 125

[For information on the collection of samples of curare and their testing by the author in the field, see category 126.]

551 either by simple exclamations:
hẽna (dialect a1); herõ (a2, b1, b2); "People!"; or by the kinship term
1. sabãni ơ - uaĩnko (c): "Hey young one. —Father?"
2. ŝiditneĵte mandơtiena takenaãde kuikuniena uĩrige takenãẽ kuĩmkumenẽ (b1) (1): "The manioc is burnt; my brother

●126 1. It is necessary to define more exactly the manner in which these texts, and those which follow, have been obtained. We have not had the aid of any interpreter. At the time of our stay there was only one, a Nambikwara Indian educated far from his own people by the Jesuit fathers, and whom unfortunately, we could not employ. The Indians in contact with the posts of the telegraph line use, in their relations with the Paressi or Brazilian employees, a sort of "sabir", formed about forty words, one part Indian and the other Portuguese. This ingenious language, accompanied by numerous gestures, served as an introduction. At the end of about three months we had achieved a grossly empiric knowledge of Nambikwara itself, permitting us to make ourselves understood by the Indians, and more or less to follow a conversation. This result could not have been obtained without the tireless good will of the informants always ready to exchange words (Nambikwara for French or Portuguese) and to develop the obscure points by the use of an appropriate sign language. Working with these methods of chance we have both noted in passing fragments of conversation which were not addressed to us, and collected information by dictation. In both cases, the interpretation of the text was taken up again, afterwards, with the informants. It goes without saying that a meaning established in such a superficial way is not free from inaccuracies which sometimes may prove to be gross. We do not publish them for their literal meaning, often subject to caution, but rather because of the rough impression of indigenous life and atmosphere which they nevertheless aid to recreate. For the transcriptions, we are indebted to Mr. Paul L. Garvin for those which he established with the aid of our travel notes, and which he uses in his "Esquisse du système phonologique du Nambikwara-Tarunde," which appears in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, 1948.

[198]

/212 cont./

278 184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 ●126 [114] I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena. Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] [117] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[114] [162] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

/213 cont./
278 last Çabanè-Tagnani survivors, again showed me the complete
●126 preparation of curare. All the information gathered in the
[114] various Ñambikwara groups visited agrees with what I was able
[162] to observe.

In possession of these facts I prepared several times a certain quantity of curare identical to that of the Ñambikwara. The action of these different samples was tested in the field in order to be used in comparison with later experiments upon the return of the mission; thus any possibility of error due to a possible alteration of these products was eliminated.

A year has gone by since this time, and the various solutions brought back have kept their activity; they made it possible to examine rigorously their curarizing properties.

Preparation of Curare

278 824 Plant. Ñambikwara curare is prepared with only one plant, a Strychnos which grows in the sandy brushwood of the central plateau of the Mato Grosso. Although not rare this species is not abundant anywhere.

It is a bush two meters high (Pl. III, A), with a rather strong stem and downward-hanging branches, more or less sarmentous and sometimes changing into tendrils at the ends; I never saw a really twining example of this species. The branches have a reddish bark, /214/ without thorns, which is covered, as is the stem, with white concretions. The leaves are elongated and small or medium in size. The species is very polymorphous. No specimen bore flowers or fruit.

The Strychnos group is one of the most difficult to study. Many species rarely flower, and in the absence of flowers it is often impossible to identify them.

In certain features the species of the Ñambikwara is comparable to St. medeola. It exists in the plant collection of the Rondon Commission, but also without flowers and undetermined.

101 Tamainde, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
114 comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
197 the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -ʒore, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiaté, and the name Tamainde was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b1) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

121 What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
[28] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

197 This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjutu, -kedutsu -kititu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Doze de Outubro River and the Camararé River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system. This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

551 scrapes it to eat it. Brother! Scrape!"

551 177 The Indians feel very strongly the inconvenience of the system, especially when they are in contact with the whites. Those among them who intermittently frequent the posts of the Rondon Line have very rapidly adopted the Brazilian names which they hear pronounced around them, and they are—or have been—baptized Juiio, Jose Maria, Luiza, Iracema, etc., giving these surnames some strange distortions. Sometimes too, there are nicknames like Lebre (lièvre = rabbit), Assucar (sucre = sugar) or Cavaignac (the shape of beard worn by the famous general). Several Indians have preserved this last name, thus perpetuating in the backwoods the memory of the time when Rondon lived and flourished.

We could use these names to designate them in the course of this study, or also their real names insofar as we have been able, in certain cases, to restore them. But these Brazilian names are only carried by the small minority of Indians who are in contact with the posts of the Rondon Line; [38] and the authentic names are lacking to us in a great number of cases. At any rate, the process would not be true to reality. For the remarkable point is that, in daily life, one does not hear a single name pronounced. It thus seems to us more in ● 128 conformance with the indigenous atmosphere to refrain, in the course 551 of this work, from using names to designate individuals, and we shall content ourselves with symbols indicating the sex, the group, and the place in the group of the individual considered (for each group, respectively A, B, C; capital letter for a man, small letter for a woman, followed by a figure identifying the subject.)

551 124 Nevertheless, as has just been indicated, it has been possible for us, for group a1, to collect a complete list of names. This is how: one day when we were playing with a group of children, one of the little girls was struck by a playmate. She came immediately to take refuge near us, and began, in a very mysterious manner, to murmur something in our ears which we did not understand, and which we were obliged to have repeated for us several times, so that the adversary realized the trick, and, apparently furious, came in turn to reveal what appeared to be a solemn secret. After several hesitations and questions, the interpretation of the incident left no doubt. The first little girl had come, out of revenge, to give us the name of her enemy, and when the latter saw this, she told us the name of the other one, as a means of reprisal. From this moment on, it was very easy, if not very scrupulous, to arouse the children against one another, and to obtain from each of them the name of all the others. After this, a little complicity thus having been created, they gave us the

607 terms among brazilian indians," American Anthropologist Vol. 45, No. 3, 1943. In an interesting article dedicated to the Tupi system ("Notas sobre a interpretacão sociologica de alguns designativos de parentesco do Tupi-Guarani," Etnografia e lingua Tupi-Guarani, No. 9, São Paulo, 1946), J. Philipson reproaches me for having limited the relationship of compaternity to South America, and he invokes the example of numerous tribes of North America. That is to attribute too much ignorance to me: it is indeed certain that there exist, in the entire world, innumerable cases of special relationships between brothers-in-law, both cordial and hostile. But by including pell-mell all of these examples, one would fall back into errors of the old comparative sociology. By the term "compaternity" I have wished to identify a precise complex institution, where there come together in correlation a particular kinship system, well defined rules of marriage, and certain traditional psychological attitudes. It is possible, and even reasonable, that one could find this uniformity in other regions of the world. But none of the examples mentioned by Philipson reveal this clearly.

its vast distribution in indigenous America of former times.

Part II

SOCIAL LIFE

128 It is obviously impossible, when one studies the existence of small nomadic bands all of whose members are related among themselves or from one band to the other, by a kinship relationship, to trace a clear line of separation between family life and social life. Many traits which come from the latter have been pointed out in the preceding pages. We shall not examine then in this chapter, more than certain aspects of the social life which concern the collective whole, either in its own existence or in its relations with neighboring groups.

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead [128 has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring 425] land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

●128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝibŝa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝibŝa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibŝa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

128 Charts 1 to 14 give kinship terms of the Camayurá, Bacairí, Nambicuara, and Umotina, and other northern Mato Grosso tribes. (See pp. 112–123.)

[p. 111 (D)]

114 However, all the works mentioned in the preceding paragraphs contain various linguistic data—generally limited to mediocre vocabularies—and a description of material culture, carefully undertaken in Rondonia. Nowhere do they treat of family life and social organization. Under these circumstances it may be surprising that the Nambikwara seem to have been completely forgotten after the publication of the work of Roquette Pinto. It was natural that our own expedition, begun exactly
121 26 years and two months after /3/ the beginning of Roquette Pinto's trip, should be dedicated to filling in—even partially—the gaps of preceding research. We have sought more extensive and precise linguistic information; paid more attention to the "dynamic" aspect of the material culture, considering less the finished products than the processes of their fabrication; and above all, we have dedicated ourselves mainly to the study of family and social organization, the description of which is the object of the present work.

114 It is superfluous to stress that an exhaustive study of the life and society of the Nambikwara will not be found here. We were only able to share the life of the Indians during the nomadic period, and that alone would be enough to limit the extent of our research. A trip undertaken during the sedentary period would no doubt furnish some important information, and would permit correcting the general perspective. We hope to be able to undertake this some day. As Roquette Pinto wrote at the beginning of Rondonia: "Lentas hão de ser sempre as construcções cientificas en tal terreno". [*"Scientific building in such country must always be slow."*] (1) His book, however, must always

1. Prefacio da Segunda Edição, p. 13.

be merited with having called attention to one of the most interesting cultures of indigenous Brazil and having been the first to produce a lively and charming picture of it.

131 The territory occupied by the Nambikwara Indians extends from the
133 Papagaio River in the east to a zone in the northwest ending approximately at the junction of the Commemoracão de Floriano and Barão de Melgaço Rivers, both branches of the Machado River or Gi-Parana. This point marks, at the same time, the end of the plateau which occupies nearly the entire central and western parts of the state of Mato Grosso. The southern boundary is placed at the middle course of the Guaporé River, and, farther to the west, it follows the entire course of the Commemoracão de Floriano River. The location of the northern

131/133 boundary is unknown. The upper course of the Roosevelt River (formerly: da Duvida) is doubtless inhabited by Nambikwara groups, but these cannot extend far toward the west for the intervening region between the Roosevelt River and the upper Gi-Parana is occupied by tribes of the Tupi tongue. It seems probable to us that the northern frontier of the Nambikwara territories, between the Roosevelt and Juruena Rivers, approximately follows the eleventh parallel. Thus, the boundaries of the region could be delimited in the following way: in the east, between the eleventh and thirteenth parallels, the course of the Juruena and of the Papagaio; in the southeast, a conventional line going from the eleventh parallel and 58°4' to the fifteenth parallel and 60°, this last point corresponding almost to the location of the town of Villa-Bella; in the south, the course of the Guaporé beyond Villa-Bella to the sources of the Corumbiara River and the neighboring region, and, from there, the course of the /4/ Commemoracão de Floriano River to the beginning of the Machado River (about 11°7' parallel and 60°9'); in the west, a conventional line extending from the last point to the intersection of the Roosevelt River with the eleventh parallel; finally, in the north, the eleventh parallel from the Roosevelt River to the Juruena. Thus the greatest length of this area is about 400 to 450 kilometers from north to south and the width, from east to west, reaches 300 kilometers.

Considered in its entirety, the area constitutes the northern and western zone of the vast plateau which occupies the greatest part of the state of Mato Grosso, and whose southern extremity rises above the countryside of Cuiaba from the imposing site of a great rocky wall, the "Chapada." This northern and western zone is also the most inhospitable region of Mato Grosso; maybe even—with the pampas of the northeast—of all of Brazil.

133 The geological structure of these lands is imperfectly known. They are formed of red sandstone with clayey layers and date from various periods—Devonian in the east (the "Chapada" proper), Cretaceous in the zone which particularly interests us ("Planalto dos Parecis" and the so-called "Serra do Norte"). The layer of sandstone rises abruptly above the crystalline rocks which occupy the upper valley of the Cuiaba River. The transition is more progressive toward the eastern extremity of the plateau of the Parecis since, several kilometers to the west of Diamantino, one passes, almost without perceiving it, the

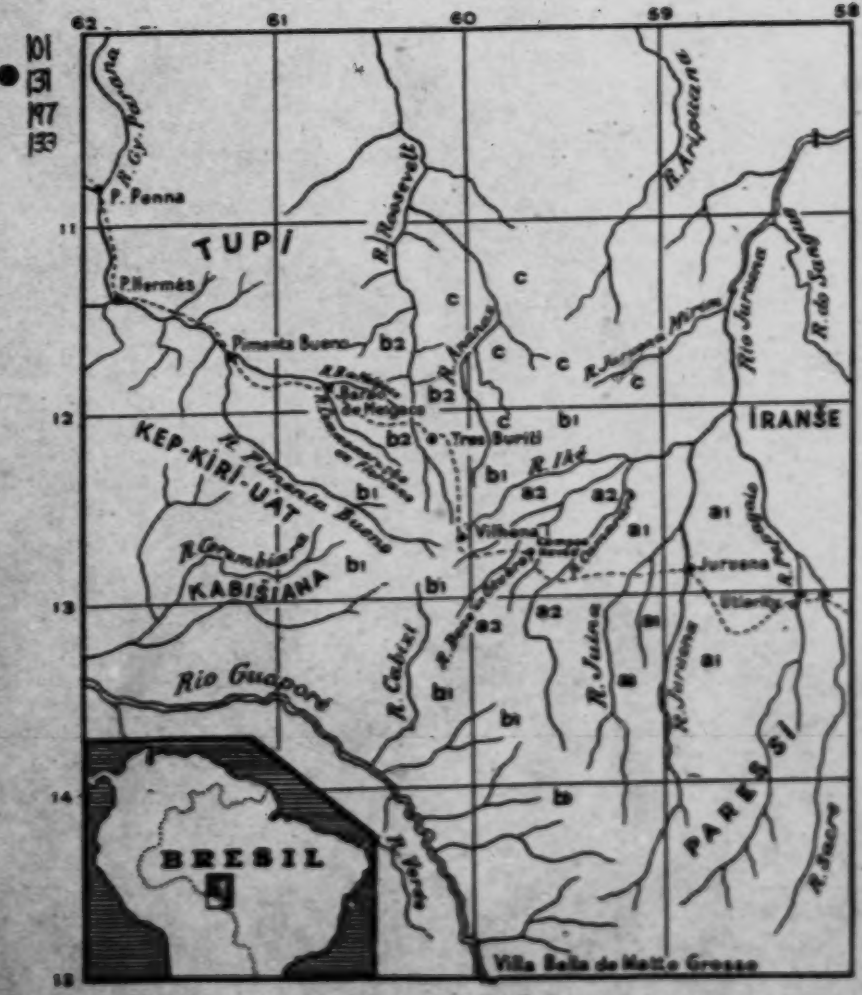
137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls—for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
● 131 Nambikwara correspond—roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest—to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paresi and the Iranje Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

1:Lévi-Strauss 10(A) E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17



Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
151 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarunde, maimade (b1); mamaindeti (c) oaindesu, nikedetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
151] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 The *Nambicuara* (*Nambikuara, Mambyuara, Mahibares*) have been identified only recently. *Nambicuara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupí* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiços de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber [648] collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondón discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambicuara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambicuara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

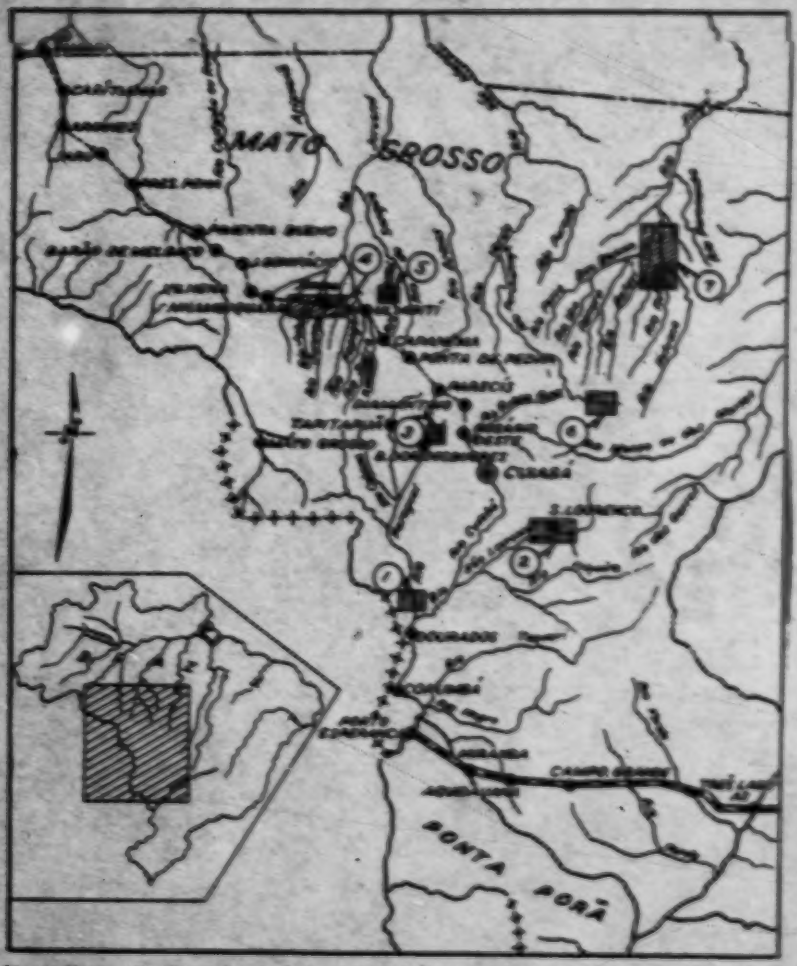
131 Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambicuara* (map 1, *No. 2;* map 2; map 4)[1] is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Guaporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

101 The first classification of the *Nambicuara* was made by Roquette-Pinto (1938, pp. 216–217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b), 197 using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is undivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kôkâzu, Cocozu*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anunse*) in the basins of the Camararé and Doze de Otubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

[1] [Not processed for the File. - Analyst]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1955 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

931
133



Map 1.—Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil, showing the location of tribes among whom field work was done. Numbered blocks refer to the following tribes or groups of tribes: 1, The Guaná; 2, the Bororo; 3, the Umotina; 4, the Nambicuara; 5, the Iaiaiu; 6, the Bauaiú; 7, the Upper Xingú tribes.

[p. viii]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[101] The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep
18/ 64/8 One does not have to remain long among the Nambicura in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance, "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "crianca" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and
171 Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço
101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. 86, p. 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

1-1 are their enemies whom they call the Salundé or Salaosú, probably the Apiões whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[197] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into an Eastern and a Western group. Both the
131 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are
101 dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elótasu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Suina River; the Waklítisu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwáisu now including the Hégndisu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindisu on the Kabishí River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Tãondisú and Suédndisu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Waklítisu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Waklítisu, Elótasu, and Kitánhlu the Iritoa; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwáisu and Hégndisu are called the Manduca by the local people, and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoa and Manduca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability
621 has arisen from the changes in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite
621 conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

[p. 86(A)]

headwater streams. The deep clear streams make [illegible] and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadídunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *yu'awadjítsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dáru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *castáru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
N
BL

GEOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS

101
131

Most of the series measured in northern Mato Grosso are from tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin (maps 1, 3). These are the Anetí, Trumaí, Bacairí, Nahuqua, and Camayurá. Their present locations are indicated in map 2, (p. 5), and data on their earlier shiftings are given by Lévi-Strauss (1948, p. 322-323). As Oberg has said (p. 4), the fanlike network of rivers constituting the drainage basin of the Upper Xingú River affords no natural barriers and makes for easy intertribal communication by water. But the limits of the Upper Xingú Basin to the east, west, and south are marked by the sandstone plateaus of the Brazilian Shield. These barriers tend to isolate the Basin from the outside world, thus fostering its development as a riverine cultural unit (p. 7).

West of the Upper Xingú Basin, on the semiarid plateau, the Serra do Parecís, are the Paresí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara. In earlier times, most of these people were concentrated along the "galería" forests bordering the headwaters of rivers originating on the plateau. The location of the Iranxe at white contact was immediately north of the Paresí. The Nambicuara were thinly scattered in the less habitable areas west of the Paresí. In contrast to the more populous Upper Xingú tribes, the Paresí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara are now remnant groups.

Across the semiarid plateau, or Planalto do Matogrossense, which forms the southern barrier

[p. 128 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

of the Upper Xingú Basin, lived the Bororo. With the Guató and others, the Bororo occupied the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay River. As a Bororo subtribe, the Umotina formerly lived between the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay and Sepotuba rivers (Lowie, 1946, p. 419). The São Lourenço group of Bororo, measured by Ehrenreich, inhabited the upper and middle reaches of the São Lourenço River.

To the east of the Upper Xingú Basin, along the Araguaia River, are the Carajá. They are included in this analysis less for their geographic position than for their metric similarity to the Umotina.

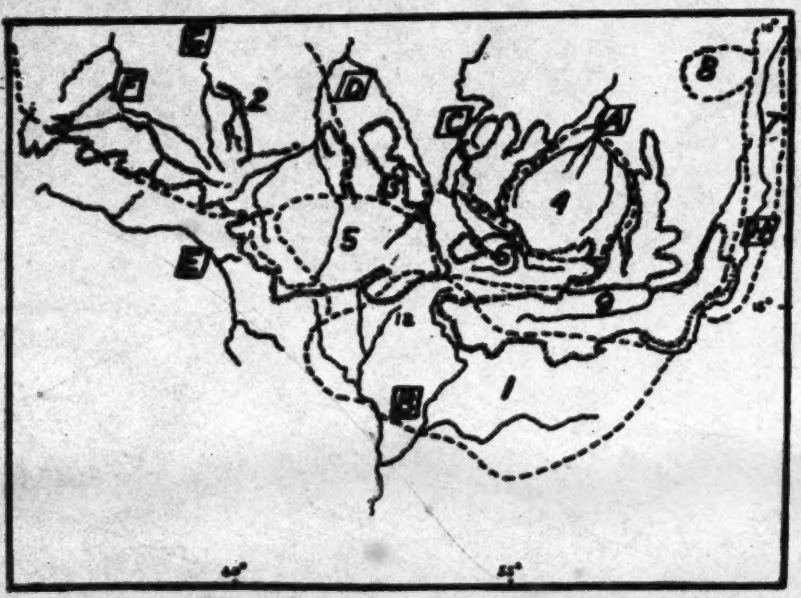
[p. 129 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Brazilian Indians SL4

N
BI
101
131

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG



MAP 2.—Schematic map of approximate tribal locations in relation to topography and drainage systems in northern Mato Grosso. Dotted lines indicate tribal boundaries at time of contact (after Steward and Mason, 1950). Hachures indicate the general conformation of the Planalto do Matogrosense. Tribes: 1, Bororo; 1a, Umotina; 2, Nambicuara; 3, Iranxe; 4, Upper Xingú tribes; 5, Paressí; 6, Bacairí; 7, Carajá; 8, Tupirapé; 9, Cayapó. Drainage systems (simplified): A, Upper Xingú; B, Upper Paraguay; C, Paratinga-Verde; D, Arinos-Papagaio; E, Guaporé; F, Gy-Parapa; G, Theodore Roosevelt; H, Araguaia.

[p. 129 (A)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbácába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amúésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

121 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 177 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

Brazilian Indians are brachyskelic, and the Nambicuara constitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paressi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Ge group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paressi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Mambyuara, Mambryara, Mambyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

7: Roquette-Pinto--17 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

101 The geographical range of the name "Nambicuara" is very significant; the term designates these Indians both in Mato Grosso and in Pará. This means that the inhabitants of the Serra do Norte are known by the same name to the north and to the south.

This might lead us to believe that the name is unusually distinctive. However, it is unknown to its bearers and altogether alien to the dialect of any of the groups. It is fitting nevertheless to retain it in order to avoid confusion.

131 The southern boundary of the Nambicuara region is the Papagaio
101 River.

In the north their territory apparently extends to the Gi-Paraná; in the east, to the Tapajoz; in the west, to the Guaporé.

The people who live near the banks of the Juruena and Juina, between the Papagaio and Camararé rivers, [216] and whom I shall name the "southeastern group," are called "Côcôzú" or "Côcôçú."

Those who live along the lower reaches of the Doze de Outubro River are called "Anunzê"; I shall refer to them as the "northeastern group." They probably extend as far as the confluence of the Arinos Juruena rivers, where a few members of the first group are also likely to be found.

[221] Those who live to the southwest of the wintering place [inverndad] at Campos Novos extend down to the Guaporé River; they are called "Uaintaçú" and constitute the "southwestern group."

The great "northwestern group" lives near the Madeira River, on the banks of tributaries of the Gi-Paraná. It seems to consist of various secondary groups related in ways which have not yet been clearly defined. The Indians I encountered at the wintering place of Três Buritis, at the Campos de Quatorze de Abril, at José Bonifacio and at Campos de Maria de Molina all belong to this division. Their principal group lives between the Doze de Outubro and Roosevelt (Rio da Dúvida) rivers.

Of the northern division I found only the Tagnani, Tawite, Saluma, Tarute and Tashwite [Taschuitê]; and I only succeeded in gathering data on the first two.

2: Steinen--656 F,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Bororo SP8
Nambicuara SP17
Paressi SP19

/548 cont./

		1848	1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz	400
20 Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos	250
21 Maimbarés	400	Parecíz	400
22 Cabixís	500		500
23 Nambiquarás	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacáz	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

N 105 175 131 162

/552 cont./

23. Nambiquarás. 600 at the confluence of the Rio de Peixe and the Arinos. Hunting, fishing, fruits of the sierra, implements of wood and stone. Carry on habitual warfare with their neighbors, especially the Apiacás. Will have nothing to do with the Brazilians, attack canoes on their way to Pará, but are very much afraid of firearms and offer no open resistance.

A 105 175 131 162

25. Tapanhunas. Of the same type as the preceding ones. About 800 at the confluence of the Tapajoz and the Arinos.

25. Apiacáz. Dwellers along the Juruena, also visit the shores of the Arinos. They have iron goods and carry on agriculture, hunting, fishing. In their feuds with the Nambiquarás and the Tapanhunas they remain more on the defensive, but have nevertheless not by any means given up their original anthropophagous customs. Assist travelers, sell farina from mandioca, roasted maize, cará, batatas, sweet mandioca (aypim), beans, watermelons, gourds, birds, and honey, as well as wide-meshed hammocks of cotton or tucum palm, feather ornaments.

BI. 105 175

26. Mequens. On the like-named tributary of the Guaporé between the Guaraios and Palmellas. They flee; gifts which were put in the forest were not accepted.

G 105 175 131

27. Guaraios. At a place called Pao Cerne, 50 leagues from Matto Grosso. Mandioca, beans, maize; hunting, fishing. Seek out travelers.

G 169 061

[Report of 1850: Moved over from Pao Cerne in 1852 to the Aldea de Sta. Ignez somewhat below Matto Grosso. 31 tribes of 40 families = 1240, originating, it is assumed, from a settlement in the Bolivian province of "Mofos" (not "Moxos").]

BI. 105 175 131

28. Cautarios. On the like-named rivers between the Mamoré and Forte Principe. Fishing, hunting, wild fruits, mandioca. Harm us as much as they possibly can. They are robbers, traitors, and murderers.

29. Paceáz. On the Mamoré east of the Guaporé mouth up to the first cataract. Quite unknown.

30. Senabós. West of the Mamoré up to the first cataract. Unknown. At war with the Jacarés (31).

[133] dividing line of waters which separates the basin of the Paraguay, a tributary of the La Plata River, and the sources of the Arinos River, itself a tributary of the Amazon.

In its general aspect, the region is a sort of vast undulating plateau, falling slowly in the direction of the basin of the Amazon, with the highest points in the center and in the south (about 800 meters) and the lowest (about 350 meters) toward the north and west. Nevertheless, the traveler leaving from the south is greeted by an impressive spectacle when, after having traveled through 1,200 kilometers of high desolate land, he reaches the northwest border of the plateau, compared to the lowlands the difference in altitude is small, 100 meters at the most, but the rise is abrupt. Behind him, he leaves an interminable and sterile brush, while immediately at his feet begins, with the valley of the Gi-Parana, the no less interminable Amazon forest. This remarkable geographic frontier is also the western limit of Nambikwara territories.

Farther to the center and to the north, the aspect is different; running waters have worn ditches across the plateau which become larger in the direction of the Amazon basin. These depressions bring about differences in altitude up to 150 meters. One notices them especially in the region which extends from the Roosevelt River to the Doze de Otubro River, and they give this region a falsely mountainous aspect from which the fallacious expression "Serra do Norte" probably originates.

[134] Geological constitution conspires with climatic conditions to [5]
●132 give the plateau its desolate physiognomy. The sand, product of the decomposition of the sandstone, provides a sterile soil, and the irregular distribution of rain explains the prairie-like aspect, so characteristic of the whole region. Except for a little rain—very rare—which falls sometimes in July or August, the "chuvas de caju," one might say that the period from April to September is completely arid. On the contrary, precipitation is violent and almost daily from October to March. There are storms when the rain lasts sometimes one, two or even three consecutive days. During the rainy season the temperature rises; 42 to 44 degrees[1] during the day, cooler at night, with a sudden and brief shower at dawn. But abrupt variations of temperature rather characterize the dry season, probably because of intense nocturnal radiation. It is not rare, at this season, to go from a daytime maximum of 40 degrees to a nocturnal minimum of 8 or 10 de-
[291 313] grees. The Indians, who live completely nude, sleep on the ground, and know nothing of the use of coverings either of cloth or fur, suffer cruelly from this circumstance.

[1] [i.e. degrees Centigrade.—Analyst]

mules. During the height of the dry season in [132] July his mules died of starvation, for during this period horses and mules must be given at least a pint of maize a day to keep them alive. Just before I left, the miner was willing to sell his emaciated oxen and equipment and leave. The best able to withstand the hardships are the missionaries who come as permanent settlers with adequate stores, put up their buildings, and plant small fields of manioc on the bottom lands.

A brief description of the approximately 400-mile truck journey from Cuiabá to Utiarity will provide the reader with an impression of this part of Mato Grosso. As no regular freight or passenger service exists north of Cuiabá it is necessary either to hire a truck or to wait until someone else plans a trip and to join the party. With gasoline costing one dollar (US$1) a gallon, trips of this length are beyond the means of merely inquisitive travelers, and even to anthropologists with expense accounts, charges of this nature may lead to embarrassing questions. Hearing that two American missionaries were negotiating a trip to Utiarity we joined them by paying a part of the expense.

Thus one afternoon Kaoro Onaga and I climbed on top of one of the two overloaded trucks and headed northwest. The trucks were owned by a Cuiabano nicknamed João Tapuya owing to his Indian ancestry. Being an owner of two trucks, he belonged to that class of people who believe it undignified to work with their hands. Each truck, therefore, had a driver and each driver had an assistant and two loaders; thus, besides the owner, there were 8 men to operate two trucks. Among the passengers, besides myself and my student, there were the two American missionaries, Rev. Lawrence W. Buckman and Rev. Robert Meader, Buckman's wife and 3-year-old son, two other women with children-in-arms, and some half dozen men headed for various points on the way. It was up to each person to find his place on the load and to make himself as comfortable as possible among the boxes, sacks, and sheets of corrugated iron, which, with each jolt on the rutted dirt road, shifted position.

That evening we arrived in Rosario some 90 miles north of Cuiabá. On entering the town we

132
134 The soil here[1] is sandy and the rainfall insufficient
to support a forest. The vegetation consisted of
136 stunted piqui, mangabeira, fruta de lobo, lixeiro,
137 and other gnarled cerrado trees with the surface
sparcely covered with bunches of wiry grass and
other drought-resistant plants. During the whole
day we saw only four deer and two rheas, which
gives some idea of the poverty of the area. This
000 is public domain and apparently unwanted by
stockmen owing to its poor soil and lack of water.
By now we had left the telegraph line, which
crosses unbridged rivers, and were winding around
the headwaters of the streams. That night we
camped at Sucuruina where two palm-leaf-cov-
ered sheds, left by "tropeiros," provided some
shelter from the drizzling rain.

133 The following day the skies cleared and from the
tops of the folds in the plateau we obtained
137 magnificient views of the great plain. What few
312 trees could be seen were no more than 5 or 6 feet
high. A curious phenomena seen along the plateau
are the patches of forest of 5 to 10 acres in extent
which appear to grow straight out of the semi-
desert. Evidently ground water comes near the
surface in these spots, permitting the growth of a
genuine forest. Another interesting sight was the
birth of rivers. In the shallow valleys formed by
the folds, one could first see swampy ground, then
tall grass, then bushes, then short trees, and
finally the tall trees forming a "galeria" forest
which bordered a river winding its way northward
to form one of the headwaters of the Amazon
system.

At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Sacre River where
the trucks had to be ferried across on a raft.
As this operation took until dark we camped for
the night in some vacant buildings left by rubber
workers. Before leaving next morning we visited
the waterfall (Salto Bello) about 200 yards below
the ferry where the Sacre River tumbles over a
sheer drop of about 180 feet. Early in the after-
noon we reached the Papagaio River and after
ferrying the trucks across we were in Utiarity.
Both the Sacre and the Papagaio are deep clear
streams about 100 yards in width at the ferry
crossings. These headwater streams are evidently
fed by underground water, for their level does not
vary appreciably during the year.

000 Utiarity, which was to be our base camp for the
remainder of June and for July, is built on an

1 [on the Serra dos Parecis. - Analyst] [p. 83(B)]

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes
262 reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.[2]

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Uti-
[131 133] arity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this
132 period the grass withers, the livestock of the white
221 men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, par-
[224] ticularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[805] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season
805 (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September
221 is known as *yadédunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'awadjítsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *áhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *casúru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
621 has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

[1] [i.e., a fish poison.—A.] [p. 87 (B)] [2] [See cat. 116, pp. 124-126. —Analyst]

However, all the works mentioned in the preceding paragraphs contain various linguistic data--generally limited to mediocre vocabularies--and a description of material culture, carefully undertaken in Rondonia. Nowhere do they treat of family life and social organization. Under these circumstances it may be surprising that the Nambikwara seem to have been completely forgotten after the publication of the work of Roquette Pinto. It was natural that our own expedition, begun exactly 26 years and two months after /3/ the beginning of Roquette Pinto's trip, should be dedicated to filling in--even partially--the gaps of preceding research. We have sought more extensive and precise linguistic information; paid more attention to the "dynamic" aspect of the material culture, considering less the finished products than the processes of their fabrication; and above all, we have dedicated ourselves mainly to the study of family and social organization, the description of which is the object of the present work.

It is superfluous to stress that an exhaustive study of the life and society of the Nambikwara will not be found here. We were only able to share the life of the Indians during the nomadic period, and that alone would be enough to limit the extent of our research. A trip undertaken during the sedentary period would no doubt furnish some important information, and would permit correcting the general perspective. We hope to be able to undertake this some day. As Roquette Pinto wrote at the beginning of Rondonia: "Lentas hão de ser sempre as construcções cientificas en tal terreno". ["Scientific building in such country must always be slow."] (1) His book, however, must always

1. Prefacio da Segunda Edição, p. 13.

be merited with having called attention to one of the most interesting cultures of indigenous Brazil and having been the first to produce a lively and charming picture of it.

The territory occupied by the Nambikwara Indians extends from the Papagaio River in the east to a zone in the northwest ending approximately at the junction of the Commemoração de Floriano and Barão de Melgaço Rivers, both branches of the Machado River or Gi-Parana. This point marks, at the same time, the end of the plateau which occupies nearly the entire central and western parts of the state of Mato Grosso. The southern boundary is placed at the middle course of the Guaporé River, and, farther to the west, it follows the entire course of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The location of the northern

boundary is unknown. The upper course of the Roosevelt River (formerly: da Duvida) is doubtless inhabited by Nambikwara groups, but these cannot extend far toward the west for the intervening region between the Roosevelt River and the upper Gi-Parana is occupied by tribes of the Tupi tongue. It seems probable to us that the northern frontier of the Nambikwara territories, between the Roosevelt and Juruena Rivers, approximately follows the eleventh parallel. Thus, the boundaries of the region could be delimited in the following way: in the east, between the eleventh and thirteenth parallels, the course of the Juruena and of the Papagaio; in the southeast, a conventional line going from the eleventh parallel and 58°4' to the fifteenth parallel and 60°, this last point corresponding almost to the location of the town of Villa-Bella; in the south, the course of the Guaporé beyond Villa-Bella to the sources of the Corumbiara River and the neighboring region, and, from there, the course of the /4/ Commemoracão de Floriano River to the beginning of the Machado River (about 12°7' parallel and 60°9'); in the west, a conventional line extending from the last point to the intersection of the Roosevelt River with the eleventh parallel; finally, in the north, the eleventh parallel from the Roosevelt River to the Juruena. Thus the greatest length of this area is about 400 to 450 kilometers from north to south and the width, from east to west, reaches 300 kilometers.

Considered in its entirety, the area constitutes the northern and western zone of the vast plateau which occupies the greatest part of the state of Mato Grosso, and whose southern extremity rises above the countryside of Cuiaba from the imposing site of a great rocky wall, the "Chapada." This northern and western zone is also the most inhospitable region of Mato Grosso; maybe even--with the pampas of the northeast--of all of Brazil.

The geological structure of these lands is imperfectly known. They are formed of red sandstone with clayey layers and date from various periods--Devonian in the east (the "Chapada" proper), Cretaceous in the zone which particularly interests us ("Planalto dos Parecis" and the so-called "Serra do Norte"). The layer of sandstone rises abruptly above the crystalline rocks which occupy the upper valley of the Cuiaba River. The transition is more progressive toward the eastern extremity of the plateau of the Parecis since, several kilometers to the west of Diamantino, one passes, almost without perceiving it, the

[33] dividing line of waters which separates the basin of the Paraguay, a tributary of the La Plata River, and the sources of the Ariños River, itself a tributary of the Amazon.

In its general aspect, the region is a sort of vast undulating plateau, falling slowly in the direction of the basin of the Amazon, with the highest points in the center and in the south (about 800 meters) and the lowest (about 350 meters) toward the north and west. Nevertheless, the traveler leaving from the south is greeted by an impressive spectacle when, after having traveled through 1,200 kilometers of high desolate land, he reaches the northwest border of the plateau, compared to the lowlands the difference in altitude is small, 100 meters at the most, but the rise is abrupt. Behind him, he leaves an interminable and sterile brush, while immediately at his feet begins, with the valley of the Gi-Parana, the no less interminable Amazon forest. This remarkable geographic frontier is also the western limit of Nambikwara territories.

Farther to the center and to the north, the aspect is different; running waters have worn ditches across the plateau which become larger in the direction of the Amazon basin. These depressions bring about differences in altitude up to 150 meters. One notices them especially in the region which extends from the Roosevelt River to the Doze de Otubro River, and they give this region a falsely mountainous aspect from which the fallacious expression "Serra do Norte" probably originates.

[34] [32] Geological constitution conspires with climatic conditions to [5] give the plateau its desolate physiognomy. The sand, product of the decomposition of the sandstone, provides a sterile soil, and the irregular distribution of rain explains the prairie-like aspect, so characteristic of the whole region. Except for a little rain—very rare—which falls sometimes in July or August, the "chuvas de caju," one might say that the period from April to September is completely arid. On the contrary, precipitation is violent and almost daily from October to March. There are storms when the rain lasts sometimes one, two or even three consecutive days. During the rainy season the temperature rises; 42 to 44 degrees[1] during the day, cooler at night, with a sudden and brief shower at dawn. But abrupt variations of temperature rather characterize the dry season, probably because of intense nocturnal radiation. It is not rare, at this season, to go from a daytime maximum of 40 degrees to a nocturnal minimum of 8 or 10 degrees. The Indians, who live completely nude, sleep on the ground, [29] [3/3] and know nothing of the use of coverings either of cloth or fur, suffer cruelly from this circumstance.

[1] [i.e. degrees Centigrade.— Rivalpt]

137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capoes) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls--for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

131 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
131 Nambikwara correspond--roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest--to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Parexi and the Iranje Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

[End Plate I]

137
133

271
142
432
415

484
482
415

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Nambicuara (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*, *Tagnani*, *Tauitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma, Saruma,* or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuma.*

In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha.*

Nambicuara culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupi-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

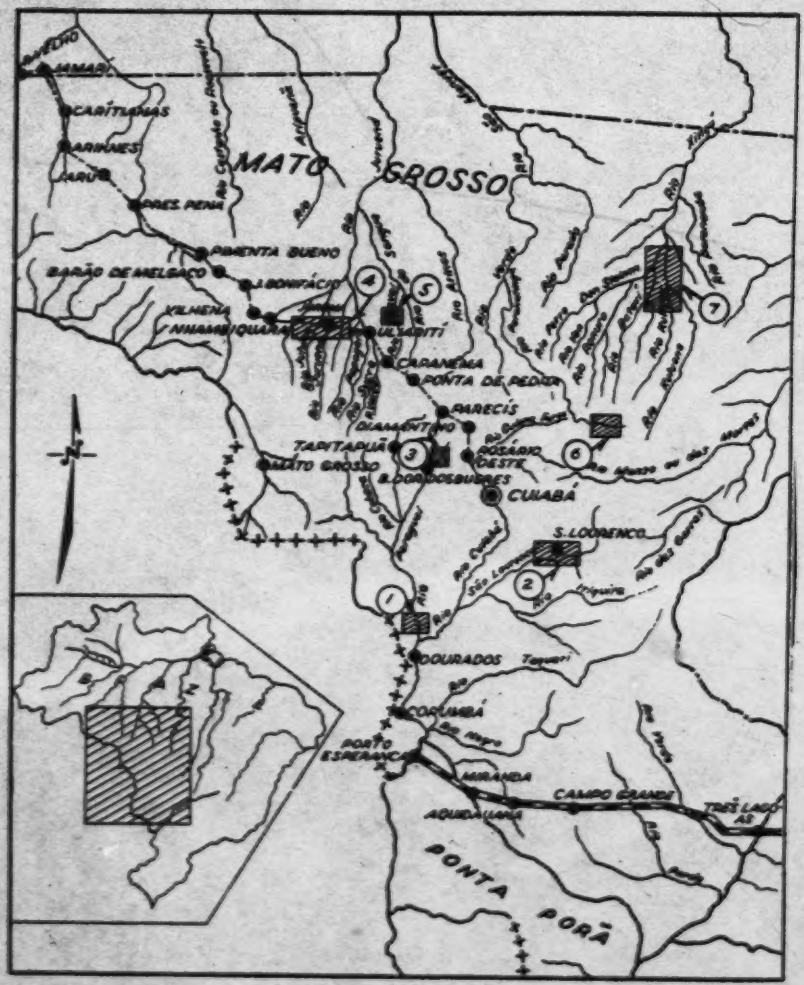
Gardening exists only during the rainy season and does not free the Nambikuara from wandering during the seven months of the dry season, looking for wild roots, fruits and seeds, small animals such as lizards, snakes, bats, spiders and grasshoppers and, generally speaking, anything which may prevent them from starving. As a matter of fact, their geographical surroundings, which are located in the northwestern part of the state of Mato Grosso and include the headwaters of the Tapajos, Rio Roosevelt and Rio Gi-Parana, consist of a desolated savanna with few vegetal resources and still less game.

Had I approached my subject from a point of view other than the one outlined above, I could not have avoided a long discussion in South American cultural history, aimed at clearing up this apparent primitiveness, on the question as to whether the survival of early conditions of life in South America is genuine or whether we should consider it as a more recent—although undoubtedly pre-columbian—result of culture clashes and processes of acculturation. Whatever the answer may be, it cannot substantially change our problem: whether tarriant or recessive, the Nambikuara society functions, in the present, as one of the simplest forms of human society to be conceived. We shall not seek information from the particular history which kept them in their exceptionally crude organization or brought them back to it. We shall only look at the experiment in social anthropology which they now enact under our very eyes.

This holds especially true in respect to their social and political life. For if we do not know what was the material culture of the Nambikuara forty years ago (they were discovered only in 1907), we do know that their numbers became tremendously reduced after their contact with white civilization. General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who discovered and studied them, first stated that their number was about 20,000. This was around 1915. I take this figure as greatly exaggerated, but even if reduced by one half, it considerably exceeds the present number which is hardly more than 2,000. Epidemics have taken care of the difference. What does this mean, from the point of view of our study? During the dry season, the Nambikuara live in nomadic bands, each one under the leadership of a chief, who, during the sedentary life of the rainy months, may be either a village chief or a person of position. General Rondon wrote that, at the time he was exploring the country, it was not rare to see bands averaging two or three hundred individuals. Now, sixty or seventy

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

131
133



MAP 1.—Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil, showing the location of tribes among whom field work was done. Numbered blanks refer to the following tribes or groups of tribes: 1, The Guató; 2, the Bororo; 3, the Umotina; 4, the Nambicuara 5, the Irantxe; 6, the Rantxé; 7, the Upper Xingú tribes.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

The telegraph line which runs from Cuiabá, the capital of Mato Grosso, to Porto Velho on the Madeira River has created a narrow corridor of the known through the vast unknown stretches of northwestern Mato Grosso. Along this line the Government has established telegraph stations manned by telegraph operators, many of whom are Paressí Indians. A makeshift road, over which trucks can travel, follows the line a few miles past Utiarity to Burity; beyond this the road is no more than a trail along which men ride on horseback and goods are transported by pack oxen. At Vilhena there is an army airfield.

Since 1912, when the line was completed, this corridor has been the highway of men who have sought rubber, diamonds, gold, and Indian souls. No permanent settlements of farmers or stockmen, as yet, occupy this vast hinterland. The rubber concessioner, usually a man from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, or Cuiabá with sufficient funds to buy a truck or two, lays claim to a stretch of "galeria" forest, builds a camp along the road, hires a number of tappers, and goes into business. Each underpaid tapper works an area of trees, bringing his rubber to camp on his back or more rarely on oxback. Food must be brought in from Cuiabá, and as supplies, at best, are precarious, any delay in truck transportation brings scurvy and starvation. Eventually the workers drift away, some it is said dying on the way, and the operation ceases. During the last war the United States Government, through the Rubber Reserve, enabled rubber operations to expand. Good camps were established and the road improved. Today, however, the camps and the road are deteriorating, leaving the field to the shoe-string operator with his second-hand truck. The operations of the gold and diamond miners are still more uncertain. In small groups they enter the area, their scanty supplies carried on oxen and mules. Men unfamiliar with the semiarid wastes easily miss the areas where fodder and water can be obtained, the pack animals die and the stranded men are left to find their way out the best they can. At Utiarity I met a miner who was waiting for food supplies from Cuiabá. He had four oxen and two

[p. 82(B)]

had to cross a shallow river which meant unloading and reloading the cargo. In these parts, although bridges are built, they are not repaired so that there is always a period of several months during which the community has to get along without a bridge. The last truck which tried to cross on the ruined bridge nearby fell into the river and it was said a child was killed in the accident. Although having four or five thousand inhabitants, Rosario has no electric lights, no running water, and no public sewage system. I was interested in this quaint old town with its ancient Catholic church and public square, for it was from here that Von den Steinen, Max Schmidt, and many other anthropologists have headed northeast to the Xingú or northwest to Paresí and Nambicuara country.

We put up at a "pensão" or inn where we ate our evening meal of rice, beans, and dried meat topped off with "goiabada" (a kind of stiff, very sweet jam) and coffee. The inn was lighted by lamps common in the interior—a tin can filled with kerosene with a round wick sticking out through the top. Later everyone slung his own hammock from the hooks which stuck out all around the walls for this purpose. Our rest was far from peaceful, however, for other trucks kept coming in during the night, the truckers demanding food and lodging.

Next morning at dawn we were on the road and were soon winding up the steep escarpment to the top of the great sandstone plateau which divides the watersheds of the Amazon and the Paraguay Rivers. At noon, over an open fire, the two Brazilian women prepared a lunch of boiled rice and dried salt pork stewed in vinegar, onions, garlic, and tomato paste. At 6 o'clock we arrived at Parecis telegraph station where we put up for the night in an empty rubber storehouse. During the night the south wind began to blow, and the morning broke cold and drizzly.

After a small cup of coffee we climbed on top of the trucks, wrapped blankets around us, and pulled a tarpaulin over our legs. Although the temperature was not lower than 60° F., the exposure to the wind and drizzle caused considerable discomfort, particularly because the temperature of the preceding day had been around 90° F.

133 We were now well along on that part of the central plateau known as the Cerra dos Parecis.

132
134 The soil here is sandy and the rainfall insufficient
to support a forest. The vegetation consisted of
136 stunted piqui, mangabeira, fruta de lobo, lixeiro,
137 and other gnarled cerrado trees with the surface
sparcely covered with bunches of wiry grass and
other drought-resistant plants. During the whole
day we saw only four deer and two rheas, which
gives some idea of the poverty of the area. This
000 is public domain and apparently unwanted by
stockmen owing to its poor soil and lack of water.
By now we had left the telegraph line, which
crosses unbridged rivers, and were winding around
the headwaters of the streams. That night we
camped at Sucuruina where two palm-leaf-cov-
ered sheds, left by "tropeiros," provided some
shelter from the drizzling rain.

● 133 The following day the skies cleared and from the
137 tops of the folds in the plateau we obtained
magnificient views of the great plain. What few
312 trees could be seen were no more than 5 or 6 feet
high. A curious phenomena seen along the plateau
are the patches of forest of 5 to 10 acres in extent
which appear to grow straight out of the semi-
desert. Evidently ground water comes near the
surface in these spots, permitting the growth of a
genuine forest. Another interesting sight was the
birth of rivers. In the shallow valleys formed by
the folds, one could first see swampy ground, then
tall grass, then bushes, then short trees, and
finally the tall trees forming a "galeria" forest
which bordered a river winding its way northward
to form one of the headwaters of the Amazon
system.

At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Sacre River where
the trucks had to be ferried across on a raft.
As this operation took until dark we camped for
the night in some vacant buildings left by rubber
workers. Before leaving next morning we visited
the waterfall (Salto Bello) about 200 yards below
the ferry where the Sacre River tumbles over a
sheer drop of about 180 feet. Early in the after-
noon we reached the Papagaio River and after
ferrying the trucks across we were in Utiarity.
Both the Sacre and the Papagaio are deep clear
streams about 100 yards in width at the ferry
crossings. These headwater streams are evidently
fed by underground water, for their level does not
vary appreciably during the year.

000 Utiarity, which was to be our base camp for the
remainder of June and for July, is built on an

1 [on the Cerrado dos Parecis. - Analyst] [p. 83(B)]

headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkiru*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadédunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'awadjítsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *casúru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Aueto SP6
YATUMA SP25

YAN 133

Y [361 342]

A [501]

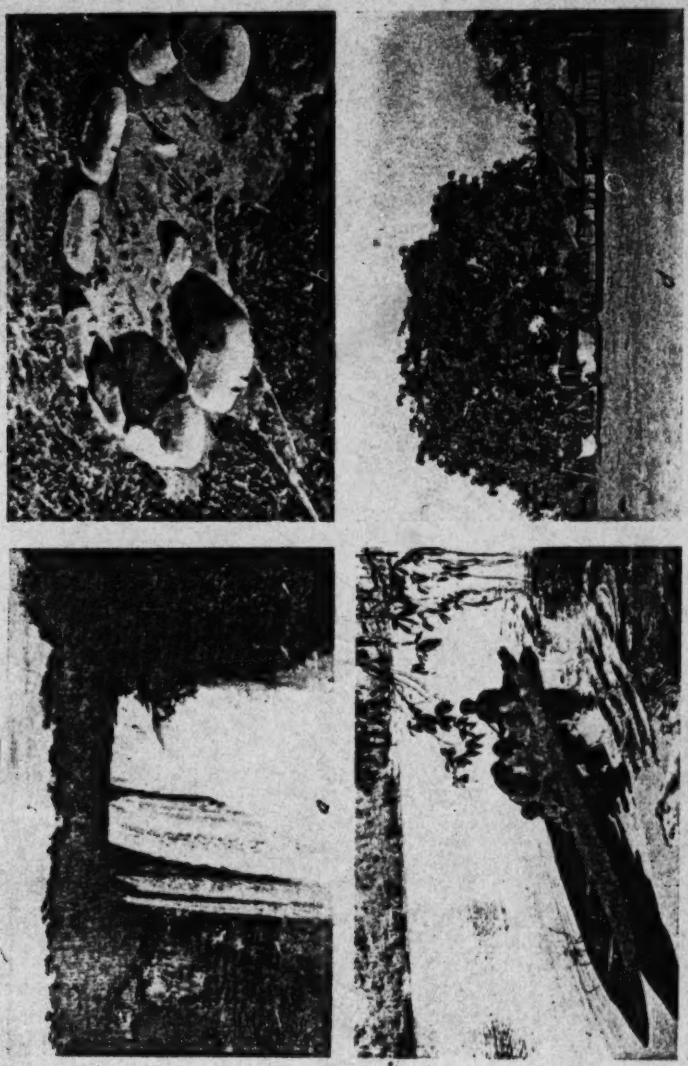


PLATE 1.—General scenes in Northern Mato Grosso.—a, Utility Falls on the Paranatin River. b, Upper Xingú village of Cuicúru (air photograph by courtesy of Mr. Harry Wright). c, Inland bark canoe and Camayurá family on the Kuluene River. d, Large piqui tree in Jamaci Camp.

[p. 136 (D)]

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

121 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 ● 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 177 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

[133] dividing line of waters which separates the basin of the Paraguay, a tributary of the La Plata River, and the sources of the Ariños River, itself a tributary of the Amazon.

In its general aspect, the region is a sort of vast undulating plateau, falling slowly in the direction of the basin of the Amazon, with the highest points in the center and in the south (about 800 meters) and the lowest (about 350 meters) toward the north and west. Nevertheless, the traveler leaving from the south is greeted by an impressive spectacle when, after having traveled through 1,200 kilometers of high desolate land, he reaches the northwest border of the plateau, compared to the lowlands the difference in altitude is small, 100 meters at the most, but the rise is abrupt. Behind him, he leaves an interminable and sterile brush, while immediately at his feet begins, with the valley of the Gi-Parana, the no less interminable Amazon forest. This remarkable geographic frontier is also the western limit of Nambikwara territories.

Farther to the center and to the north, the aspect is different; running waters have worn ditches across the plateau which become larger in the direction of the Amazon basin. These depressions bring about differences in altitude up to 150 meters. One notices them especially in the region which extends from the Roosevelt River to the Doze de Otubro River, and they give this region a falsely mountainous aspect from which the fallacious expression "Serra do Norte" probably originates.

[134] [132] Geological constitution conspires with climatic conditions to [5] give the plateau its desolate physiognomy. The sand, product of the decomposition of the sandstone, provides a sterile soil, and the irregular distribution of rain explains the prairie-like aspect, so characteristic of the whole region. Except for a little rain—very rare—which falls sometimes in July or August, the "chuvas de caju," one might say that the period from April to September is completely arid. On the contrary, precipitation is violent and almost daily from October to March. There are storms when the rain lasts sometimes one, two or even three consecutive days. During the rainy season the temperature rises; 42 to 44 degrees[1] during the day, cooler at night, with a sudden and brief shower at dawn. But abrupt variations of temperature rather characterize the dry season, probably because of intense nocturnal radiation. It is not rare, at this season, to go from a daytime maximum of 40 degrees to a nocturnal minimum of 8 or 10 degrees. The Indians, who live completely nude, sleep on the ground, and know nothing of the use of coverings either of cloth or fur, suffer cruelly from this circumstance.

[291] [313]

[1] [i.e. degrees Centigrade.— Analyst]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Nambicuara (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*, *Tagnani*, *Tauitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma, Saruma,* or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuma.*

In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha.*

Nambicuara culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupí-Cawahib* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

132
134 The soil here is sandy and the rainfall insufficient to support a forest. The vegetation consisted of
136 stunted piqui, mangabeira, fruta de lobo, lixeiro,
137 and other gnarled cerrado trees with the surface sparcely covered with bunches of wiry grass and other drought-resistant plants. During the whole day we saw only four deer and two rheas, which gives some idea of the poverty of the area. This
000 is public domain and apparently unwanted by stockmen owing to its poor soil and lack of water. By now we had left the telegraph line, which crosses unbridged rivers, and were winding around the headwaters of the streams. That night we camped at Sucuruina where two palm-leaf-covered sheds, left by "tropeiros," provided some shelter from the drizzling rain.

133 The following day the skies cleared and from the
137 tops of the folds in the plateau we obtained magnificient views of the great plain. What few
312 trees could be seen were no more than 5 or 6 feet high. A curious phenomena seen along the plateau are the patches of forest of 5 to 10 acres in extent which appear to grow straight out of the semi-desert. Evidently ground water comes near the surface in these spots, permitting the growth of a genuine forest. Another interesting sight was the birth of rivers. In the shallow valleys formed by the folds, one could first see swampy ground, then tall grass, then bushes, then short trees, and finally the tall trees forming a "galeria" forest which bordered a river winding its way northward to form one of the headwaters of the Amazon system.

At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Sacre River where the trucks had to be ferried across on a raft. As this operation took until dark we camped for the night in some vacant buildings left by rubber workers. Before leaving next morning we visited the waterfall (Salto Bello) about 200 yards below the ferry where the Sacre River tumbles over a sheer drop of about 180 feet. Early in the afternoon we reached the Papagaio River and after ferrying the trucks across we were in Utiarity. Both the Sacre and the Papagaio are deep clear streams about 100 yards in width at the ferry crossings. These headwater streams are evidently fed by underground water, for their level does not vary appreciably during the year.

000 Utiarity, which was to be our base camp for the remainder of June and for July, is built on an

2[on the Serra
1[das Parecis.
- Analyst] [p. 83(B)]

157 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
156 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
157 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls--for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajos. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [4] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
131 Nambikwara correspond--roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest--to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paressi and the Iranxe Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
263] from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[77] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nãnde (bi). To analyze it, we should first say a few words con-
cerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparação do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

132
134 The soil here is sandy and the rainfall insufficient
136 to support a forest. The vegetation consisted of
137 stunted piqui, mangabeira, frutа do lobo, lixeira, and other gnarled cerrado trees with the surface sparsely covered with bunches of wiry grass and other drought-resistant plants. During the whole day we saw only four deer and two rheas, which gives some idea of the poverty of the area. This
000 is public domain and apparently unwanted by stockmen owing to its poor soil and lack of water. By now we had left the telegraph line, which crosses unbridged rivers, and were winding around the headwaters of the streams. That night we camped at Sacuruina where two palm-leaf-covered sheds, left by "tropeiros," provided some shelter from the drizzling rain.

133 The following day the skies cleared and from the
137 tops of the folds in the plateau we obtained
312 magnificent views of the great plain. What few trees could be seen were no more than 5 or 6 feet high. A curious phenomenon seen along the plateau are the patches of forest of 5 to 10 acres in extent which appear to grow straight out of the semi-desert. Evidently ground water comes near the surface in these spots, permitting the growth of a genuine forest. Another interesting sight was the birth of rivers. In the shallow valleys formed by the folds, one could first see swampy ground, then tall grass, then bushes, then short trees, and finally the tall trees forming a "galeria" forest which bordered a river winding its way northward to form one of the headwaters of the Amazon system.

At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Sacre River where the trucks had to be ferried across on a raft. As this operation took until dark we camped for the night in some vacant buildings left by rubber workers. Before leaving next morning we visited the waterfall (Salto Bello) about 200 yards below the ferry where the Sacre River tumbles over a sheer drop of about 180 feet. Early in the afternoon we reached the Papagaio River and after ferrying the trucks across we were in Utiarity. Both the Sacre and the Papagaio are deep clear streams about 100 yards in width at the ferry crossings. These headwater streams are evidently fed by underground water, for their level does not vary appreciably during the year.

000 Utiarity, which was to be our base camp for the remainder of June and for July, is built on an

1 [on the Gerik
2 the Parecis.
- Analyst] [p. 83(b)]

137
624

274

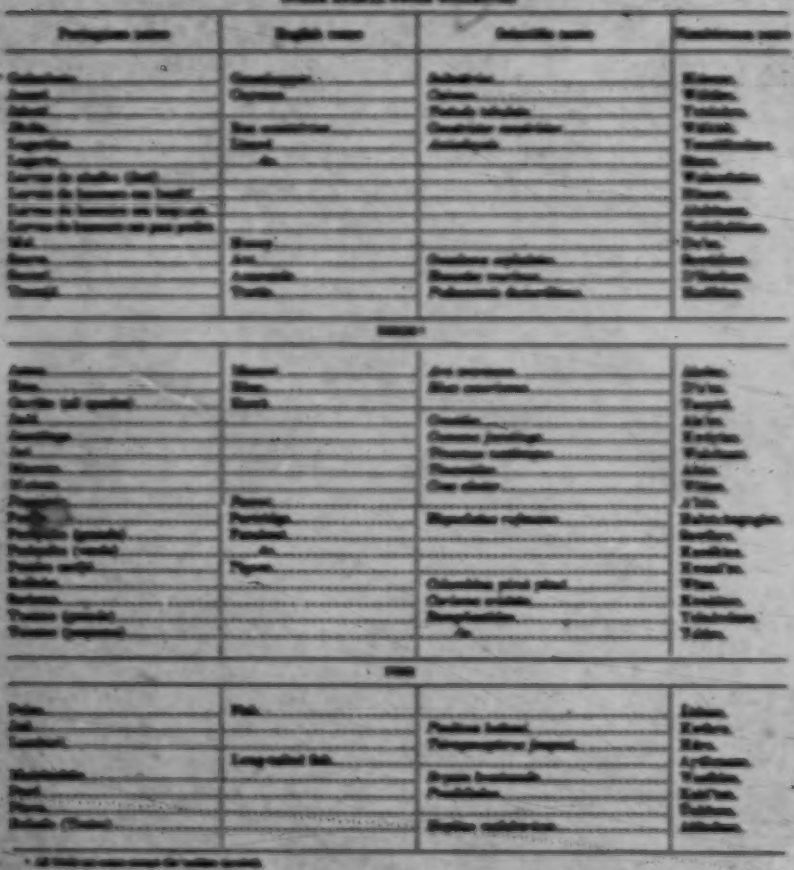
137
624

[369]

136
262
825

[5,125]

136
262
825



[p. 124]

137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls--for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
131 Nambikwara correspond--roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest--to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paresi and the Iranpe Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnosu, al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[261] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (ezeru, al, eitzende, bl, zola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (koraisu, al, kutende, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (katāterisu, al, nagāde, bl, talime, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookesu, al, lokeninde, bl), or uaguassu (aradikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, al, tagere,
[252] bl, taaki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate I]

137
133

24
142
482
415

484
482
415

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

101 *Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*,
197 *Tagnani*, *Tauitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

101 The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma*, *Saruma*, or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuma*.

161 In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

197 The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but
193 its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha*.

101 *Nambicuara* culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupí-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

133 The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500
134 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes
137 from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

221 In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children,
[224 forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch
222] grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

The telegraph line which runs from Cuiabá, the capital of Mato Grosso, to Porto Velho on the Madeira River has created a narrow corridor of the known through the vast unknown stretches of northwestern Mato Grosso. Along this line the Government has established telegraph stations manned by telegraph operators, many of whom are Paresí Indians. A makeshift road, over which trucks can travel, follows the line a few miles past Utiarity to Burity; beyond this the road is no more than a trail along which men ride on horseback and goods are transported by pack oxen. At Vilhena there is an army airfield.

Since 1912, when the line was completed, this corridor has been the highway of men who have sought rubber, diamonds, gold, and Indian souls. [137 317] No permanent settlements of farmers or stockmen, as yet, occupy this vast hinterland. The rubber concessioner, usually a man from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, or Cuiabá with sufficient funds to buy a truck or two, lays claim to a stretch of "galeria" forest, builds a camp along the road, hires a number of tappers, and goes into business. Each underpaid tapper works an area of trees, bringing his rubber to camp on his back or more rarely on ozback. Food must be brought in from Cuiabá, and as supplies, at best, are precarious, any delay in truck transportation brings scurvy and starvation. Eventually the workers drift away, some it is said dying on the way, and the operation ceases. During the last war the United States Government, through the Rubber Reserve, enabled rubber operations to expand. Good camps were established and the road improved. Today, however, the camps and the road are deteriorating, leaving the field to the shoe-string operator with his second-hand truck. The operations of the gold and diamond miners are still more uncertain. In small groups they enter the area, their scanty supplies carried on oxen and mules. Men unfamiliar with the semiarid wastes easily miss the [133] areas where fodder and water can be obtained, the pack animals die and the stranded men are left to find their way out the best they can. At Utiarity I met a miner who was waiting for food supplies from Cuiabá. He had four oxen and two

[p. 82(B)]

132
134 The soil here is sandy and the rainfall insufficient
to support a forest. The vegetation consisted of
136 stunted piqui, mangabeira, fruta de lobo, lixeiro,
137 and other gnarled cerrado trees with the surface
sparcely covered with bunches of wiry grass and
other drought-resistant plants. During the whole
day we saw only four deer and two rheas, which
gives some idea of the poverty of the area. This
000 is public domain and apparently unwanted by
stockmen owing to its poor soil and lack of water.
By now we had left the telegraph line, which
crosses unbridged rivers, and were winding around
the headwaters of the streams. That night we
camped at Sucuruina where two palm-leaf-cov-
ered sheds, left by "tropeiros," provided some
shelter from the drizzling rain.

133 The following day the skies cleared and from the
137 tops of the folds in the plateau we obtained
magnificient views of the great plain. What few
312 trees could be seen were no more than 5 or 6 feet
high. A curious phenomena seen along the plateau
are the patches of forest of 5 to 10 acres in extent
which appear to grow straight out of the semi-
desert. Evidently ground water comes near the
surface in these spots, permitting the growth of a
genuine forest. Another interesting sight was the
birth of rivers. In the shallow valleys formed by
the folds, one could first see swampy ground, then
tall grass, then bushes, then short trees, and
finally the tall trees forming a "galeria" forest
which bordered a river winding its way northward
to form one of the headwaters of the Amazon
system.

At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Sacre River where
the trucks had to be ferried across on a raft.
As this operation took until dark we camped for
the night in some vacant buildings left by rubber
workers. Before leaving next morning we visited
the waterfall (Salto Bello) about 200 yards below
the ferry where the Sacre River tumbles over a
sheer drop of about 180 feet. Early in the after-
noon we reached the Papagaio River and after
ferrying the trucks across we were in Utiarity.
Both the Sacre and the Papagaio are deep clear
streams about 100 yards in width at the ferry
crossings. These headwater streams are evidently
fed by underground water, for their level does not
vary appreciably during the year.

000 Utiarity, which was to be our base camp for the
remainder of June and for July, is built on an

1 [on the Serra dos Parecis.] [p. 83(6)]
- Analyst

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

APPENDIX 1

RESOURCES OF THE NAMBICUARA

AGRICULTURAL FOOD PLANTS

241
824

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Amendoim	Peanuts	*Arachis hypogaea*	Wäläm.
Aruerão	Arrowroot	*Maranta arundinacea*	Yalam.
Batata doce	Sweetpotatoes	*Ipomoea batatas*	Wha.
Cará		*Dioscorea* sp.	Ka'lim.
Fava	Beans	*Phaseolus lunatus*	Kwê'm.
Mandioca brava	Manioc	*Manihot esculenta*	Wallam.
Milho	Maize	*Zea mays*	Kayãm.

AGRICULTURAL DOMFOOD PLANTS

Algodão	Cotton	*Gossypium* sp.	Kõam.
Fumo	Tobacco	*Nicotiana tabacum*	Ê'ne.
Quiabo	Gumbo	*Lagenaria vulgaris*	Kaê'l'lamam.
Urucú		*Bixa orellana*	D'ualiam.

WILD FOOD PLANTS (FRUITS)

137
824

Ananás	Pineapple	*Ananas sativus*	Kalãlo.
Babaçú		*Orbignya martiniana*	Walaulãm.
Bacaba		*Oenocarpus bacaba, distichus*	Wãlam.
Bacabeira		*Attalea oleifera*	Kalãlãm.
Bacuí (açaí)		*Maurtia flexuosa; M. aculeata*	Kãwa.
Cajá-de-campo	Savanna cashew	*Anacardium nanum*	Ê'ne.
Cajú-do-mato	Forest cashew	*Anacardium giganteum*	Dawalãlãm.
Cambará		*Dipteryx odorata*	Nagãm.
Fruta-de-lobo		*Solanum lycocarpum*	Kãwalãm.
Jabuticabeira	Jabuticaba tree	*Eugenia cauliflora*	Alãwalam.
Mangabeira	Mangaba tree	*Hancornia speciosa*	Kalãlãgam.
Marmeleiro-de-campo	Quince tree	*Magonia pubescens*	Tãwãm.
Marmeleiro-de-capãozinho	do.	do.	Kaê'l'lãm.
Marmeleiro	do.	do.	Wallãlam.
Marmeleiro	do.	do.	Kalã'lãwã.
Pequizeiro	Pequi tree	*Caryocar brasiliensis*	A'lãwa.
Pinãozinho de cabeludo			Alãwyalam.

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE

Buriti		*Maurtia flexuosa; M. aculeata*	Yãwa.
Cumaúma		*Ceiba* sp.	Kalãlãm.
Cipó		*Philodendron fodo*	Kaalam.
Pirra-de-anta (Tariqueí)		*Jacaranda copaia*	Kalã'lm.
Sapê		*Imperata brasiliensis, contracta*	Kalãlãlãwa.
Seringueira	Rubber tree	*Hevea brasiliensis*	Wallãlãm.

[p. 124]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURES—Continued

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Bobra		*Spigrus cyperus*	Dugedágatan.
Taquara para ponta de flecha	Bamboo for arrowheads		Kayéam.
Taquara para flauta nasais	Bamboo for nasal flute		Ka'd'inam.
Taquara para pamplpa	Bamboo for pamplpa		Wadugatan.
Tucum		*Astrocaryum tucuma*	Kalé'un.

PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON

Timbó		*Paullinia pinnata*	Kéuain.

PLANTS USED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC WAYS

Limão			Kalitsun.
Rubim			Sa'lún.

MAGICAL PLANTS

Pemtudo			Inkdnkdlitsun.

ANIMALS HUNTED FOR FOOD[1]

Anta	Tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	Aitsun.
Arlanáda	Otter	*Pteronura brasiliensis*	Dirún.
Bagre		*Ageneiosus ucayalensis*	Ilru.
Cutiará	Pecnary	*Tayassu pecari*	T'ilún.
Queixada	Moun	*Mus musculus*	Sdulún.
Capivara	Capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	O'run.
Cuatí	Cuatí	*Nasua narica*	Kalun.
Cutia	Rodent	*Dasyprocta aguti*	Dilún.
Cuxiú		*Ateles ater*	Hdaulun.
Cuxiú		*Ateles paniscus*	Kalitun.
Jaguatirica		*Felis pardalis stigmosa*	Inandrúlun.
Lontra	Otter	*Lutra paranensis*	Kwandúlun.
Macaco-prego	Monkey	*Cebus apella*	Hún.
Onça parda	Brown panther	*Felis concolor*	Inandrúnamun.
Onça pintada	Jaguar	*Felis onca*	Inandrúnun.
Ouriço		*Coendou prehensilis*	Kotsúnun.
Paca		*Cuniculus paca*	Otsún.
Porco do matto			Y'ilsúnun.
Preguiça		*Bradypus tridactylus*	Alún.
Rato de chaqueira		*Sooptocongo guembiquarus*	Nónun.
Rato-silvestre		*Mikus rattus*	Tsúlún.
Tamanduá-bandeira		*Myrmecophaga jubata*	Dúlún.
Tamanduá-colete		*Cyclopes didactylus*	Wúlun.
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	*Tolypeutes tricinctus*	Núnun.
Tatú-canastra		*Priodontes gigantcus*	Wakrún.
Tatú-mansilo			Sunúlun.
Tatú-fita			A'lrú.
Tatú-15-quilos			A'lúnun.
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yoalún.
Veado campeiro (b)	do		Wúlún.
Veado mateiro		*Mazama rufa*	Kuúlún.

[1] Other can be substituted on the menu.

[p.125]

361 The circular spot formed by the village grounds in the middle of the bush gradually acquires the appearance of a star, owing to the paths that lead out from its circumference.

[312 413] Access to the village grounds is free. There is no fence or hedge to prevent admittance to the plaza; no fortifications or other defensive features are to be found in the vicinity. (1)

> 1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná, on the other hand (like the Tupinambá of old and other [tribes]), obstructed the paths leading to their villages with spikes [estrepes] which had to be removed when they established relations with the Rondon Mission. (See Col. M. Rondon, Conferencias [Lectures], pp. 161-162.)

Nambicuara villages always consist of two houses, which are set face to face at opposite ends of the plaza.

● [37] [220] The region consists of extensive forests, stretches of scrubland [cerrado], areas of nearly impenetrable bush [charravascal], and a few stretches of open prairie. The Indians prefer the scrubland as the site of their villages.

The forest is dangerous on account of snakes, wild beasts, and even timber which often crashes down on the hunters; the prairie is dangerous because it exposes the village to enemy attack and does not afford any protection against invaders. But the scrubland serves the purpose very well; it has few disadvantages and many advantages.

362 This the Nambicuara know well: their hut blends into the greyish hues of the surrounding vegetation; it is like a shrub among other shrubs; from a distance it can hardly be distinguished. Its shape, though well defined, merges into the vague forms of the bush.

Naturally, those whose eyes are accustomed to the dust-veiled mass of xerophytic upland vegetation can quickly spot the huts; the illusion cannot deceive an experienced eye. But the mimicry is nevertheless real.

7:Roquette-Pinto--33A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

137

Fig. 31. Solanum fruit used by the Serra do Norte Indians.

105 Kiriri is another language which bears some similarity to the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

8. In addition to linguistic affinities, the Serra do Norte Indians present certain ethnographic traits peculiar to the Ge-Botocudo tribes and rarely found among Indians of other groups: unfamiliarity with navigation and the hammock, absence of pottery, screens of leaves and branches, etc.

This being the case, the Serra do Norte Indians (Nambicuara) add a western link to the chain [314] of Ge peoples whose westernmost representatives had been until now the Suya.

9. The Nambicuara have been neighbors of the Paresi for centuries but have been influenced only slightly by that tribe. The two cultures kept evolving side by side, at different stages of development and with little interaction.

10. Agriculture arose early among the Serra do Norte Indians; this seems to have resulted from the demands of the geographical environment. It is almost certain, however, that the rise of this activity was conditioned by alien influences, not yet known, which provided the opportunity to acquire the necessary materials; for the species encountered among the Nambicuara are the same as those cultivated by other inhabitants of the region.

11. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, the Serra do Norte Indians are completely distinct from their neighbors. Those American Indians who come closest to them in terms of anatomical characteristics are the Nu-Arawakan.

12. The Serra do Norte Indians are affected by a special skin disease . . . which is unknown to their neighbors . . . [and] probably a variety of tinea imbricata.

13. Their main parasites are Siphonaptera (chigoe, (1) believed

1. Tunga penetrans,

to be of African origin but definitely a species of tropical America); and Hemiptera of the Pediculus humanus species, which are found among all the world's peoples. [Plates, p. 284.] [315] Perhaps this particular insect should be considered a variant on account of its size.

7:Roquette-Pinto--64A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

137

Louse of the Serra do Norte Indians.

(201)

/220 cont./

The Tamandé Ñambikwara, of the upper course of the Roosevelt River, assured me that curare had come to them from other Indians living farther to the north, in the region of the Gy Paraná /Gi-Paraná River/; it was not possible to make them specify what kind of Indians these were.

The Cabixiana /Cabishi?/ of the Rio Mequem, to the northeast of Ñambikwara territory, also use curare. According to a civilized Indian of this group encountered at the post of Baron de Melgaço, their product with a complex vegetable base is prepared secretly and only by a few old men; it is a hard curare in a jar. It is used for hunting, even of tapirs, and for war.

The Pareci, along with the Ñambikwara, represent the extreme southern point of the spread of curare, the use of which as one goes toward the Amazon becomes more and more frequent and its preparation surrounded with more mystery.

All the curares are not as simple as the Ñambikwara curare, but all appear to have as their principal base a species of Strychnos which varies according to the region. Certain Strychnos such as St. toxifera Benth., St. tedualia Barb. Rod., and especially St. crevauxhiana Baill, are particularly toxic; others like St. pseudo-quina are very low in poisonous elements.

Besides the Strychnos, active elements of curare, of numerous other plants generally poisonous but with very diverse properties, and of animal substances such as venoms, often enter into the composition of this poison. Their addition answers different ends.

Sometimes these are resins or gums whose sole utility is to harden the product and to assure its preservation.

Sometimes they are toxic substances destined to reinforce or to complete the action of the Strychnos.

/221/ In other cases other substances without any actual effect but with magical properties are added to curare. Their nature is infinitely variable.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP77
Brazilian Indians SL4

In 1948, Kazuo Otaga, under the supervision of Dr. Oberg, measured 28 Umotina (14 males, 8 females), 13 Eastern Nambicuara (7 males, 6 females) of the Waikisu band, and 8 Irantxe males. The Umotina were measured at Barra dos Bugres, the Nambicuara and Irantxe at Utiarity. Small as these series are, they represent relatively large samples of the groups from which they are drawn. The total Umotina population is about 65, with 34 adults (see p. 106); the Waikisu band numbers only 18, and the Eastern Nambicuara together total only about 120 (see p. 86). No figures on the Irantxe are available but they are definitely a remnant group.

The drastic reduction of even the most secluded aboriginal populations in Brazil enhances the value of physical studies already made on them. The present contribution to the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso may be added to the earlier studies by Ehrenreich (1897), Ranke (1918), and Roquette-Pinto (1933). In addition, the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro has unpublished physical data on some of the Upper Xingú tribes, particularly the Camayurá. Villard (see Imbelloni, 1943, p. 237, fn.) has unpublished information on these Nambicuara bands. Willems (personal communication) is in the possession of measurements on 40 male Tupinambá. A careful analysis of all these studies should go far in revealing even the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso. In the meantime, I have endeavored to fit the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Irantxe series into the existing knowledge of the area.

[p. 128 (8)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians 54.4

B
144 derived from Von Eickstedt's Brasilide type. Unfortunately Von Eickstedt (1934, p. 736) has also confused the picture by considering the Aweti and Nahuqua representative of the Lagide or Lagoid type. Bracketed with the Aweti and Nahuqua are the Cuiuiú and Cayapó, and, further afield, the Botocudo and Aimboré. In addition, the Bacairí are said to show Pampide influence (Von Eickstedt, 1934, p. 737). But no evidence for this is offered. Meager as the series in table 1 are, it seems preferable to use them as the basis for tentative conclusions rather than to indulge in the risky short cuts of second-hand impressionism.

Morionally, the Parecí series appears to tie in well with the Upper Xingú tribes, except that it is somewhat longer-headed, due possibly to admixture of longer-headed Nambicuara. Tentatively, then, the Parecí may be included in the Upper Xingú racial unit, especially since Oberg (p. 69) has noted the close similarity of the Parecí to the Bacairí. Possibly the Iranxe would also fit into this unit, although the present sample does not adequately indicate it.

N
B
141 The metric position of the Nambicuara is not
142 wholly clear from the present data. The two Nambicuara series are longer-headed than those from the Upper Xingú Basin, and possibly higher-vaulted (for Oberg's series), shorter-faced and narrower-nosed as well. Their skin color is perceptibly darker than the neighboring Parecí; in fact Oberg stated (personal communication) that when seen together swimming in the river, he could easily sort out the Nambicuara children on this basis. It is quite possible that the Nambicuara represent one of the living groups representative of the Lagoa Santa type (Newman, 1951, p. 90), but confirmation of this must await new findings by Vallois[1] and others.

B
141 Oberg (p. 69) has noted the decided contrast
144 between the Upper Xingú and other tribes north of the Planalto do Matogrosso and the "large-framed, coarse-featured" Bororo and Guató to the south. This distinction is probably on a full racial level, as already indicated by Von Eickstedt (1934, p. 731) and Imbelloni (1938, p. 239) who place the latter people with the Pampide or Planpide type of the Chaco and Pampas.

[1] Through typological [illegible] on basis chiefly [illegible] Vallois made physical studies on three Planalto tribes: the Tupinambá, a Bororo with close ties, and the Botocudo. These statistics for 15 male Planaltinos examined by Vallois is [illegible] mm.

7:Roquette-Pinto--1 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following
124 groups:[2] Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauitê]. Among the Uaintaçu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians
302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

182 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A and B.

2 [See pp 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]
1 [Nambicuara sub-groups-- Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--2 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

141 Table C1 provides the data furnished by the pelvic measurements taken on some of the women, which indicate that the pelvic diameters are small. This is either what obstetricians call a "slender pelvis" [bacia gracil], or else it is a normal variant of the so-called aequabiliter justo minor (aequabiliter) found in our clinics in its aberrant form.

Women with such small pelves are [generally] short in stature; Nambicuara women are 1.47 meters in height as compared with 1.62 meters for the men.

Since as a general rule the stature of women is some seven per cent shorter than that of men, the height of Nambicuara women should be about 1.51 meters.

Roughly, it may be said that [Nambicuara] women are twelve centimeters shorter than [Nambicuara] men. In Table C, however, we find some types which exceed this average.

Some interesting facts were provided by an examination of [female] body proportions carried out on a few individuals who presented a configuration of the most characteristic physical traits found in Nambicuara women. [Page of plates 176] [177] The resulting data are indispensable to the task of comparative physical anthropology.

The height of the head is slightly more than six times the height of the body (6.5).

The cerebral segment of the face and the respiratory segment are identical [in size]; the digestive segment is larger than the others.

The distance between the eyes (internal palpebral breadth) is longer than the lid opening; thus the eyes are set far apart due to the width of the nasal root.

141 142 The trunk is quadrangular, without lumbar depression and without a trace of steatopygia. The breasts of pubescent girls are small and cup-shaped, according to the Ploss-Bartels classification. In mothers they are large and not always widely separated; the base of the nipple is cupped outward, and the teat is erect. Among some of the mothers, the space between the breasts is half the diameter of one of the breasts.

The mid-point of the body is located above the pubic symphisis.

The jugulo-xiphoid distance (from the sternal furculum to the

1/4 [See p. 68, category 116.-Analyst]

xiphoid appendix) is half the xiphoid-pubic distance; thus the height of the abdomen is twice the height of the chest. In turn, the xiphoid-umbilical distance is twice the length of the umbilical-pubic line. This means that the navel of Nambicuara women lies closer to their pubis.

Pinard has already commented on the practical importance of these ratios in the semeiology of pregnancy. He showed how wrong it would be to apply to all races the research data that concern only a few.

I saw several pregnant Nambicuara women. The pregnancy was already in an advanced stage, but they would not allow any serious examination and I can state nothing about it.

[178] It is relevant to point out, however, that none of them exhibited those intradermic furrows caused by the forced distension of the abdomen "pregnancy weals") which occur frequently among white women.

In any case, the skin does not always have the same coefficient of extensibility.

The Indians' skin is endowed with special properties of which we know little. Martius depicted in his Atlas a Miranya Indian whose pierced nostrils had stretched so much that he could wrap them around the ears on either side.

The lips of the Botocudo provide another example of this.

Among the males, the three chief segments of the head follow the same ratio. The digestive segment is larger than the other two.

Again the height of the chest is half the height of the abdomen. The same ratios found among the women between the chest and the abdomen and between the parts of the latter are found among the men.

In view of these thoracic-abdominal ratios and of the distance from the navel to the pubis, it may be said that the Nambicuara man has a woman's trunk; and to carry further the study of these interesting proportions, it would not be wrong to assert that among these people the adult retains certain morphological characteristics peculiar to childhood, such as the location of the navel.

141 The mid-point of the body is located differently according
142 to sex: in the men it lies at the lower edge of the public symphisis.

The lower limbs of the women are longer; the men have a longer trunk. The women tend to be macroskelic, the men brachyskelic. We may note here that data obtained by Alex Hrdlicka among adolescents in North America proved the opposite to be the case among white populations.

The stature of the men is seven and a half times the height of the head; this follows the Greek rule; it is an interesting fact. The distance between the eyes is longer than the lid opening; the total height of the face is slightly greater than the length of the hand. The hand is about one tenth the total height of the body, the foot one eighth. The arm and forearm are roughly the same length. Merzbalkoff's "Mongolian eye" is rarely found.

Among the Indians of the Serra do Norte ["Northern Mountain Ranges"], premature loss of the incisors does not occur as it does among the Parecui.

145 According to my observations among some boys and youths, teeth-cutting does not follow the pattern usually found in the white race; the permanent teeth seem to appear at a different age.

Among whites, as a general rule, the dental arches are filled out as follows:

—	—	^	o	o	O	O	O
8	9	1	10	11	7	13	18
		6					

The first molar appears at the age of seven, the median incisors at eight, the lateral incisors at nine. The first premolar is cut at ten, the second at eleven; the canines emerge at twelve, the second molar at thirteen. The wisdom teeth or third molar appear at the age of eighteen, fragile and useless, [186], if it does not remain embedded in the gum through life.

Indeed the most interesting facts about the dentition of these Indians relate to the wisdom teeth, for more than once I noted their presence in youths who had certainly not yet reached their eighteenth year.

[Should read 12 in light of explanation below.- Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--14 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

113

entre o tokelau da Asia e da Oceania e o chimberê dos indigenas de Mato-Grosso [Parasitological and Clinical Affinities between the Tokelau of Asia and Oceania and the Chimberê of Mato Grosso Aborigines]." Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 6 (1930) No. 2.

[Pp. 191 through 210 omitted because they do not pertain to the Nambicuara.]

[211] If we compare the Serra do Norte Indians with other Brazilian aboriginal types, the following similarities and differences become apparent and worthy of note:

Skin: Their skin coloring places them alongside the Bororo and Caraja. (1) The southern group comprises the darkest Indians in Brazil.

[13]

1. The following data from Paul Ehrenreich's Estudos antropologicos sobre os Primitivos Habitantes do Brazil [Anthropological Studies on the Primitive Inhabitants of Brazil] (1897) were cited earlier by the author: "The skin color of the Paressi and Bororo is considerably darker and even more reddish [than that of other groups cited], being comparable to the tone of terra cotta (Broca Scale 30, 32, 44). The Caraja are the darkest on the exposed areas of the body." (Ed.)

Hair: The average index found in cross-section was about 59, very close to that of the Semang (Negritoes) of the Malayan Peninsula. Very intense pigmentation, thick medulla; circular section. [Fig. 15]

Stature: Twenty-five percent [of the Serra do Norte Indians] are less than 1.60 meters in height, 56 percent from 1.60 to 1.65 meters, and 19 percent from 1.65 to 1.70.

7: Roquette-Pinto--15 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[4] [4] According to Ehrenreich's tables, in terms of stature the Indians of the Serra do Norte occupy a position intermediary between the Paresi and Nahuqua, and come close to the Bacairi, Mehinacu, Trumai and Yamamadi.

[212] The percentage of elevated statures (19 percent) places the Nambicuara near the Cayapo (20 percent) and far from the Bacairi (0 percent), Nahuqua (6.6 percent), Trumai (0 percent) and Paresi (11 percent).

The difference in height between the sexes (0.12 meters) places them far from the Tupian Indians, among whom the man is often shorter than the woman, and from the Arawakan groups, where men and women are of the same height (Barbosa Rodrigues).

In the circumference of the chest, equal to one half their total height, they approach the normal types of the white race (De Giovanni). The index between total height and chest circumference is 50.

This is not the rule among Brazilian Indians, whose chest circumference is usually more than one half their total height. In Ehrenreich's tables, the Indians closest to the Nambicuara in this respect are the Caraja of the Araguaia River, whose index is 53.3.

[4] [2] [4] The Manouvrier [Skelic] index expresses the ratio between the length of the upper part of the body and that of the lower limbs, which together add up to the total stature. Morphologically and physiologically, the upper part of the body (head and trunk) is much more important than the lower limbs. To determine its relation to the total height, therefore, is to disclose to some extent the biological worth of the individual (Montessori).

Manouvrier distinguished three basic types in terms of this index, which he named macroskelic, mesatiskelic and brachyskelic. In the middle type (mesatiskelic) the upper part of the body adds to slightly more than half the total height (index 52); in the macroskelic type, the index varies from 48 to 50; in the brachyskelic type, from 53 to 55.

[213] . . . This ratio applies to adults, for the proportions of the body undergo basic modifications in the course of growth . . . . The [three types] occur among all races and all peoples; however, research has shown that there is a certain prevalence of brachyskelic types among the yellow races, of macroskelic types among the black races, and of mesatiskelic types among the whites.

Brazilian Indians are brachycephalic, and the Nambicuara constitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paresi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Ge group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paresi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Manbyuara, Mambyara, Membyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

NAMBICUARA ANTHROPOMETRY -- MEN

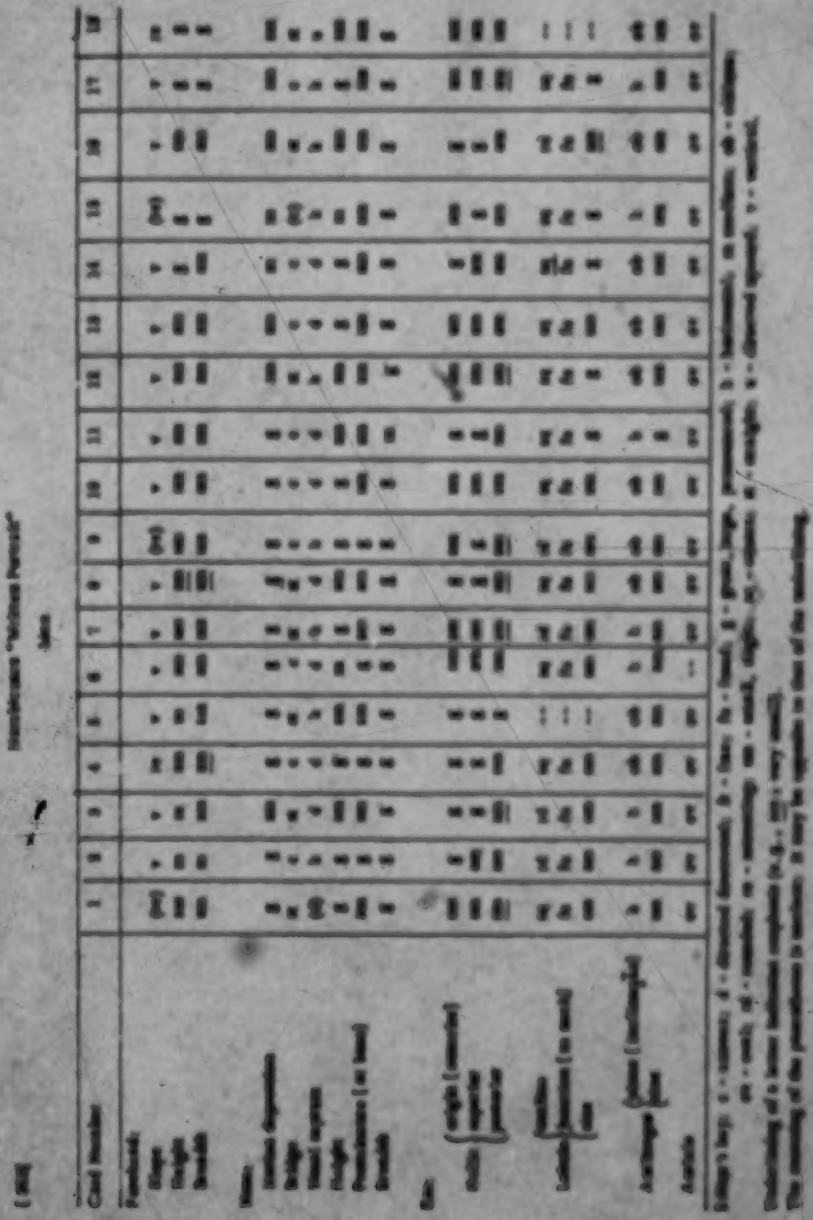
TABLE A

C - Cocozu-Nenen A - Anunze T - Tagnani Ud - Uaindze

Card number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Mean
Group	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	A	A	A	A	A	T	T	T	T	Ud	
Total height	1,66	1,68	1,68	1,70	1,62	1,59	1,58	1,62	1,63	1,60	1,57	1,61	1,60	1,58	1,62	1,63	1,62	1,62	1,62
Chest circumference	0,80	0,83	0,84	0,90	0,82	0,79	0,79	0,81	0,80	0,78	0,79	0,81	0,82	0,78	0,83	0,87	0,89	0,63	0,81
Head (in millimeters)																			
Occipito-frontal diameter	0,189	0,184	0,184	0,185	0,175	0,173	0,160	0,174	0,183	0,174	0,176	0,184	0,182	0,175	0,172	0,175	0,174	0,178	0,184
Transverse diameter	0,144	0,141	0,147	0,141	0,140	0,149	0,135	0,141	0,143	0,140	0,140	0,139	0,136	0,142	0,141	0,140	0,149	0,142	0,140
Minimum frontal diameter	0,100	0,096	0,100	0,100	0,096	0,094	0,091	0,104	0,096	0,114	0,098	0,103	0,097	0,096	0,100	0,100	0,101	0,105	0,099
Maximum bicyclonic diameter	0,117	0,137	0,145	0,143	0,138	0,133	—	0,135	0,129	—	—	—	—	0,132	0,175	0,137	0,133	0,142	0,134
Nasion-mentum diameter	—	—	0,125	0,112	0,106	0,103	0,110	0,111	0,111	—	0,098	0,101	0,110	0,109	0,107	0,106	0,119	0,133	0,110
Nose (in millimeters)																			
Height	0,051	0,047	0,047	0,050	0,049	0,047	0,044	0,042	0,053	0,047	0,043	0,043	0,060	0,046	0,046	0,049	0,051	0,052	0,047
Breadth	0,040	0,041	0,041	0,046	0,036	0,040	0,040	0,041	0,041	0,035	0,033	0,040	0,029	0,044	0,040	0,041	0,041	0,041	0,040
Prominence (at base)	0,016	0,020	0,018	0,019	0,016	0,014	0,018	0,020	0,016	0,018	0,016	0,014	0,016	0,020	0,017	0,019	0,019	0,020	0,017
Eye (in millimeters)																			
External bipalpebral breadth	0,097	0,101	0,102	0,100	0,096	0,091	0,097	0,093	0,096	0,096	0,090	0,093	0,097	0,093	0,096	0,096	0,093	0,101	0,096
Internal palpebral breadth	0,037	0,040	0,035	0,030	0,032	0,031	0,034	0,035	0,036	0,033	0,029	0,033	0,036	0,030	0,034	0,031	0,031	0,037	0,033
Right ear (in millimeters)																			
Length	0,067	0,060	0,063	0,063	0,062	0,064	0,060	0,060	0,063	0,061	0,066	0,066	0,065	0,060	0,061	0,058	0,062	0,040	0,060
Breadth	0,033	0,032	0,030	0,037	0,036	0,033	0,036	0,038	0,031	0,030	0,035	0,034	0,032	0,038	0,030	0,039	0,032	0,032	0,039
Cephalic index	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	76
Nasal index	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86

7: Roquette-Pinto--06 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

7:Roquette-Pinto--67 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)



7:Roquette-Pinto--68 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Table C

[324]

Nambicuara Women

Card Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Total height	1,43	1,44	1,47	1,45	1,52	1,45	1,55	1,47
Pelvic Measurements:								
Bi-spinal diameter	0,22	0,22	0,23	0,21	0,21	0,21	0,21	0,21
Bi-cristal diameter	0,24	0,23	0,24	0,23	0,23	0,23	0,25	0,23
Bi-trochanteric diameter	0,26	0,26	0,26	0,25	0,26	0,26	0,28	0,26
Sacro-pubic [external conjugate] diameter	0,17	0,18	0,17	0,17	0,16	0,17	0,19	0,17

"Written Portrait"

Card Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Forehead:								
Slope	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	
Height	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	
Breadth	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	g	
Nose:								
Nasion depression	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	
Bridge	st	st	c	st	st	st	st	
Nasal septum	d	sm*	d	h	h	h	d	*[sic]
Height	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	

(continued)

7:Roquette-Pinto--69 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

144

Table C (cont'd)

"Written Portrait"

[324]

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Prominence [at base]		sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm
Breadth		sm	sm	sm	g	g	g	sm
Ear:								
Helix	origin [anterior]	sm	sm	sm	g	g	sm	sm
	superior	g	sm	g	g	sm	sm	sm
	posterior	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm
Lobule	outline	sq	sq	sq	sq	sq	rd	sq
	junction [to neck]	fu	fu	fr	fu	fu	fu	fu
	size	sm	g	sm	sm	sm	sm	g
Antitragus								
plane [inclinação]		h	h	h	ob	h	ob	ob
size		sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	g
Auricle		ov	ov	ov	ov	ov	ov	ov

T:Roquette-Pinto--70 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[225]

Physical Type of the Serra Do Norte Indians (Nambicuara)
As determined by the "Written Portrait" method.

Forehead:

Slope -- Vertical 80%; retreating 20%.
Height -- Small 72%; medium 12%; great 16%.
Breadth -- Small 80%; great 16%; medium 4%.

Nose:

Nasion depression -- Great 68%; small 33%; medium 11%.
Bridge -- Straight 44%; convex 56%
Nasal septum -- Directed downward 45%; horizontal 50%; directed upward 5%.
Height -- Great 56%; medium 11%; small 33%.
Prominence [at base] -- Great 22%; small 78%.
Breadth -- Great 99%; medium 1%.

Ear:

Helix
- Origin [anterior] -- Large 44%; small 56%.
- Superior -- Large 44%; small 56%.
- Posterior -- Large 5%; small 95%.

Lobule
- Outline -- Square 78%; rounded [descendente] 22%.
- Junction [to neck] -- Fused 100%.
- Size -- Large 33.3%; small 66.3%.

Anteriorgus plane [inclinação] -- Horizontal 44.5%; oblique 55.5%.
Auricle -- Quadrangular 11%; oval 89%.

7:Roquette-Pinto--71 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Dactyloscopic formulae of the Nambicuara Indians

Men

Card No. 1	V. 4333 V. 4222	Card No. 10	I. 2242 E. 4333
Card No. 2	V. 4333 V. 3222	Card No. 11	V. 4444 V. 4444
Card No. 3	V. 4343 V. 4222	Card No. 12	V. 4343 V. 4242
Card No. 4	V. 4333 V. 4222	Card No. 13	V. 4444 E. 4444
Card No. 5	V. 4444 V. 4443	Card No. 14	V. 3333 V. 2222
Card No. 6	V. 4344 V. 4344	Card No. 15	V. 3333 V. 2242
Card No. 7	V. 4444 V. 4444	Card No. 16	V. 3344 V. 2344
Card No. 8	V. 4344 V. 4344	Card No. 17	V. 3344 V. 4344
Card No. 9	V. 4333 V. 4242	Card No. 18	V. 4444 V. 4444

Women

Card No. 1	V. 4445 V. 4442	Card No. 4	V. 3343 V. 4242
Card No. 2	E. 4333 V. 4242	Card No. 5	V. 4343 V. 4344
Card No. 3	V. 4443 V. 4342	Card No. 6	V. 4444 I. 4444
Card No. 7	V. 3343 V. 3222		

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the *Guaporé*—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

• • • •

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (*Dipteryx odorata*) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

In the triple household

115 of A1, she plays the role of the guardian of the home, and she is al-
[145] ways seen occupied in some culinary or craft job. She reveals
157 little voluntarily, but when she decides to do it, her information is clear and precise. It is always to her that one has recourse to settle knotty cases, to complete a vocabulary of kinship, to respond to a systematic interrogation.

115 a3. --Vigorous girl of some twenty years, secondary wife of A1.
157 Her mother (a63), ari'udesu of A1, akenanosu of a2, is at present married to an asukosu of A1. Her father, dead, was a brother of the father of a4.

She is exuberant, always good-humored, ready to go with her husband on the hardest expeditions, capable of carrying heavy loads. She is a true "force of nature"; physically, she is not without [42] charm, she is smiling and full of good health. As an informant she is vague, practically useless.

a4. --About 17 or 18 years of age, the youngest of the wives of A1. Her father and her mother (A67 and a68) are living, asoenosu and a2[illegible]osu of A1, oyenaesu and aseetasu of a2. She is pretty, coquettish and provocative, does not give herself over to any appreciable activity, except on a trip when she becomes the active collaborator of her husband. She talks voluntarily, laughs a great deal, is very curious about our clothing, utensils, manner of eating and living. Totally inefficient as an informant.

a5. --Eight to 9 years. Daughter of A1 and a2. She has a very
[142] marked sub-nasal prognathism, and has, on the left cheek, a sort of small pimply hole, without doubt due to a tropical ulcer. She is a very calm and amiable child, sensitive to our advances, but who, when she is annoyed, shows sudden fits of anger or outbursts of somber humor during which she is unapproachable. The rest of the time she loves our company and collaborates willingly on the ethnographic work.

A6. --About 30 years: he is the son of an older vanished brother of A1; he calls his paternal uncle "father," the wife a2 of the latter, "mother," and the little a5 "sister." From a first marriage with the daughter of his father's sister (a14), now dead, he has two children (a8 and a9). He is at present remarried (to a7). Otherwise he is vain, satisfied with himself, not very intelligent, a very good father and very taken with his young wife with whom he is always found tenderly embraced. He is a verbose informant, but dull and without personality.

§55 §63 8. ŋ̀ɾinakihɨ̀ndage numɨ̀ sɛlɛlajɛnɛ ɛlamnihɨ̀ŋ̀(bl)
The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 §56 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. ŋ̀ɾɛɛ ɲɛdɛɲɛdɛdɛnɛgɛ tɔɔdaɾɨgɛ kã kã kã gudɛɾigɛ (bl)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 602 609 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).

[547] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the

[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tɨŋ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɾu (al), tɨŋ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɾɛ (bl): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (ɔ̀ʔkiɾaɾu, ɔ̀ʔkiɲɛɾu), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

§55 §57 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (tɨtihãɾu, al), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

L: Lévi-Strauss E-8 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate I]

137
133

24
172
482
445

484
482
445

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate III]

231
302
301
142

301
304
302
142

1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambikuara SP17

[End Plate II]

516
142
302
291

[432
411
415]

[231
342
415
285]

[237
222
482
855]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
482
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

L: Lévi-Strauss E-S (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambikwara SP17

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-6 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambikwara SP:7

142
714
534
301
291
302

PLATE 24.—Nambikwara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the nose flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Pregnant. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except center, left, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 1]

[101] 181 648 The Paresí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which creats in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance, "bastante" becomes *sarunte*, "pequeno" becomes *akibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "criança" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 171 Compared with their neighbors, the Paresí and Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paresí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paresí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paresí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the head waters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço
101 to the west. Thee territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paresí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

B 141 144 derived from Von Eickstedt's Brazilide type. Unfortunately Von Eickstedt (1934, p. 736) has also confused the picture by considering the Aneti and Nahuqua representative of the Lagide or Lagoid type. Bracketed with the Aneti and Nahuqua are the Carajá and Cayapé, and, further afield, the Botocudo and Alakaluf. In addition, the Bacairí are said to show Pampide influence (Von Eickstedt, 1934, p. 737). But no evidence for this is offered. Meager as the series in table 1 are, it seems preferable to use them as the basis for tentative conclusions rather than to indulge in the risky short cuts of second-hand impressionism.

Metrically, the Paressí series appears to tie in well with the Upper Xingú tribes, except that it is somewhat longer-headed, due possibly to assimilation of longer-headed Nambicuara. Tentatively, then, the Paressí may be included in the Upper Xingú racial unit, especially since Oberg (p. 69) has noted the close similarity of the Paressí to the Bacairí. Possibly the Iranze would also fit into this unit, although the present sample does not adequately indicate it.

● N B 141 ● 142 The metric position of the Nambicuara is not wholly clear from the present data. The two Nambicuara series are longer-headed than those from the Upper Xingú Basin, and possibly higher-vaulted (for Oberg's series), shorter-faced and narrower-nosed as well. Their skin color is perceptibly darker than the neighboring Paressí; in fact Oberg stated (personal communication) that when seen together swimming in the river, he could easily sort out the Nambicuara children on this basis. It is quite possible that the Nambicuara represent one of the living groups representative of the Lagoa Santa type (Newman, 1951, p. 90), but confirmation of this must await new findings by Vellard [3] and others.

B 141 144 Oberg (p. 69) has noted the decided contrast between the Upper Xingú and other tribes north of the Planalto do Matogrosense and the "large-framed, coarse-featured" Bororo and Guaté to the south. This distinction is probably on a full racial level, as already indicated by Von Eickstedt (1934, p. 731) and Imbelloni (1938, p. [illegible]) who place the latter people with the Pampide or Pampido type of the Chaco and Pampas.

[3] Through [illegible] (1942, pp. [illegible]) we learn that in [illegible] Vellard made physical studies on these Nambicuara bands: The Tagesnaci, a Roosevelt river group, and the Sabane. Mean stature for 19 male Nambicuara measured by Vellard is [illegible] cm.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 Bororo Sp8
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

Br 141 144 unit, if there were more information concerning them. Largely because Ehrenreich (p. 133) considered the Trumai a people apart, I have hesitated to include them with their Upper Xingú neighbors. The racial unit proposed here seems to fit best as part of Von Eickstedt's Brazilide or Imbelloni's Amazónido groups. It is characterized by short stature and, in the Upper Xingú Basin at least, by an unusually heavy thorax and very muscular upper arms in contrast to less well-developed legs (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 100). Head form verges on brachycephaly, and vault heights appear rather low for American Indians. Rather narrow faces predominate, and the nose seems medium-narrow, with a straight or convex bridge. Information on unexposed skin color is not available, but chances are that the Upper Xingú Basin people are rather lightly pigmented. Hair form is straight to low waved, with some curly hair, particularly among the Bacairí (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 81). Bacairí men, however, are said to sometimes use wooden hair curlers (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, p. 337). Face and body hair are said to be sparse (p. 15).

N 142 144 The Nambicuara stand apart from the Upper Xingú Basin people in being longer-headed and possibly higher-vaulted, shorter-faced, and narrower-nosed. They are also perceptibly darker in skin color. There is a good chance that the Nambicuara represent a remnant of an old South American racial strain, possibly linking with Lagoa Santa.

Bo 142 144 In their greater stature and more rugged bodies and faces, the Umotina, along with other Bororo subtribes, are strikingly different from the more gracile Upper Xingú tribes and the Nambicuara. The Umotina are metrically much closer to the Carajá of the Araguaia River than they are to the São Lourenço Bororo. If the Umotina measurements are no more than slightly influenced by neo-Brazilian admixture, a greater physical variability exists among the Bororo than hitherto has been recognized. Whether the concept of the Pámpido race is sufficiently elastic to include the Umotina is a question best decided by Imbelloni and his coworkers.

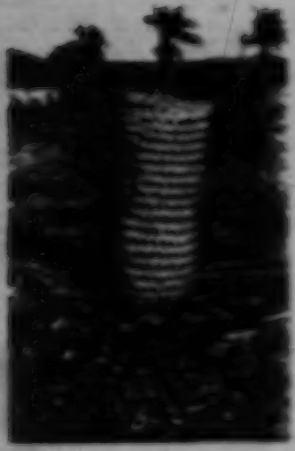
Br 144 Viewed from a geographic standpoint (see map 3), the physical anthropology of the Upper Xingú Basin tribes, the Nambicuara and the Bororo fall into an understandable pattern. The

[p. 134 (B)]

411
N2
291
226
286
301

4. Cheng E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 [illegible] SP17

372
316
415
482



881
301
302
291
142

[p. 136 (I)]

142
291
301

[m]

[p. 136 (M)]

§ Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP1? Nambicuara SP1?

Material.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquara who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sacuri and Gabiro, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1908, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with these also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoáiteri and Coáisaiteri to the Nhambiquara, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guayanás and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoáiteri, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquara. This name of Uáikoáiteri is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kozizóti and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriná, Tabaza-ína and Tinaleiró to their kindred of the Kozizóti group who inhabit the upper parts of the *Rio Verde*, the *Juba*, Colorgal and Juruá. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquara are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of cement. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and head collars made from the fruit of the mucujéba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yuca, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Canoa-díniri and the Amixiára of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kitchbí of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native lyes or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Cumiá and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Maki-maki palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or macáw feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of taxeen a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 6 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Maki-maki and lace. The upper disk has three orifices.

7.Roquette-Pinto--1 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following
124 groups: Cocoau, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauitê]. Among the Uaintaçu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocoau, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians
302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A and B.

[See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]
[illegible] Analyst]

[W] Table C[4] provides the data furnished by the pelvic measurements taken on some of the women, which indicate that the pelvic diameters are small. This is either what obstetricians call a "slender pelvis" [bacia gracil], or else it is a normal variant of the so-called aequabiliter justo minor (aequabiliter) found in our clinics in its aberrant form.

Women with such small pelves are [generally] short in stature; Nambicuara women are 1.47 meters in height as compared with 1.62 meters for the men.

Since as a general rule the stature of women is some seven per cent shorter than that of men, the height of Nambicuara women should be about 1.51 meters.

Roughly, it may be said that [Nambicuara] women are twelve centimeters shorter than [Nambicuara] men. In Table C, however, we find some types which exceed this average.

Some interesting facts were provided by an examination of [female] body proportions carried out on a few individuals who presented a configuration of the most characteristic physical traits found in Nambicuara women. [Page of plates 176] [177] The resulting data are indispensable to the task of comparative physical anthropology.

The height of the head is slightly more than six times the height of the body (6.8).

The cerebral segment of the face and the respiratory segment are identical [in size]; the digestive segment is larger than the others.

The distance between the eyes (internal palpebral breadth) is longer than the lid opening; thus the eyes are set far apart due to the width of the nasal root.

[W] The trunk is quadrangular, without lumbar depression and without a trace of steatopygia. The breasts of pubescent girls are small and cup-shaped, according to the Pinto-Bartels classification. In mothers they are large and not always widely separated; the base of the nipple is cupped outward, and the teat is erect. Among some of the mothers, the space between the breasts is half the diameter of one of the breasts.

The mid-point of the body is located above the pubic symphisis.

The jugulo-xiphoid distance (from the sternal furculum to the

[See p. 68, category 116.-Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--2A E-4, 5 (no date)1930 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[176]

Nambicuara Indian

Uaicurida--Indian of the Juina River

Serra do Norte Indian

Nambicuara Indian

141 xiphoid appendix) is half the xiphoid-pubic distance; thus the height
142 of the abdomen is twice the height of the chest. In turn, the xiphoid-umbilical distance is twice the length of the umbilical-pubic line. This means that the navel of Nambicuara women lies closer to their pubis.

Pinard has already commented on the practical importance of these ratios in the semeiology of pregnancy. He showed how wrong it would be to apply to all races the research data that concern only a few.

I saw several pregnant Nambicuara women. The pregnancy was already in an advanced stage, but they would not allow any serious examination and I can state nothing about it.

147 [178] It is relevant to point out, however, that none of them exhibited those intradermic furrows caused by the forced distension of the abdomen ("pregnancy weals") which occur frequently among white women.

In any case, the skin does not always have the same coefficient of extensibility.

The Indians' skin is endowed with special properties of which we know little. Martius depicted in his Atlas a Miranya Indian whose pierced nostrils had stretched so much that he could wrap them around the ears on either side.

The lips of the Botocudo provide another example of this.

141 Among the males, the three chief segments of the head follow
142 the same ratio. The digestive segment is larger than the other two.

Again the height of the chest is half the height of the abdomen. The same ratios found among the women between the chest and the abdomen and between the parts of the latter are found among the men.

In view of these thoracic-abdominal ratios and of the distance from the navel to the pubis, it may be said that the Nambicuara man has a woman's trunk; and to carry further the study of these interesting proportions, it would not be wrong to assert that among these people the adult retains certain morphological characteristics peculiar to childhood, such as the location of the navel.

7; Roquette-Pinto--4 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

141 The mid-point of the body is located differently according
142 to sex: in the men it lies at the lower edge of the pubic symphisis.

The lower limbs of the women are longer; the men have a longer trunk. The women tend to be macroskelic, the men brachyskelic. We may note here that data obtained by Alex Hrdlicka among adolescents in North America proved the opposite to be the case among white populations.

The stature of the men is seven and a half times the height of the head; this follows the Greek rule; it is an interesting fact. The distance between the eyes is longer than the lid opening; the total height of the face is slightly greater than the length of the hand. The hand is about one tenth the total height of the body, the foot one eighth. The arm and forearm are roughly the same length. Metchnikoff's "Mongolian eye" is rarely found.

Among the Indians of the Serra do Norte ["Northern Mountain Range"], premature loss of the incisors does not occur as it does among the Paressi.

145 According to my observations among some boys and youths, tooth-cutting does not follow the pattern usually found in the white race; the permanent teeth seem to appear at a different age.

Among whites, as a general rule, the dental arches are filled out as follows:

—	—	∧	o	o	O	O	O
8	9	1	10	11	7	13	18

The first molar appears at the age of seven, the median incisors at eight, the lateral incisors at nine. The first premolar is cut at ten, the second at eleven; the canines emerge at twelve, the second molar at thirteen. The wisdom tooth or third molar appears at the age of eighteen, fragile and useless, [180], if it does not remain embedded in the gum through life.

Indeed the most interesting facts about the dentition of these Indians relate to the wisdom teeth, for more than once I noted their presence in youths who had certainly not yet reached their eighteenth year.

1 [Should read 12 in light of explanation below.- Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--QA E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

164
142
302

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

Skin disease of the Serra do Norte Indians (unretouched photograph)

Nambicuara Indian

Tawite Nambicuara

7: Roquette-Pinto--13A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

NH2
516
854
291

Tagnani mother and daughter

Tagnani mother and son

Tagnani Indian

Serra do Norte Indians

7: Roquette-Pinto--138 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
516
291
301

Tagnani Nambicuara Indians

Nambicuara Indian

Tagnani girls

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

7: Roquette-Pinto--13C E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[206]

142
411
516

Indian of the Serra do Norte shooting an arrow for elevation.

000

113

entre o tokelau da Asia e da Oceania e o chimberê dos indigenas de Mato-Grosso [Parasitological and Clinical Affinities between the Tokelau of Asia and Oceania and the Chimberê of Mato Grosso Aborigines]." Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 6 (1930) No. 2.

[Pp. 191 through 210 omitted because they do not pertain to the Nambicuara.]

114 [211] If we compare the Serra do Norte Indians with other Brazilian aboriginal types, the following similarities and differences become apparent and worthy of note:

Skin: Their skin coloring places them alongside the Bororo and Caraja. (1) The southern group comprises the darkest Indians in Brazil.

[13]

1. The following data from Paul Ehrenreich's Estudos antropologicos sobre os Primitivos Habitantes do Brasil [Anthropological Studies on the Primitive Inhabitants of Brazil] (1897) were cited earlier by the author: "The skin color of the Paresi and Bororo is considerably darker and even more reddish [than that of other groups cited], being comparable to the tone of terra cotta (Broca Scale 30, 32, 44). The Caraja are the darkest on the exposed areas of the body." (Ed.)

114 Hair: The average index found in cross-section was about 59, very close to that of the Semang (Negritoes) of the Malayan Peninsula. Very intense pigmentation, thick medulla; circular section. [Fig. 15]

Stature: Twenty-five percent [of the Serra do Norte Indians] are less than 1.60 meters in height, 56 percent from 1.60 to 1.65 meters, and 19 percent from 1.65 to 1.70.

7: Roquette-Pinto--14A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
SP17 N(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[203]

142

Fig. 15--Histological sections of hair of the Nambicuara Indians. Embedded in paraffin.

101 The Anunze of Campos Novos speak of the "Tayopa" and "Shaodi-Koka" who have not yet been found; in the far north of the region, Rondon has recently discovered tribes such as the Kepikiriwat(1)

1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná and other tribes were described in Missão Rondon [The Rondon Mission] (Rio, 1916), and in the memoirs of Curt Nimuendajú published in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes. The Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 25 (1925) contain "Notas Antropometricas sobre os Indios Urupás [Anthropometric Notes on the Urupa Indians]" by Roquette-Pinto and A. Childe.

which belong to other groups.

The Tagnani and Tawite refer to an enemy tribe which they call "Malutundú," "Ualutdú" or "Ualút-ndú."

[Page of plates 216.]

[217] It is likely that the Indians on whom the Nambicuara [525] have bestowed this name, which means tatu galinha [a nine-banded armadillo, Dasypus tatusia novemcinctus] are the Mundurucu of the Upper Tapajoz.

It is worth noting that the Anunze called the Cocozu "Cocozê," while the latter call the former "Anunzú."

The Cocozu call the southwestern group "Uaintaçú," while the Anunze call them "Uaindzê."

These Uaintaçu or Uaindze are the same people known in the vicinity of Mato Grosso, on the Guaporé River, by the name of "Cabishi"—a term which in turn has been applied by the Paressi in a pejorative way to the Cozarini group of their own tribe.

The Paressi have also bestowed on the Nambicuara the name of "Uaikoákoré" (Ground Brother) because they sleep directly on the ground.

[142] The Tapanyuna of old, located by the chroniclers on the Upper Tapajoz, must have been Nambicuara of the Cocozu group, who are indeed the darkest people in the whole Juruena Valley. They fit their Tupian appellation of "black men."

7:Roquette-Pinto--35A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 242]

142
516
291
301

Uaintaçu Indians
Post at Campos Novos

Serra do Norte Indian

Cocozu couple

Annnnz Nambicuara (Nuleke's father)

7:Roquette-Pinto--438 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 254]

142
302
291
301
516

Anunze women.

Tawite camp at Tres Buritis.

7:Roquette-Pinto--508 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 264]

·Sil
192

Serra do Norte Indians at the Telegraph Station of Utiariti.

Paressi and Nambicuara at the Utiariti Station.

8:Vellard--16 D,E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate IV

278
142
415
302
516

A

B

278
415
516

C

Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A-B. Draining of the bark with cold water.

C. After boiling the liquid is transferred into another receptacle where it will be concentrated at low heat.

Plate V

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page./

8:Velland--17 D.E-6 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 Borore Sp8
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

Br 141 144

unit, if there were more information concerning them. Largely because Ehrenreich (p. 122) considered the Trumai a people apart, I have hesitated to include them with their Upper Xingú neighbors. The racial unit proposed here seems to fit best as part of Von Eickstedt's Brasilide or Imbelloni's Amazonide groups. It is characterized by short stature and, in the Upper Xingú Basin at least, by an unusually heavy thorax and very muscular upper arms in contrast to less well-developed legs (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 100). Head form verges on brachycephaly, and vault heights appear rather low for American Indians. Rather narrow faces predominate, and the nose seems medium-narrow, with a straight or convex bridge. Information on unexposed skin color is not available, but chances are that the Upper Xingú Basin people are rather lightly pigmented. Hair form is straight to low waved, with some curly hair, particularly among the Bacairí (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 81). Bacairí men, however, are said to sometimes use wooden hair curlers (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, p. 227). Face and body hair are said to be sparse (p. 18).

N 142 144

The Nambicuara stand apart from the Upper Xingú Basin people in being longer-headed and possibly higher-vaulted, shorter-faced, and narrower-nosed. They are also perceptibly darker in skin color. There is a good chance that the Nambicuara represent a remnant of an old South American racial strain, possibly linking with Lagoa Santa.

Bo 142 144

In their greater stature and more rugged bodies and faces, the Umotina, along with other Bororo subtribes, are strikingly different from the more gracile Upper Xingú tribes and the Nambicuara. The Umotina are metrically much closer to the Carajá of the Araguaia River than they are to the São Lourenço Bororo. If the Umotina measurements are no more than slightly influenced by neo-Brazilian admixture, a greater physical variability exists among the Borore than hitherto has been recognized. Whether the concept of the Pitnpido race is sufficiently elastic to include the Umotina is a question best decided by Imbelloni and [illegible] coworkers.

Br 144

Viewed [illegible] a geographic standpoint (see map 3), the physical anthropology of the Upper Xingú Basin tribes, the Nambicuara and the Borore fall into an understandable pattern. The

113

entre o tokelau da Asia e da Oceania e o chimberê dos indigenas de Mato-Grosso [Parasitological and Clinical Affinities between the Tokelau of Asia and Oceania and the Chimberê of Mato Grosso Aborigines]." Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 6 (1930) No. 2.

[Pp. 191 through 210 omitted because they do not pertain to the Nambicuara.]

112 [211] If we compare the Serra do Norte Indians with other Brazilian aboriginal types, the following similarities and differences become apparent and worthy of note:

Skin: Their skin coloring places them alongside the Bororo and Caraja. (1) The southern group comprises the darkest Indians in Brazil.

[13]

1. The following data from Paul Ehrenreich's Estudos antropologicos sobre os Primitivos Habitantes do Brasil [Anthropological Studies on the Primitive Inhabitants of Brazil] (1897) were cited earlier by the author: "The skin color of the Paresi and Bororo is considerably darker and even more reddish [than that of other groups cited], being comparable to the tone of terra cotta (Broca Scale 30, 32, 44). The Caraja are the darkest on the exposed areas of the body." (Ed.)

141 144 Hair: The average index found in cross-section was about 59, very close to that of the Semang (Negritoes) of the Malayan Peninsula. Very intense pigmentation, thick medulla; circular section. [Fig. 15]

Stature: Twenty-five percent [of the Serra do Norte Indians] are less than 1.60 meters in height, 56 percent from 1.60 to 1.65 meters, and 19 percent from 1.65 to 1.70.

7: Roquette-Pinto--15 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

141 144 According to Ehrenreich's tables, in terms of stature the Indians of the Serra do Norte occupy a position intermediary between the Paresi and Nahuqua, and come close to the Bacairi, Mehinacu, Trumai and Yamamadi.

[212] The percentage of elevated statures (19 percent) places the Nambicuara near the Cayapo (20 percent) and far from the Bacairi (0 percent), Nahuqua (6.6 percent), Trumai (0 percent) and Paresi (11 percent).

The difference in height between the sexes (0.12 meters) places them far from the Tupian Indians, among whom the man is often shorter than the woman, and from the Arawakan groups, where men and women are of the same height (Barbosa Rodrigues).

In the circumference of the chest, equal to one half their total height, they approach the normal types of the white race (De Giovanni). The index between total height and chest circumference is 50.

This is not the rule among Brazilian Indians, whose chest circumference is usually more than one half their total height. In Ehrenreich's tables, the Indians closest to the Nambicuara in this respect are the Caraja of the Araguaia River, whose index is 53.3.

141 121 144 The Manouvrier [Skelic] Index expresses the ratio between the length of the upper part of the body and that of the lower limbs, which together add up to the total stature. Morphologically and physiologically, the upper part of the body (head and trunk) is much more important than the lower limbs. To determine its relation to the total height, therefore, is to disclose to some extent the biological worth of the individual (Montesori).

Manouvrier distinguished three basic types in terms of this index, which he named macroskelic, mesatiskelic and brachyskelic. In the middle type (mesatiskelic) the upper part of the body adds to slightly more than half the total height (index 52); in the macroskelic type, the index varies from 52 to 50; in the brachyskelic type, from 53 to 55.

[213] . . . This ratio applies to adults, for the proportions of the body undergo basic modifications in the course of growth . . . . The [three types] occur among all races and all peoples; however, research has shown that there is a certain prevalence of brachyskelic types among the yellow races, of macroskelic types among the black races, and of mesatiskelic types among the whites.

Brazilian Indians are brachyskelic, and the Nambicuara constitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paressi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Ge group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paressi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Mambyuara, Mambuyara, Membyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

141 The mid-point of the body is located differently according
142 to sex: in the men it lies at the lower edge of the pubic symphisis.
The lower limbs of the women are longer; the men have a longer trunk. The women tend to be macroskelic, the men brachyskelic. We may note here that data obtained by Alex Hrdlicka among adolescents in North America proved the opposite to be the case among white populations.

The stature of the men is seven and a half times the height of the head; this follows the Greek rule; it is an interesting fact. The distance between the eyes is longer than the lid opening; the total height of the face is slightly greater than the length of the hand. The hand is about one tenth the total height of the body, the foot one eighth. The arm and forearm are roughly the same length. Metchnikoff's "Mongolian eye" is rarely found.

Among the Indians of the Serra do Norte ["Northern Mountain Range"], premature loss of the incisors does not occur as it does among the Paressi.

145 According to my observations among some boys and youths, tooth-cutting does not follow the pattern usually found in the white race; the permanent teeth seem to appear at a different age.

Among whites, as a general rule, the dental arches are filled out as follows:

—	—	∧	o	o	O	O	O
8	9	1	10	11	7	13	18

The first molar appears at the age of seven, the median incisors at eight, the lateral incisors at nine. The first premolar is cut at ten, the second at eleven; the canines emerge at twelve, the second molar at thirteen. The wisdom tooth or third molar appears at the age of eighteen, fragile and useless, [180], if it does not remain embedded in the gum through life.

Indeed the most interesting facts about the dentition of these Indians relate to the wisdom teeth, for more than once I noted their presence in youths who had certainly not yet reached their eighteenth year.

[should read 12 in light of explanation below.- Analyst]

145 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 145 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[194] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their [514] intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred 164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar pierrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots [513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

241 It was the practice of agriculture--and we do not know where they borrowed it, if it did not arise among them spontaneously--which enabled them to continue living in the stone age until today.

By cultivating the rich lands of the Juruena Valley and the Serra do Norte and entrusting their sustenance to the soil of the virgin Amazon forests, the Nambicuara were able to continue living until now in that relatively restricted environment. This paradoxical effect of agriculture may not yet have been found elsewhere in so distinctive a form; and because they were forced to subsist by cultivating the earth, they perfected this industry while remaining in a very elementary stage of civilization. Wholly isolated, without any knowledge of white men or their domestic animals [247] such as the dog, the Indians of the Serra do Norte became excellent farmers.

Their plots are always evenly circular. Large open spaces are frequently found in the forest; they are artificial fields, old Nambicuara plots.

The Indians use fire to clear these plots after cutting down the trees, which until now they felled with stone axes. In order to fell a large tree, several axemen gather around it; and the wood, gnawed by the stone, yields sooner than expected. The strength of the axe handle is truly remarkable.

[Fig. 22]

A pointed stick is used to make holes for [planting] seeds.

Maize and manioc are the principal products of Nambicuara agriculture. Both belong to the same species cultivated among us. Maize is of the variety known as white maize or saboró; the manioc [146] has unusual nutritive value. In fact, the manioc cultivated by the Tagnani is the best I have seen, low in fiber content and very rich in starch.

[248] Surely the root does not owe its excellent qualities to the imperfect cultivation of the Indians, but to the very fertile land where it is planted.

The great ethnographic question raised by aboriginal agriculture and brought into sharp focus by Martius still remains unanswered.

Neither maize nor manioc have been found growing wild in the jungle. Either these plants came from elsewhere with the Indians,

514
515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.

514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation.(1). Following this, they are only subject to

1. Cf. below, p. 109.

certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. jayoõdage edẽdẽ edẽdẽ edẽdẽ kano kano kano kano kano kanabo huiire tamindige. (b1).
The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

841
147
171 2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen which women are indisposed. But the above remarks seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edẽdé edẽdé edẽdé signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 [201] The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tau̯étte, tau̯étte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 833 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated u̯iíʹnedi̯utu and, in the central and southern dialects, tamiʹndige, tuu̯iʹrare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahu̯iʹnosu (nosu = man, al), tamiʹnde, u̯áʹre. On the other hand, in the northern

nights" kanaroʔetẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (touriʔiri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, undoubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome: the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupí. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to love can be summed up in their formula tamĩndige mõndage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament. In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atsíri and the Amuésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

7:Roquette-Pinto--1 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 124 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups: Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauité]. Among the Uaintaçu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians 302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A and B.

2 [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]

1 [Nambicuara sub-groups -- Analyst]

141 xiphoid appendix) is half the xiphoid-pubic distance; thus the height
142 of the abdomen is twice the height of the chest. In turn, the xiphoid-umbilical distance is twice the length of the umbilical-pubic line. This means that the navel of Nambicuara women lies closer to their pubis.

Pinard has already commented on the practical importance of these ratios in the semeiology of pregnancy. He showed how wrong it would be to apply to all races the research data that concern only a few.

I saw several pregnant Nambicuara women. The pregnancy was already in an advanced stage, but they would not allow any serious examination and I can state nothing about it.

147 [178] It is relevant to point out, however, that none of them exhibited those intradermic furrows caused by the forced distension of the abdomen "pregnancy weals") which occur frequently among white women.

In any case, the skin does not always have the same coefficient of extensibility.

The Indians' skin is endowed with special properties of which we know little. Martius depicted in his Atlas a Miranya Indian whose pierced nostrils had stretched so much that he could wrap them around the ears on either side.

The lips of the Botocudo provide another example of this.

141 Among the males, the three chief segments of the head follow
142 the same ratio. The digestive segment is larger than the other two.

Again the height of the chest is half the height of the abdomen. The same ratios found among the women between the chest and the abdomen and between the parts of the latter are found among the men.

In view of these thoracic-abdominal ratios and of the distance from the navel to the pubis, it may be said that the Nambicuara man has a woman's trunk; and to carry further the study of these interesting proportions, it would not be wrong to assert that among these people the adult retains certain morphological characteristics peculiar to childhood, such as the location of the navel.

857 iõndage ʃutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ʃutentere kwaikano (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[368] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
●154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ʃutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the
[534] first skeleton of the hut, are called indeleaore; likewise, the double (kalõde) or triple (lutandione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtjane takanãtjane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[92] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

601
621

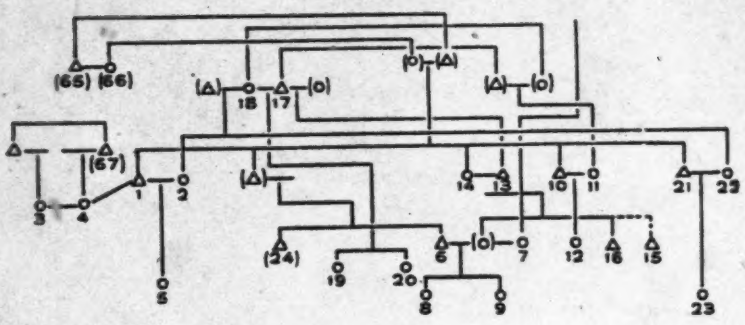


Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622
115
157 A1. --The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years, married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531
212

1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

531
212

Besides, they called the act of writing: iekariukediutu (a1), that is "make lines," which for them had an esthetic interest:

(3) Kihikagnere mũʔiene (b1).
It is nice to make lines.

[177]

The drawings reproduced in Figure 19 thus constitute a cultural innovation inspired by our own drawings.

622 confers; also [41] he asked us for a note pad and a pencil, and we
115 are likewise equipped when we travel together. He does not com-
● 157 municate to me verbally the information that I ask of him, but traces on his paper some wavy lines and presents them to me as though I should read his response. But he himself is half duped by his comedy. Each time that his hand finishes a line, he examines it anxiously, as if the significance should miraculously spring forth, and each time, the same chagrined disillusion is painted on his face. But he doesn't give in. And it is silently understood between us that his scrawl possesses a meaning which I pretend to understand. Naturally, the verbal commentary follows almost immediately, and excuses me from having to demand some very necessary clarifications. When we discuss command, we shall return to certain aspects of this semi-mystification.

He is a valuable informant who understands the problems, perceives the difficulties, and is interested in the work; but his functions absorb him often, and he disappears for whole days on a hunting expedition, a survey of itinerary or a localization of ripe seed or fruit trees. On the other hand, his wives often call him to tender love games in which he lets himself be voluntarily involved.

In a general way, his attitude shows a logic, a continuity of purpose, very exceptional among the Nambikwara who are often unstable and temperamental. Placed in other conditions and with other means at his disposal, he might be a valuable organizer. And he is, after all, alone responsible for the destinies of his group, which he conducts with competence, although in a sometimes utopian spirit.

The father and the mother of A1 are dead. But his father's brother and mother's sister, whom he calls ahuĩnosu and aʔkenosu live in the same village (A65 and a66).

115 a2. --About 30 to 35 years. The eldest of the wives of A1, mother of a5, daughter of a18 and a now dead father. She is serious industrious, a little reserved in social relations. In the triple household

In the triple household

115 of A1, she plays the role of the guardian of the home, and she is al-
[59] ways seen occupied in some culinary or craft job. She reveals
● 15 little voluntarily, but when she decides to do it, her information is clear and precise. It is always to her that one has recourse to settle knotty cases, to complete a vocabulary of kinship, to respond to a systematic interrogation.

115 a3. --Vigorous girl of some twenty years, secondary wife of A1.
15 Her mother (a63), arindesu of A1, akenanosu of a2, is at present married to an asukosu of A1. Her father, dead, was a brother of the father of a4.

She is exuberant, always good-humored, ready to go with her husband on the hardest expeditions, capable of carrying heavy loads. She is a true "force of nature"; physically, she is not without [42] charm, she is smiling and full of good health. As an informant she is vague, practically useless.

a4. --About 17 or 18 years of age, the youngest of the wives of A1. Her father and her mother (A67 and a68) are living, asoinosu and a2einosu of A1, ouensaesu and aseetasu of a2. She is pretty, coquettish and provocative, does not give herself over to any appreciable activity, except on a trip when she becomes the active collaborator of her husband. She talks voluntarily, laughs a great deal, is very curious about our clothing, utensils, manner of eating and living. Totally inefficient as an informant.

a5. --Eight to 9 years. Daughter of A1 and a2. She has a very
[142] marked sub-nasal prognathism, and has, on the left cheek, a sort of small pimply hole, without doubt due to a tropical ulcer. She is a very calm and amiable child, sensitive to our advances, but who, when she is annoyed, shows sudden fits of anger or outbursts of somber humor during which she is unapproachable. The rest of the time she loves our company and collaborates willingly on the ethnographic work.

A6. --About 30 years: he is the son of an older vanished brother of A1; he calls his paternal uncle "father," the wife a2 of the latter, "mother," and the little a5 "sister." From a first marriage with the daughter of his father's sister (a14), now dead, he has two children (a8 and a9). He is at present remarried (to a7). Otherwise he is vain, satisfied with himself, not very intelligent, a very good father and very taken with his young wife with whom he is always found tenderly embraced. He is a verbose informant, but dull and without personality.

115 a7.--A pretty woman of some twenty years, perhaps less; young
157 wife of A6. Her parents are living and reside, she says, in the village. She is asintu of A1 and a2, arindesu of a3 and a4, aseetasu of a5. She is stupid, egotistical, interested only in herself. She considers herself very seductive, which appears to be (from the Indian point of view, of course) very exaggerated. She systematically refuses to show the slightest interest in the two daughters of her husband, conducts herself very amorously as concerns him.

115 a8 and a9--About six and two years, daughters of the first mar-
855 riage of A6 and daughters of the deceased daughter of a14. The two
157 children are practically left to themselves. Their stepmother does not bother with them; their father takes care of them when his manly tasks and his wife permit him the time. Their grandmother is their
[603] chief aid and it is to her that they run when they hurt themselves, are hungry, thirsty or afraid. But she herself is absorbed by the cares of her sons, of her stepson (A15) and of her husband. And very often the baby is neglected for entire days, covered with ashes and filth, unless some woman of the group, seized by pity or simply [43] disgusted, takes her and gives her a bath. Most often it is her big sister, precociously mature, who takes care of her, carries her, even though she is scarcely any bigger, feeds her and cleans her up. Both are charming children, gay and hungry for caresses like those who are habitually deprived of them. Their lot is a great worry for the
[161] community. Under this regime of a hard life constantly absorbed by the small tasks, each one of which is hard work, one can with difficulty accept other cares than one's own. And these neglected children are a perpetual source of irritation, of which they are often the victims, even when taken care of. Many times we wondered if we should not take charge of the youngest of the children. They would have given her to us gladly. The baby was so cute that we would have been tempted if the perspective of seeing ourselves having a quarrel on the return trip with the Service for the Protection of the Indians had not, very reasonably, dissuaded us.

115 A10.--About 40 years. He is alonsu of A1, ajunkedisu of a2,
157 ahuinosu of a5, married to a11. His parents are dead. He is amiable and grinning, he suffers from a hernia which he hides under a piece of cloth hanging from his waist. His activity is considerably decreased. He is little interested in our work and not very eager to understand our questions and give us information.

a11.--About 40 years. Wife of A10. She is a "sister" of a2, a "wife" of A1, a "mother" of a5. She is dark, eager and industrious,

115 and only reveals her happy nature on occasions of songs and dances where
157 she excels. One always sees her occupied by some craft work which she seems to prefer--shaping or polishing disks of shells, drilling them through or filing them, rubbing earrings or bracelets. She talks little, letting herself be completely absorbed by her work. She is a wife and mother, and a remarkable informant for all details of the material culture.

a12. --Daughter of the preceding two, approximately 22 years; she is the wife of A73 who abandoned her to live with two women a74 and a75. Because of this, she returned to the charge of her parents, the more so because she is pregnant. She is placid, smiling and apathetic. She is separated from collective life by her condition
[164] and by a painful eye infection which struck her first among the members of her group of which several were later attacked by the epidemic.

A13. --About 40 years of age. Son of A18, "brother," consequently, of a2, "brother-in-law" of A1, whose older sister a14 he married. Always joyful, active and docile, he is the confidence man of A1, his preferred messenger, the companion he chooses for all complicated undertakings. He is industrious, a [44] not affected in his attitudes, and, as an informant, compliant; very verbose and not always clear or comprehensive.

a14. --About 40 to 45 years. Wife of the preceding, blood sister of A1, mother of A16. She is influential, active, diligent, at first quite rude, but in reality pleasing and competent. She exercises real authority over the other women of the group by her spirit of initiative and her pep. She is the grandmother of a8 and of a9 whom she feeds and whom she cares for frequently. Not only is she a good informant, but she sometimes takes didactic initiative. She loves songs and dances.

[608] A15. --About 15 years. He is an orphan; his father was the brother of A13 who took him in. A gentle, tranquil, rather timid boy.

A16. --7 or 8 years; son of A13 and of a14, "husband" of a5. He is a lively and curious child; his mother rarely refuses him anything, and he tyrannizes her willingly. She is very proud of him and overlooks many of his whims. One day she came to ask us to teach him to read. The attempts are not very encouraging. He looks upon the lessons as a game and refuses to learn the letters as determined forms; for him they are interchangeable, and he attributes to them in turn all the sounds which he has in his vocabulary.

115 A17. --Between 50 and 55 years, he is the dean of the group; he
157 is conscious of this and gets a certain pride from having around him
602 only "sons" or "daughters," "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law,"

115 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He is physically robust,
157 amiable, happy and talkative; very much inclined toward erotic
602 jokes. He gives information willingly, with an extreme good will and a tireless volubility. But his explanations are not always clear, and it is necessary to let oneself be guided by his slightly incoherent fantasy.

115 a18.--About 45 years; wife of the preceding, mother of a2 and
157 a22. She is a serious woman, industrious, devoted to her husband and children. She laughs little, talks to herself, and is always busy with some task. Her bits of information are rare, but solid.

a19.--About 10 years. Daughter of the two preceding. She is a very pretty girl, still a child who yet scarcely shows the first signs of puberty. She has in the group a position as "mother," as does her little sister a20. She is a brutal and sometimes violent child, who adopted towards us an attitude confined to hostility. Her language is crude and she gets involved willingly in the most daring pranks. This attitude is at least partially explained, as will be seen farther on, by her age situation.

[45] a20.--Little girl of 5 or 6 years, sister of the preceding: her contemporaries and even some adults call her "mother." She is perfectly insufferable; pretentious, affected, continually greedy for presents or distractions.

A21, a22, a23.--It is difficult to characterize these three individuals who lived, during nearly the whole time of our visit, in an almost absolute state of silent segregation. The baby a23 is not yet weaned, and the state of couvade was to end at the end of our stay. We shall describe later on the operations which sanction return to communal life. A21, 35 to 40 years, is the brother of A1; a22, about 18 years, the sister of a2. A21 was to die by drowning during one of our absences. The baby is 12 to 18 months old.

621 As we have said before, the restricted group such as it has just been described, is temporarily united with other similar bands, or is temporarily swelled by other family groups. Thus to the 6 "fires"(1)

602 1. As the following analysis shows, the family group—that is the restricted group—of the Nambikwara is rather difficult to define. The empiric notion of the hearth seems to us the most clear and practical. It defines the grouping of the individuals who come together in the evening and sleep around the same fire. In group a1 (restricted) studied previously, there are

We shall
621 comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its
[578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for
621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

115 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The
157 chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent
622 Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent
601 in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnẽ ẽ njãnajne heni niho ãmdednjẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often
[177] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the
area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
[537] seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from
group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments
made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately
the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the
aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instru-
ment.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40
years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years,
b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the
latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18,
sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son"
also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years
old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of
oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl
of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1;
he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors
of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster,
they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of
b2, thus tanute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1,
thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of
B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
574 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their
hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was
comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of
B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt
of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the
children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

593 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark
182 462 prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection
against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms
[342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or
[415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[57] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as con-
831 cerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest
462 is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara
562 have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to
[517] signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
[53] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

855 8. u̯érisekihĭndage numĭ sekolai̯ene élamnihĭ ⇒(b1)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ĭtte ŝédeŝedédnege tóodaγige ká ká ká u̯udérige (b1)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a13 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯éttu (a1), tau̯étte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikátu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

> 1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãṣere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeṣere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

> 10. uĩtsotnaniena narũdneraiena indõtenaiena ũnʔeere (b1)
> the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband--places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nʔiuu̯enãgheẽ nʔuu̯ẽeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehẽna u̯ɪ̃tte u̯ɪ̃kərage, "the woman caresses the baby," or u̯ãi̯nu̯ẽtte u̯ɪ̃kərage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. From the children.--Analyst]

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
OR
COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseétasu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (asúkosu, a1; tarúte, b1), or more exactly (since the name asúkosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

In older versions, the old woman (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the 171 [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or grains in South American folklore. [538]

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of expression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships: 157 157 571

60. tai undeɟretnɟẽ ta eɟkirednɟẽ uɑ̃ɟ ɟiren undetnɟẽ tatɟene uɑ̃ɟ iritɟani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep, I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. ieɟtʅana amnentɟẽ hikənariəna iatɟenɟ amdenɟẽ kənahadaɟ ɟedetnɟẽ. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it; tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanaɟõnɟani nihin nalirɟani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 157 521

63. tenũkyẽ tenũkyẽ utanãtiri (b1).
To me! To me! Throw!

157 ●
521

However the artisan at work also makes his wife, child, neighbor participate in the execution of the work on whose vicissitudes he comments gaily:

64. itiouĩ taninjẽ diuĩn... ãmi... kãdaha... munjalina... kãdjanene... nooua... taluunlẽ... nohin... ishena... mũnjena. (b1)
Hold it [the cord] so that I can twist it... let it go! It fell!... There!... It is difficult!.... It is done!.... Does it suit you?.. It is ugly!... No, it is pretty!

The last formula is ritual, it is the one they use at the end of chants and dances; the protagonists excuse themselves: "it is ugly"; and the audience responds: "No, it is pretty!" [708]

[123] This politeness is not always without malice, and compliments sometimes hide attempts at mockery. We cited above the formula used by a group to depreciate their dances in comparison to those of their companions they have just met; (1) but a few hours earlier, disdaining a present of beads

157
521
576

1. Cf. p. 92.

which I offered and which were not much appreciated because of their color, they advised me:

65. mpẽtin maimãndẽ tumuhĩnde (b1)
Keep them to give to the Maimandé.

One day we were sold poison tubes (by group a2) described as so dangerous that we should abstain from ever opening them under pain of immediate death. They proved to be empty, which testifies to great ingenuity if the mystery was improvised on our account. In any case, it throws a curious light on the relationships between neighboring groups.

439
789
157

Fig. 19
Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by A1 while explaining his genealogy (c. p. 40, fn. 1).

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances [157] 797 177 648
sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the preceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in the course of [124] these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupted, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp.

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighboring group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (ajdotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later.

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability.

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North

American Indians. As example of the first aspect we shall mention: the 157
public and "scientific" preparation of the curare; the development of certain therapeutics such as the treatment of ophthalmia by instillation; the flexibility of the sexual division of labor; sexual life in general; the atmosphere of the rites of abstinence; the rational attitude as regards alimentary taboos. Several remarks on this point will make clear the indigenous psychology. The white worms (anaušu, a1) which are frequently found 157
in the nuts of the bacaiuva palm have been indicated as being inedible. Sub- 262
sequently we verified that they were eaten in secret by the children. Thus a8 finds them while cracking nuts and gives them to her little sister a9; and furtively she too eats a worm. Her action is noticed by a3 and a4 who cover her with sarcasm. However one day when food is scarce, A1 eats a plate of worms which his young wife a4 has gathered for him, and sadly remarks that, due to lack of meat, he is reduced to this poor fare. The same observation is made about the hawk. Above we showed what constitutes the metaphysical basis of the alimentary taboo concerning the jaguar. However, the current interpretation is entirely different:

66. ujatedednie uiliʔe (b1).

I don't eat any of it, it smells bad!

In the face of new situations, the Indians generally react without 157
mysticism. Thus, A1 before the problem of writing; (1) on the other hand, 177

1. P. 40 f. and p. 89.

the Nambikwara show total indifference toward photography, even when they have understood its purpose. We have never found [126] Indians who tolerated the participation of the camera in the slightest details of their intimate life with such complete indifference.

However, the passage to irrational positions is made with the same 157
brusqueness which characterizes the two attitudes, almost simultaneous, of an infant hilarity before the still unusual sight of an inflated balloon which burns, and of an appeal to evil magic when a second balloon succeeded in rising. (1) Never does the tender indulgence with which the men surround

157
562

1. P. 97.

their companions (2) allow one to suspect the actual metaphysical curse

2. P. 56 f.

with which the women are burdened in the Nambikwara culture, excluded under pain of death from collective ceremonies, deaf and blind to the voice

of the Beyond, and condemned to nothingness after death like non-initiated babies. We have described the tender companionship which presides in the relationships between the sexes, and the general harmony which reigns within the groups. But when these are altered, it is to give way to the most extreme solutions, poisoning and murder. It is quite reasonable for the informants to underline spontaneously the role of forgetfulness in funeral rites. (3)

157 ● 562

3. P. 112.

For there is a striking contrast between the joyous irony with which one answers someone who is ignorant enough to inquire about a relative deceased for quite awhile: "ihitu, ihetu" (a1), "to the sand! in the sand!," and the horrible apparition of the atasu which is evoked with ritual sobbing.

Nambikwara rites do not seem to be symbolic in any way. The skeleton-like state of A21 and a22 at the end of the period of abstinence testifies to that, and although ceremonies are rare, they are carried far. The informants speak of periods of three months for the isolation of the young girl entering puberty, and of a bath in the river lasting a whole night as a preliminary to marriage. However much behavior is supple and without complication in daily life, likewise intrusions of the supernatural (in visions and revelations, the séances of shamanism, war dances, etc.) are manifested by the transition to an atmosphere of tragedy. No South American group, to our knowledge, expresses in such a sincere and spontaneous way (for one never feels the theatrical atmosphere of Tupi or chaqueno shamanism) such violent and opposed sentiments, whose individual expression seems inseparable from a social stylization which never betrays them.

796 157 781

• • • • •

It is far from us to wish to assign an exclusively economic cause to this dualism. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to consider that the psychological dualism goes on an equal footing with the organization of social existence around [127] two opposite poles, on the one hand the sedentary life, agricultural, based on the dual masculine activity of the construction of huts and of gardening; on the other hand, the nomadic period, during which subsistence is principally assured by feminine collecting and gathering, the one representing alimentary security and well-being, the other chance and want. To these two ways of life, one followed in the winter, the other in the summer, the Nambikwara react in very different ways. They speak of the former with the melancholy which is attached to the conscious and resigned acceptance of the human condition, to the dull repetition of identical acts,

157 182

157
182

While they speak of the latter with the excitement, and the almost exalted tone, of discovery. Let us listen to an informant (B1) describe the double cycle of the year:

First the sedentary life:

67. nedəntãtage kanaadau̯ hai̯ndige u̯edəntánkero, u̯atliri'kero 221
Tomorrow go hunting come back again 539
u̯akui'nikero dánkero undákero 157
cook again go to bed again sleep again 182
nai̯ngi'kero ai̯relókero ai̯kənkero
day again go to the field again cultivate the field again
ai̯ngənkero áamkəro nunãkero u̯ininúnkero
cultivate again leave again eat again
nangi'kero danunkero taórige táu̯ táu̯ táu̯
another day cut wood cut cut cut
telunúkero [telóndige] mbári mbári mbári
finish again wait wait wait
ṣorúmkero ṣ̂utnunátau̯e [ṣ̀utnúkero] li'tnutie̯t
burn again the cold comes [still the cold] plants
denúnkero u̯aɣaari'anunkero u̯aaninúnkero
to go again looking for some return again
iráakero kaku̯áidnatu̯e [kai̯ku̯ánde] hi'kərage kúkero
plant much dig again
ikəranukútige li'tnuránkero
in order to plant dig plants cut again
telóndãmkero dei̯nterituapúmkero au̯rhai̯kero
finish again live a long time again pull up the roots
etuʔi' etui'ʔ etuʔi' hánkero
grate grate grate finish again
nlákərahinkero nku̯au̯lakərahi'nkero átlakero hi'nkero
gu̯átau̯ hikəninuni (b1)
a new field again plant again

And now the great adventure of the nomadic period:

68. inkənáhai̯re mi'ru̯ere i'rige
We leave at dawn; [the basket] is made it waits.
[128] ãgərage tu̯atúrige tu̯a tu̯ikini'nkero i'kəro
one packs; one fills the basket in the woods one travels one travels
nahoreda õkero nlai̯di'nkero ntorai'nkero ái̯nkero
one comes to the water one crosses the water one crosses on the way
ái̯nkero alorekidi'rekəro alorairi'kəro
on the way! one takes the prairie one crosses the prairie

157 ●
182
221
539

ajtuaginĩkəro (in) ŝĩhun lomãnĩnkəro ajkəro
in the forest one travels again the hill one goes down travel
ajkəro ajkəro ajritigəmãnĩnkəro mãgəlanĩnkero
travel travel the hill one goes up the hill one crosses
kəlakalatinĩnkəro erəloranĩnkəro ajrikəro
at the crest one travels one goes down another hill, more walking!
ŝikit(a)titãnərige hajtlikəro ŝikitakãlikəro
In the wet sand travel in the wet sand travel
ŝeinlikəro herhanimnĩnkəro nungenĩnkero
one passes the hut of other people traveling meets others
uelikatnunde ŝiitlĩtte (b1)
one is united with others here are the huts.

As is seen, the two forms of existence not are only very strikingly opposed from the economic and sociological point of view. They constitute two poles around which accumulate complex ensembles of emotions, sentiments and memories. With the same tenderness with which they 157 182 caress their wives, the men evoke the type of life defined by the temporary shelter and the eternal basket, where the most incongruous means of subsistence are sparingly scraped, gathered together, caught each day, where one lives cruelly exposed to wind, cold and rain, and which leaves no more lasting trace than the souls of the women, dispersed by the wind and storms, on whose activity it essentially reposes. And almost like the reign of need is opposed to that of liberty, they conceive in a completely different aspect the sedentary life (whose specific and ancient character is still borne witness to the original species which they cultivate), but upon which the unchangeable chain of agricultural operations confers the same character of perpetuity as the reincarnated masculine souls, the durable house of winter time, and the cultivable land which will begin to live and to produce "when the death of its preceding cultivator shall be forgotten." (1) We do not think it possible to draw conclusions, from a work

1. Cf. quotation, p. 112.

having to do exclusively with several sociological and psychological aspects of the life of the Nambikwara, relative to the place one should assign them in the ensemble of South-American cultures. However, the preceding information suffices to show under what form the problem is posed. We are in [129] the presence of a culture which shows linguistic affinities with the Ŝiḅŝa, and which approaches the Tupi from the double point of view of family organization and religious beliefs, at the same time recalling

957
182

the Ge and the Botocudo in its material culture. (1) In other terms, it

101

1. We do not mention the Botocudo by chance. The term "Nambikwara" seems to be a surname of Tupi origin, with the sense of "large ears" (Nhambikwara). However, the Indians who use this name do not use the "bodoque" or any other ornament bringing on the same malformation. Yet it is possible that the name was originally applied to a tribe—or group of tribes—different from that which finally inherited it. In 1931, the telegraph post of Parecis, located 80 kilometers from Diamantino, was attacked and destroyed by some unknown Indians, who descended from an unexplored region somewhere between the Ariños River and the do Sangre River. Since that time, they have repeated their sorties at irregular intervals, so that it was necessary to change the trail going to Utiarity (on the Papagaio River)about 80 kilometers to the south of the telegraph line. The fires of Indian camps were clearly visible at the time of our passage to Parecis, in January 1939. Thanks to two severed heads, brought back a number of years ago by some garimpeiros (searchers of diamonds) who had a bone to pick with these Indians, it is known that the latter wear in the lobe of the ear and in the lower lip some large disks of light wood which recall those of the Suia and Botocudo. For this reason then, they are now called, by the diamond seekers and the gatherers of rubber of the region, by the name of Beiços de Pau, "Mouths of wood." The story is surprising, for people up to then were convinced that the Paressi had remained the sole occupants of these territories, and they themselves seemed completely ignorant of the presence of these dangerous neighbors. We have not found in literature any reference to the "Beiços de Pau" since the beginning of the 18th century; but at that time there is precise testimony: "Further on there is another tribe called Mahibarez... their language differs only slightly (from that of the Paressi), and they have ears with very long pierced lobes which in some of them hang to the shoulder, these being neighbors of the Paressi... and moreover they carry some short swords made from very strong wood... This people lives toward the northern part"

(Antonio Pires de Campos, "Breve noticia, etc.," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 25, 1862, p. 445). Cf. also C. Lévi-Strauss, "The name of the Nambikuara," American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, 1945. 101

is the problem of a syncretistic culture which one finds so frequently in South American ethnology. 157 182

When taken from the geographical point of view, the statement of the problem is easily reconstituted. One may ask one how best to interpret the presence of a nucleus of low cultures placed symmetrically, as regards the tributaries of the right bank of the Amazon, to that which occupied, and still occupies, eastern Brazil. Under the two wings of the "T" which sketches the distribution of far more evolved cultures of the Amazon valley, and the Madeira, with the long vertical zone which extends from the Xingu to the Tocantins, the low level Gé to the east, and the Nambikwara to the west, produce an equilibrium, like isolated islands. In the case of the Nambikwara, a supplementary problem is raised, that of the duality of their culture and their type of life. The latter can be explained either by taking as a basis the most elementary form of adaptation, and by assuming the borrowing of agricultural life from groups of a more evolved culture, or by leaving the higher form as an impoverishment determined by cultural isolation, or by the [130] suppression in particularly inhospitable regions which would have imposed secondary forms of adaptation. However, it is only by an appeal to all the available sources of information which should include, besides sociological studies, the study of the language and the material culture, and by comparison with the groups living in the same geographic atmosphere, that an attempt to interpret these problems can reasonably be undertaken. 121

---

137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls—for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
131 Nambikwara correspond—roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest—to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paressi and the Iranxe Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

● 161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

a density of constant population for the whole territory, one might admit a total figure of 10,000 inhabitants at the time of discovery, corresponding to 2,000 or 3,000 today, and probably even less. Our itinerary had been drawn up with the main purpose of putting us in contact with the greatest possible number of Indians. After five months of traveling across their territory, we had only encountered 200; that was the actual mean of a single Nambikwara band twenty years ago. Today the nomad band consists of from 4 or 5 to 30 or 40 members. This demographic decrease is explained by the introduction of diseases of other races after the first penetration of the territory in 1907. The few numerical data which it was possible for us to collect will dispense with all commentary. Fifteen years ago, the known fraction of the Sabané group numbered more than 1,000 individuals; when the group visited the telegraph station of Campos Novos in 1928, there were counted 127 men plus women and children. In November of 1928 however, an epidemic of grippe broke out, when the group was camping at a place known to the telegraph employees by the name of Espirro. The illness rapidly evolved toward a form of pulmonary oedema, and 300 Indians died in 48 hours. The whole group disbanded, fleeing the malady and leaving behind the sick and dying. Of the 1,000 Sabané formerly known, only 19 men survived along with their wives and children. Besides the epidemic it should be added, to explain these astounding figures, that the Sabané were at war several years ago with certain eastern neighbors (group a2) (1).

1. See the classification of the Nambikwara group, below, p. 10 f.

But a large group of dialect b2, installed not far from Tres Buritis, was completely liquidated by the grippe in 1927 except six or seven persons of whom only (2) three were still living in 1938. The Tarundé

2. See below, p. 51.

group, [7] formerly one of the most important, still had 12 men (besides women and children) in 1926; of these 12 men, 4 only were living in 1939.

A southern group of dialect b1 (Kabişi) seems to have resisted better; undoubtedly because their contacts with the people of the Line are rare. From 1929 to 1934, no Kabişi had been seen along the telegraph line. The Indians perhaps circulated more to the south

101 where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned,
161 must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabişi. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and

[163] 1. See below, p. 52.

owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

* * *

114 All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of
101 the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast,
197 the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camararé Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunzé, who occupy the basin of the Doze de Otubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uainsçu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Doze de Otubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Taruté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 20 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

1. loc. cit.

[36] Eastern group, dialect a1: oakletosu (a1); galiere (b1); galiririte (c).

621 [161] This group, comprising 23 persons divided into six families, was found in the region of the Papagaio River (Utiarity) upon the occasion of one of its excursions in the nomad period. As we learned later, it was part of quite an important Indian community localized in several villages or camp sites in an unexplored zone of the right bank of the Juruena River, where we went, traveled and lived with them. The dry season and the period of nomadism does not seem to have been the only reason for the isolation of the group; some differences re- [622] lating to command had seemingly provoked a break, grouping a certain number of individuals around an active and ambitious chief. We have, undoubtedly, been called on to play a semi-conscious role in this fight. We shall return to this point when we treat of command. However, the encounters of the group with other bands belonging to the same community have always been cordial. The meeting with a first band approximately restored the population of the winter vil- [161] lage; and the strength of a neighboring village, found later on, increased the number to 75 persons, the largest number of Indians that we saw united in eight months.

As will be seen by the geneological chart opposite, the restricted group is composed of four generations, the oldest reduced to two individuals, the following being composed of "husbands" and "wives," "brothers," "sisters," "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law." The third and the fourth, finally, constitute a complex mixture of children, sometimes at an early age, considered as "children" or "relatives," and of adults claimed as "brothers," "sisters," "husbands," and "wives," and shifted to a generation younger than their normal one because of their situation as children of older brothers.

Before giving several quick pieces of information about each of the members of the group from the point of view of his situation in the kinship system and of his individual psychology, it is necessary to stop for a moment at the question of proper names.

• • • •

551 Proper names are never pronounced among the Nambikwara. A very strict prohibition forbids them and raises a nearly insoluble problem for the notation of genealogies, even though the taboo does not seem to be as rigorous for the dead as for the living. Nevertheless, one [37] never hears a proper name, and individuals call one another

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Nambicuara (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*, *Tawandé*, *Tawaté*, *Tamaé*, and *Tachaitê*) between the Camaré River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Salumã, Sarumã,* or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuna.*

In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha.*

Nambicuara culture, although less primitive than that of the *Siriono* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressi* to the southeast and of the *Tupi-Cawahib* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Gardening exists only during the rainy season and does not free the Nambikuara from wandering during the seven months of the dry season, looking for wild roots, fruits and seeds, small animals such as lizards, snakes, bats, spiders and grasshoppers and, generally speaking, anything which may prevent them from starving. As a matter of fact, their geographical surroundings, which are located in the northwestern part of the state of Mato Grosso and include the headwaters of the Tapajos, Rio Roosevelt and Rio Gi-Parana, consist of a desolated savanna with few vegetal resources and still less game.

Had I approached my subject from a point of view other than the one outlined above, I could not have avoided a long discussion in South American cultural history, aimed at clearing up this apparent primitiveness, on the question as to whether the survival of early conditions of life in South America is genuine or whether we should consider it as a more recent—although undoubtedly pre-columbian—result of culture clashes and processes of acculturation. Whatever the answer may be, it cannot substantially change our problem: whether tarriant or recessive, the Nambikuara society functions, in the present, as one of the simplest forms of human society to be conceived. We shall not seek information from the particular history which kept them in their exceptionally crude organization or brought them back to it. We shall only look at the experiment in social anthropology which they now enact under our very eyes.

This holds especially true in respect to their social and political life. For if we do not know what was the material culture of the Nambikuara forty years ago (they were discovered only in 1907), we do know that their numbers became tremendously reduced after their contact with white civilization. General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who discovered and studied them, first stated that their number was about 20,000. This was around 1915. I take this figure as greatly exaggerated, but even if reduced by one half, it considerably exceeds the present number which is hardly more than 2,000. Epidemics have taken care of the difference. What does this mean, from the point of view of our study? During the dry season, the Nambikuara live in nomadic bands, each one under the leadership of a chief, who, during the sedentary life of the rainy months, may be either a village chief or a person of position. General Rondon wrote that, at the time he was exploring the country, it was not rare to see bands averaging two or three hundred individuals. Now, sixty or seventy

621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

●161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the [illegible] are as follows: Wakítisu, 18; Kitánhlu, 45, Elótasu, 17; Chiwáisu, 50. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half [164] as many exist today. It must be remembered that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires do Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hisipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Noticia published in 1746, he mentions the Caviro Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres de Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1800 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixí, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26–51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Paressí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically compe-
648 tent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tolosa on the upper Cravarí River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyrineus de Sousa between Campos Novos and

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

In 1949, Kaero Onaga, under the supervision of Dr. Oberg, measured 22 Umotina (14 males, 8 females), 13 Eastern Nambicuara (7 males, 6 females) of the Wakitisu band, and 5 Iranxe males. The Umotina were measured at Barra dos Bugres, the Nambicuara and Iranxe at Utiarity. Small as these series are, they represent relatively large samples of the groups from which they are drawn. The total Umotina population is about 65, with 34 adults (see p. 106); the Wakitisu band numbers only 18, and the Eastern Nambicuara together total only about 130 (see p. 86). No figures on the Iranxe are available but they are definitely a remnant group.

The drastic reduction of even the most secluded aboriginal populations in Brazil enhances the value of physical studies already made on them. The present contribution to the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso may be added to the earlier studies by Ehrenreich (1897), Ranke (1910), and Roquette-Pinto (1935). In addition, the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro has unpublished physical data on some of the Upper Xingú tribes, particularly the Camayurá. Vellard (see Imbelloni, 1948, p. 237, ftn.) has unpublished information on three Nambicuara bands. Willems (personal communication) is in the possession of measurements on 40 male Tápirapé. A careful analysis of all these studies should go far in rounding out the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso. In the meantime, I have endeavored to fit the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe series into the existing knowledge of the area.

[p. 128 (B)]

141 Brazilian Indians are brachyskelic, and the Nambicuara con-
144 stitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paressi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Ge group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paressi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

131 The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

101 They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Mambyuara, Mambyara, Membyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

161 They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

2: Steinen--656 F,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Bororo SP8
Nambicuara SP17
Paressi SP19

/548 cont./

	1848		1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz	400
20 Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos	250
21 Maimbarés	400	Parecíz	400
22 Cabixís	500		500
23 Nambiquarás	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacáz	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

/212 cont./

278 184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 126 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] [117] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[114] [162] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

/213 cont./
278 126 [147] [162]
last Çabanè-Tagnani survivors, again showed me the complete preparation of curare. All the information gathered in the various Ñambikwara groups visited agrees with what I was able to observe.

In possession of these facts I prepared several times a certain quantity of curare identical to that of the Ñambikwara. The action of these different samples was tested in the field in order to be used in comparison with later experiments upon the return of the mission; thus any possibility of error due to a possible alteration of these products was eliminated.

A year has gone by since this time, and the various solutions brought back have kept their activity; they made it possible to examine rigorously their curarizing properties.

Preparation of Curare

278 824 Plant. Ñambikwara curare is prepared with only one plant, a Strychnos which grows in the sandy brushwood of the central plateau of the Mato Grosso. Although not rare this species is not abundant anywhere.

It is a bush two meters high (Pl. III, A), with a rather strong stem and downward-hanging branches, more or less sarmentous and sometimes changing into tendrils at the ends; I never saw a really twining example of this species. The branches have a reddish bark, /214/ without thorns, which is covered, as is the stem, with white concretions. The leaves are elongated and small or medium in size. The species is very polymorphous. No specimen bore flowers or fruit.

The Strychnos group is one of the most difficult to study. Many species rarely flower, and in the absence of flowers it is often impossible to identify them.

In certain features the species of the Ñambikwara is comparable to St. medeola. It exists in the plant collection of the Rondon Commission, but also without flowers and undetermined.

2: Steinen--662 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Nambicuara SP17
Apiaca SP2
Guarayu SF11
Brazilian Indians SL4

N
105
175
[131]
[162]

/582 cont./

23. Nambiquarás. 600 at the confluence of the Rio de Peixe and the Arinos. Hunting, fishing, fruits of the sierra, implements of wood and stone. Carry on habitual warfare with their neighbors, especially the Apiacás. Will have nothing to do with the Brazilians, attack canoes on their way to Pará, but are very much afraid of firearms and offer no open resistance.

A
105
175
[131]
[162]

25. Tapanhunas. Of the same type as the preceding ones. About 800 at the confluence of the Tapajoz and the Arinos.

25. Apiacáz. Dwellers along the Juruena, also visit the shores of the Arinos. They have iron goods and carry on agriculture, hunting, fishing. In their feuds with the Nambiquarás and the Tapanhunas they remain more on the defensive, but have nevertheless not by any means given up their original anthropophagous customs. Assist travelers, sell farina from mandioca, roasted maize, cará, batatas, sweet mandioca (aypim), beans, watermelons, gourds, birds, and honey, as well as wide-meshed hammocks of cotton or tucum palm, feather ornaments.

BI.
105
175

26. Mequens. On the like-named tributary of the Guaporé between the Guaraios and Palmellas. They flee; gifts which were put in the forest were not accepted.

G
105
175
[131]

27. Guaraios. At a place called Pao Cerne, 50 leagues from Matto Grosso. Mandioca, beans, maize; hunting, fishing. Seek out travelers.

G
[167]
[161]

[Report of 1850: Moved over from Pao Cerne in 1852 to the Aldea de Sta. Ignez somewhat below Matto Grosso. 31 tribes of 40 families = 1240, originating, it is assumed, from a settlement in the Bolivian province of "Mofos" (not "Moxos").]

BI.
105
175
131

28. Cautarios. On the like-named rivers between the Mamoré and Forte Principe. Fishing, hunting, wild fruits, mandioca. Harm us as much as they possibly can. They are robbers, traitors, and murderers.

29. Paceáz. On the Mamoré east of the Guaporé mouth up to the first cataract. Quite unknown.

30. Senabós. West of the Mamoré up to the first cataract. Unknown. At war with the Jacarés (31).

101 where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned,
161 must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabişi. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and

●[163]

1. See below, p. 52.

owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

* * *

114 All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of
101 the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast,
197 the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camararé Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunzé, who occupy the basin of the Doze de Otubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uaintaçu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Doze de Otubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Taruté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 20 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

1. loc. cit.

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkɔlékenore, b1—to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uataʔãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 163 847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.

[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them:

a density of constant population for the whole territory, one might admit a total figure of 10,000 inhabitants at the time of discovery, corresponding to 2,000 or 3,000 today, and probably even less. Our itinerary had been drawn up with the main purpose of putting us in contact with the greatest possible number of Indians. After five months of traveling across their territory, we had only encountered 200; that was the actual mean of a single Nambikwara band twenty years ago. Today the nomad band consists of from 4 or 5 to 30 or 40 members. This demographic decrease is explained by the introduction of diseases of other races after the first penetration of the territory in 1907. The few numerical data which it was possible for us to collect will dispense with all commentary. Fifteen years ago, the known fraction of the Sabané group numbered more than 1,000 individuals; when the group visited the telegraph station of Campos Novos in 1928, there were counted 127 men plus women and children. In November of 1928 however, an epidemic of grippe broke out, when the group was camping at a place known to the telegraph employees by the name of Espirro. The illness rapidly evolved toward a form of pulmonary oedema, and 300 Indians died in 48 hours. The whole group disbanded, fleeing the malady and leaving behind the sick and dying. Of the 1,000 Sabané formerly known, only 19 men survived along with their wives and children. Besides the epidemic it should be added, to explain these astounding figures, that the Sabané were at war several years ago with certain eastern neighbors (group a2) (1).

1. See the classification of the Nambikwara group, below, p. 10 f.

But a large group of dialect b2, installed not far from Tres Buritis, was completely liquidated by the grippe in 1927 except six or seven persons of whom only (2) three were still living in 1938. The Tarundé

2. See below, p. 51.

group, [7] formerly one of the most important, still had 12 men (besides women and children) in 1926; of these 12 men, 4 only were living in 1939.

A southern group of dialect b1 (Kabişi) seems to have resisted better; undoubtedly because their contacts with the people of the Line are rare. From 1929 to 1934, no Kabişi had been seen along the telegraph line. The Indians perhaps circulated more to the south

115 and only reveals her happy nature on occasions of songs and dances where
157 she excels. One always sees her occupied by some craft work which she seems to prefer—shaping or polishing disks of shells, drilling them through or filing them, rubbing earrings or bracelets. She talks little, letting herself be completely absorbed by her work. She is a wife and mother, and a remarkable informant for all details of the material culture.

a12. --Daughter of the preceding two, approximately 22 years; she is the wife of A73 who abandoned her to live with two women a74 and a75. Because of this, she returned to the charge of her parents, the more so because she is pregnant. She is placid, smiling and apathetic. She is separated from collective life by her condition
● [164] and by a painful eye infection which struck her first among the members of her group of which several were later attacked by the epidemic.

A13. --About 40 years of age. Son of A18, "brother," consequently, of a2, "brother-in-law" of A1, whose older sister a14 he married. Always joyful, active and docile, he is the confidence man of A1, his preferred messenger, the companion he chooses for all complicated undertakings. He is industrious, a [44] not affected in his attitudes, and, as an informant, compliant, very verbose and not always clear or comprehensive.

a14. --About 40 to 45 years. Wife of the preceding, blood sister of A1, mother of A16. She is influential, active, diligent, at first quite rude, but in reality pleasing and competent. She exercises real authority over the other women of the group by her spirit of initiative and her pep. She is the grandmother of a8 and of a9 whom she feeds and whom she cares for frequently. Not only is she a good informant, but she sometimes takes didactic initiative. She loves songs and dances.

[608] A15. --About 15 years. He is an orphan; his father was the brother of A13 who took him in. A gentle, tranquil, rather timid boy.

A16. --7 or 8 years; son of A13 and of a14, "husband" of a5. He is a lively and curious child; his mother rarely refuses him anything, and he tyrannizes her willingly. She is very proud of him and overlooks many of his whims. One day she came to ask us to teach him to read. The attempts are not very encouraging. He looks upon the lessons as a game and refuses to learn the letters as determined forms; for him they are interchangeable, and he attributes to them in turn all the sounds which he has in his vocabulary.

115 A17. --Between 50 and 55 years, he is the dean of the group; he
157 is conscious of this and gets a certain pride from having around him
602 only "sons" or "daughters," "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law,"

sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Waklĭtisu band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Waklĭtisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Waklĭtisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the Eastern Nambicuara are as follows: Waklítisu, 18; Kitánhlu, 45, Elótasu, 17; Chiwáisu, 50. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half as many exist today. It must be remembered that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

[164]

114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires do Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hisipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Noticia published in 1746, he mentions the Caviro Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres de Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1800 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixí, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26–51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Paressí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically competent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tolosa on the upper Cravarí River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyreneus de Sousa between Campos Novos and

648

145 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their
145 digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[194] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the
[514] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred
164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar piorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots
[513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

164 But when I examined those individuals whose photographs [sic] are shown here, I verified the existence of a true skin disease, similar to several others which are found among our aborigines.

The disease appears at all ages; it was found among nursing children as well as old people, and both sexes are affected.

It appears to be more common among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers. The Paresi, their near neighbors, do not know the disease; and I did not hear of any case among the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

No part of the body is spared except the scalp. The nails are exempt, and the face is seldom affected.

The disease is not rare, and it is easy to see traces of its presence on many of the Indians. However, I believe that the intensity of its development is quite variable, for I could verify its well defined symptoms in only eight out of some 400 Indians.

This skin disorder has three successive clinical stages, and one individual may exhibit lesions belonging to different stages. Some scabs show transitional forms.

In its first stage the disease produces very small cysts full of a serous liquid and placed in linear, circular and concentric arrangements. In-between, the skin looks healthy; the cysts [182] are not surrounded by any visible inflamed zone. There is no heat or redness. [Fig. 14]

Then the cysts grow slightly and dry up, forming scaly crusts which follow the contours of the early pattern. But the circular shapes are no longer clear, for the initial lesions have converged in many areas across the stretches of healthy skin. This is how the large exfoliating scabs are formed which characterize the second stage of the disease.

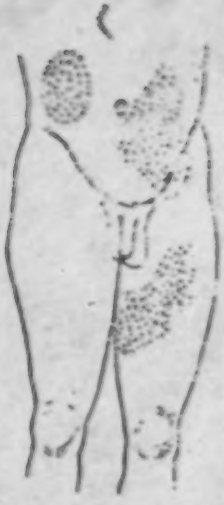
The third stage is brought about in the same manner. The scabs develop side by side; they eventually unite, and the scaling becomes generalized. In addition, the scales grow considerably in size as the final stage of the disease reaches its climax.

The affected person becomes repulsive.

One Indian woman had a multitude of scales standing all over her body, like strips of dark tissue paper fastened to the skin at one end.

7: Roquette-Pinto--&A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

164 [182]



Báanêcêdútú--First stage of the Serra do Norte skin disease (sketch).

964 These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[157] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet
[178] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113]

1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

302
751

Indians are as well protected against the actinic action of the sun as if they were wearing the thick clothing of the Sahara tribes. Because they are nude, however, the air circulates freely around their body, reducing the heat and hastening the evaporation of perspiration.

"If exposed to sunlight, in accordance with the property described above, urucu absorbs only slightly the heat of the sun, reflecting the red rays and also the heat rays. For this reason the white man or one with slight pigmentation, when smeared with urucu, does not perspire excessively as does the Negro under the same circumstances.

"In view of the properties ascribed to urucu by our experiments, and of the widespread usage of this dye among the Indians of tropical America, we believe that it should be considered not as merely ornamental but as an effective means of protection against tropical light and heat."

● 164 [184] The manifestations and evolution of the disease lead us to believe that it is a dermatomycosis. The habitat of the pathogenic fungus is probably to be found in the soil. This would explain why the personnel of the Line, who have lived among the Nambicuara for years, have not yet contracted the disease. This also applies to the Parecis, [213] who are now in contact with the diseased Indians. Both groups, unlike the Nambicuara, make use of hammocks and never sleep on the ground.

To this day, no microscopic examination of the scales has been made, and I am not responsible for this failure. In 1912 the Indians [223] would not allow us to collect the necessary materials; they were still suspicious.

164 The aboriginal name for this disease in the Serra do Norte is bãanẽcẽdũtũ. I believe that the word refers to the curvilinear shape [125] of the lesions, for bãanẽndũtũ is the generic name given by these Indians to the spirally constructed gastropod shells.

The above will suffice to indicate that this pathological manifestation had not yet been described among Brazilian aborigines.

Some of the skin diseases peculiar to our Indians bear no similarity to the bãanẽcẽdũtũ of the Serra do Norte.

The following diseases may be disregarded at once [as possibly related forms]: yaws [pian], mange [curub], pinhã, munga, pareb, xerodermae (ichthyoses), leishmanioses, etc.

[Page of plates p. 184.]

[185] Pereb is the Tupian name for commonplace skin boils such as those caused by staphylococcus.

Pinhã was found among some Amazon Indians by Martius. It is probably a kind of furuncular disease. Martius considered it a sort of anthrax.

Yaws is now well known; as far back as 1558 it was admirably described by Thévet, and in 1578 by Jean de Léry. In 1613 the learned priest Yves d'Evreux masterfully pointed out its likeness to the "Naples disease." The Indians of the Serra do Norte exhibit nothing of the sort.

It should also be noted that they do not know leprosy or the leishmaniosic sores which afflict the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

I did not see a single Indian afflicted with malignant sores [feridas bravas], while the infirmary at São Luiz de Cáceres overflowed with victims of the disease who came from the camp.

Nor does the Nambicuara disease bear any similarity to the skin disorder of the "Antisian" Indians (Mosetene, Tacana, Yuracare) who live on the eastern watersheds of the Andes in Peru and Bolivia.

The hombres overos, as the Spaniards named these Indians, exhibit large, irregular, whitish patches of unclear contours, located chiefly on the joints.

D'Orbigny states that these spots never have a grainy appearance; that children are spared; and that the skin of those affected remains completely smooth.

7: Roquette-Pinto--9A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

164
142
302

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

Skin disease of the Serra do Norte Indians (unretouched photograph)

Nambicuara Indian

Tawite Nambicuara

7: Roquette-Pinto--10 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

164 [171] The disease of the overos is in fact equivalent to the vaurana of our Tupian Indians, and actually the same as the "Carate disease" of Colombia, the "spotted disease," lota in Central America or purupuru in the Amazon.

164 114 [186] Spix and Martius at the beginning of the last century, and after them other naturalists, found the disease spread out through the great valley. Many chroniclers dealt with it, Baena in greatest detail.

"Purupuru," [wrote Spix and Martius], "is the name given by the Brazilians to those Indians who are really called Pamaouiri and who live on the Purus River."

They described the disease of the "Pamaouiri" (or Paumary as they are called today), listing as its major characteristic the presence of irregular skin spots, isolated or converging, blackish, and somewhat coarse to the touch.

Martius believed that some white spots occasionally found among the black ones represented the initial stage of the disease.

He thought that purupuru was hereditary, although its external manifestations appeared only after puberty. The Indians Martius met attributed the disease to "a bad condition of the blood"; and the naturalist believed that the "amphibious life" of these people, their food and some of their customs had a great deal to do with the coming forth of purupuru.

Later, through dissemination of the disease, the name came to designate all the tribes of the Purus-Juruá region: Paumary, Yuberi, Arua, etc.

About twenty years ago, Ehrenreich noted certain curious facts about the manifestations of purupuru. He confirmed that the disease only develops after puberty. He found some Indians whose feet and hands were entirely white, giving the impression of a partial albinism or a kind of vitiligo.

According to Ehrenreich, the spots have a grayish blue color in the first stage of the disease. As the edges whiten, the center becomes darker.

[187] He personally never observed the scaling of affected areas. But he relates popular reports to the effect that the Paumary

164 secretly mix the scales from their skin with the food and water of their
114 neighbors so that the disease may affect them too.

He adds that no hair grows on the white spots. The itching is always intensive.

In 1909, Koch-Grünberg wrote of the purupuru found in the valley of the Rio Negro. In accordance with the Indians' views he distinguished three varieties of the disease, white, black, and red, depending on the predominant coloring of the spots. Koch-Grünberg says that the black spots are hard and coarse, the white ones smooth and similar in aspect to burns.

However, Oswaldo Cruz (1) stated in 1913 that there is no

[113]

1. Oswaldo Cruz, Relatorio sobre as condições medico-sanitarias do vale do Amazonas [Report on the Medical and Sanitary Conditions of the Amazon Valley], Ministry of Agriculture (Rio, 1913).

justification for this division into three varieties. He considers the white spots to constitute a more advanced stage of the disease and to result from the elimination of skin pigment by an infectious agent.

Oswaldo Cruz also noted scaling around the black spots.

Already in 1886, Hirsch (2) had stated that pururpuru could only

[113]

2. A. Hirsch, Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie [Handbook of Historical and Geographical Pathology] (1886).

be a dermatomycosis. The studies of Montoya y Flores (3) and

[113]

3. J. B. Montoya y Flores, "Recherches sur les Caratés de Colombie [Studies on the Carate of Colombia]" (Paris, 1893); Archives de Parasitologie, Vol. 2; "Notes sur les Caratés" [Notes on the Carate], Ann. de Derm. et de Syphil. (1897).

164 [114] Oswaldo Cruz, though not yet conclusive, seem to justify this hypothesis.

[188] The Indians of the Serra do Norte live on tributaries of the Amazon, and consequently in the vicinity of the extensive area where purupuru has been found. Yet they are indisputably free from the disease. Their isolation has protected them.

Báanêcêdútú bears some similarity to ringworm (herpes circinatus) and also to tokelau (tinea imbricata).

[114] In 1897 Ehrenreich confused these two diseases and stated that they are frequent among the Indians of the tropical zone.

Ringworm, however, is not the same as tokelau, and these diseases are not widespread among the Indians. The latter's skin, exposed as it is to numerous disturbing factors present in the environment, is often affected by "artificial eruptions of internal of external origin" which might be confused in certain cases with parasitic diseases.

However, there is no doubt that the initial stages of the Serra do Norte skin disorder would resemble those of herpes circinatus, with their concentric circles of small cysts, if they did not lack the inflammation that goes with herpes.

Perhaps this symptom merely goes unnoticed, owing either to the thickness of the skin or to its scanty blood supply, absence of hair, small number of sebaceous glands, etc.

The subsequent manifestations of the Serra do Norte disease, however, preclude its identification with ringworm. In its final stage, the disease of the Nambicuara is much more similar to tinea imbricata.

The covering of the individual with long scales similar to strips of tissue paper, which I clearly observed among my Indians, is also ascribed to tokelau. In tokelau as in báanêcêdútú, moreover, there is no inflammation [189] around the lesions and the hairy parts are not affected.

Tinea imbricata also begins with cystic formations, but in the Nambicuara disease the transformation of the cysts into "systems" is much more irregular. Actually there are no true "scaling systems" as in tokelau, but rather scabs surrounded by scales so small that they have a grainy appearance.

164 Thus the true likeness between the two diseases only appears clearly in the last stage, when the elongated papery scales cover the whole body.

On the other hand, the symptomatology of the Serra do Norte disease bears no similarity to that of the Araguaia River tokelau which was described in 1903 by Dr. C. Paes Leme (1) and which Fritz Krause

[113]

1. C. Paes Leme, "Contribuição ao estudo do Tokelau [Contribution to the Study of Tokelau]," Doctoral Thesis (Rio, 1903).

failed to mention. The general symptoms reported [by Leme] are altogether lacking among the Serra do Norte Indians, whose ailment bears all the characteristics of a local disease.

For these reasons, I believe that bãanêcêdûtû is an exfoliating dermatomycosis, perhaps even a tinea akin to tokelau.

At that time it proved impossible to obtain materials for microscopic examinations. At present the situation is more favorable; the sick are becoming more trustful, and this makes it possible to carry out much more complex investigations.

I have examined [ornamental] bands and other objects which had long been in direct contact with the skin lesions. It is obvious that such observations are quite rudimentary, and I do not expect them to be successful. Should it prove possible to isolate a fungus from these objects, to cultivate it and innoculate it, I shall return to this interesting subject.

It is the task of specialists to complete and correct these notes, which merely attempt to record the clinical [190] aspects of a pathological manifestation found among some primitive Indians. Sooner or later, contaminated by alien infections which unfortunately they will be unable to avoid, they will exhibit similar disturbances in a different form, modified by the benefits and evils of civilization. (1)

113

1. See Olympio da Fonseca Filho, "Afinidades parasitologicas e clinicas

105 Kiriri is another language which bears some similarity to the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

8. In addition to linguistic affinities, the Serra do Norte Indians present certain ethnographic traits peculiar to the Ge-Botocudo tribes and rarely found among Indians of other groups: unfamiliarity with navigation and the hammock, absence of pottery, screens of leaves and branches, etc.

This being the case, the Serra do Norte Indians (Nambicuara) add a western link to the chain [314] of Ge peoples whose westernmost representatives had been until now the Suya.

9. The Nambicuara have been neighbors of the Paressi for centuries but have been influenced only slightly by that tribe. The two cultures kept evolving side by side, at different stages of development and with little interaction.

10. Agriculture arose early among the Serra do Norte Indians; this seems to have resulted from the demands of the geographical environment. It is almost certain, however, that the rise of this activity was conditioned by alien influences, not yet known, which provided the opportunity to acquire the necessary materials; for the species encountered among the Nambicuara are the same as those cultivated by other inhabitants of the region.

11. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, the Serra do Norte Indians are completely distinct from their neighbors. Those American Indians who come closest to them in terms of anatomical characteristics are the Nu-Arawakan.

12. The Serra do Norte Indians are affected by a special skin disease . . . which is unknown to their neighbors . . . [and] probably a variety of tinea imbricata.

UCL 137 13. Their main parasites are Siphonaptera (chigoe, (1) believed

1. Tunga penetrans.

to be of African origin but definitely a species of tropical America); and Hemiptera of the Pediculus humanus species, which are found among all the world's peoples. [Plates, p. 264.] [315] Perhaps this particular insect should be considered a variant on account of its size.

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. i̯akhūninde ĩteru u̯irokūnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: u̯oṣĩ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hōte u̯ā̯inde miramirai̯na hōte u̯airĩdni̯ena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣariṣena tākəlahẽ tākela áɣoriṣẽ kãdai̯ena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

514
515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.

514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation.(1). Following this, they are only subject to

1. Cf. below, p. 109.

certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. jayoodage edede edede edede kano kano kano kano kano kanaho huiire tamindige. (b1).
The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

841
147
171 2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen which women are indisposed. But the above remarks seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edẽdé edẽdé edẽdé signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not--as it is also grammatically possible--"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian [201] clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tau̯étte, tau̯étte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 833 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated u̯iĩnedi̯utu and, in the central and southern dialects, tamiĩndige, tuu̯iĩrare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahu̯iĩnosu (nosu = man, al), tamiĩnde, u̯aĩre. On the other hand, in the northern

834 nights" kanaro?etẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are
642 particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains
834 were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of
[833] total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife
[856] [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (touri?iti, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

●[71] 1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome:
[847] the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

831 The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to
832 love can be summed up in their formula tamĩndige mõndage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden
[833] meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament.
[147] In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order
833 than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

N
601 up to the present time. We do not pretend to found a dualistic theory of organization (2) on these limited observations whose

2. This point has been developed before; cf. "Dual organization etc.," loc. cit.

character remains anecdotal. However, we are indeed in the presence of one of those cases where "the fundamental traits of the clan organization are found, in a certain measure, to be preformed in tribes destitute of clan (3)." It would suffice, to

3. R. H. Lowie, "Family and Sib," American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 28-40.

satisfy the exigencies of dualistic organization, that the new group should settle down, and maintain the memory of its ambiguous origin by continuing to avoid confusing the two sets of fires.

Finally, this system manifests, under a new aspect, this
N preponderance of men which we have called attention to as
[648] regards inter-individual relationships. It is through the men that alliances of groups are decided, as also eventually, their wars.

* * * *

000 The preceding remarks have perhaps another interest: that of suggesting an interpretation of observations of a sociological
N character which one finds scattered in the ancient literature
T relating to South America.
601
171 One should first note some striking analogies between certain traits of the Nambikwara kinship system and those which can be attributed to the family organization of the ancient Tupi of the Brazilian shore. It will be seen later that, on the metaphysical plan, there are not only themes common to the two cultures, but that such religious terms of the Nambikwara vocabulary have an evident Tupi origin. Each time that we are to describe the small incidents of the daily life of the Nambikwara, the temptation is almost irresistible [80] to quote Jean de Léry and Yves d'Evreux, for it is so true that the same words of these old authors can literally be applied to one culture, later by four centuries. But it is in the kinship system that the resemblances are the clearest: the two cultures invoke

NT 601 171 the three same fundamental principles: distinction of the brothers and sisters of the parents into parallel uncles and aunts called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross-uncles and aunts called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law"; preferential marriage between cross-cousins, with the concomitant assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; finally avuncular marriage, which seems to have been the rule among the ancient Tupi, in the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. (1)

1. There should be added the distinction of brothers and sisters into "elder" and "younger."

The first principle springs directly—and the other two indirectly—from an important text of Anchieta which we shall quote here:

"But in speaking of relationships they never use this word eté (true) because since they call the brothers of their fathers father,' and the sons of their brothers 'son,' and the sons of the uncles, brothers of the fathers, 'brother,' in order to declare who is their true father or son, they say xeruba xemonhangara, my father 'who begot me' and in the case of the son, xeraira xeremimonhanga, my son 'whom I begot'; and thus never did I hear the Indian call his wife xeremireco eté, but rather simply xeremireco or xeraicig, 'mother of my children'; nor did I ever hear a woman call her husband xemenete, 'true husband,' but rather simply xemena or xemembira ruba, 'father of my children'; which terms they use for men with whom they are living as well as for their recognized husbands; and if the husband ever calls one of his wives xeremireco eté, he means 'my most esteemed or dearest wife,' who often is the last one he has taken." (2)

2. "Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil," Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. VIII, 1846, I (2nd Series), pp. 254-262; p. 259.

This text offers a supplementary interest. It shows that the Tupí, like the Nambikwara, were not stopped by the problem of the distinction between real parents and classificatory parents. In the two cases, the need of special terms was not felt, and one is limited to referring, when necessary, to physiological considerations. (3)

4. Cf. before, p .[sic]

TN 601 171 The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

TN 601 582 171 The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins among the Tupí, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico eté, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces—and very attractive women they are—do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [81] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Taragoaj, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden. The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

TN [842] found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others. With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the [842] father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

1: Lévi-Strauss--93 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba SD9

receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraïb of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85; Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

TN 601 171 582 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

TN 595 171 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; --Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; --P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandtschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63 , 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

TN 607 171 All of these observations authorise us to trace a parallel between the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

1: Lévi-Strauss--95 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba 509

T
607 customs of the country, which is to have Chetouasaps or hosts or
171 godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this hospitality or godfathership is very strict among them: for they actually consider you their children while you live with them, they go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks

4. Voyage dans le nord du Brésil, Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

of the "French who were lodged by godfathership in these villages."(5)

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

T The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is
592

6. Loc. cit. II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also, Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

to be noted that these words Atourassap and Coton-assap differ, for the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named." The "Coton-assap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding, privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner, who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a
N theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.
T [83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship
607 between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi.
171 All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way. The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists
N among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that
[83] among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

1: Lévi-Strauss--96 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba SD9

while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships, which make up for the absence of an available sister.

We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarúte or jópa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetonasap (Yves d'Evreux) or cotonasap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

1: Levi-Strauss--97 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambikuara SP17.

171
601

two types of solidarity, the one, mechanical and expressed by the term brother, and the other, organic, expressed by the term brother-in-law. We have alluded to this above, p. 71.

114
601

One might object that the old authors might have interpreted doubtful observations in the light of European facts. As we shall propose [84] the name of compérage to designate an institution which we believe to be authentically Indian, it will be useful to stop for a moment at this aspect of the problem.

Without doubt the facts analyzed above, and the European institution of compérage [compaternity]offer striking analogies. At the beginning, the godfather and the godmother were connected with one another, and both of them to the parents of the child, by the mystic bonds of sponsorship. But the relationship soon became secularized in all the small rural communities, or, more exactly, everywhere where the family grouping takes precedence over the extended social group. The relationship is then employed to establish an artificial kinship line, or even, as happens among the Nambikwara to translate in kinship terms a simple phenomenon of spatial contiguity. (1) The strangers, the newcomers, are adopted

1. This derivation is well brought to light by etymology: in English, god-sib becomes gossip.

thanks to the reciprocal usage of the appellations of godfather and godmother which they receive from—and return to—their contemporaries. On the other hand, the stranger usually assimilates himself by taking a wife in his new community, and the terms godfather and brother-in-law become synonyms so rapidly that the men allied by marriage only call one another by the first. In the villages of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the godfather or "compadre" is an actual or potential brother-in-law. That in certain regions of Central or South America the analogy between the Indian and European institutions has aided the first to establish and modernize itself is not doubtful. Thus, in Mexico, the primitive institution of the mozo, that is, obligation, for the heads of families to exchange presents periodically now functions in the framework of the relations of "compadres," the Spanish term offering a convenient translation of the ancient Otomi. (2)

2. Jacques Soustelle, La famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique central, Paris, Institut D'Ethnologie, 1937.

But the formal analogy of the two institutions should not disguise their truly opposite characters. In the Latin-Mediterranean society the bond, formerly mystic and now social, of compérage, can be transformed by marriage into an actual kinship line. Among the ancient Tupi, and among the Nambikwara, it is, on the contrary, the concrete kinship which furnished its model to a type of bond utilized to establish wider relationships.

That having been posed, there are two reasons why our authors could not have elaborated a pseudo-Indian institution after a European model. In the first place, men as familiar with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry, could not have likened a relationship whose first consequence, and the probable object, was to permit new types of marriage, to the relationship between godfather, godmother and relatives who observed very severe enforcement [85] of the prohibitions of marriage, especially since the thirteenth century. At the time when they were writing, the question had actuality, since it was set down in the program of the Council of Trent, where the ancient rules had to be a little softened. But we have a much decisive argument. From the arrival of the first missionaries, the two institutions, European and Indian, must have evolved side by side, especially among the baptized Indians. But neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted Christian sponsorship in terms of Indian compaternity. On the contrary, and more logically since the newly introduced institution carried restrictions regarding marriage, they treated it as a modality of the relationship of paternity. They likened the godfather to a classificatory father: "Thus, they (the children who come to receive baptism) regarded their godfathers as their real fathers and called them Cherou, meaning "my father," the French called them Cheaire, which means "my son," and the little girls Cheagire, "my daughter"... (1)

1. Yves d'Evreux, l. c., II, 1, p. 234.

We believe we have assembled enough information concerning the fundamental character of the relationship between brothers-in-law in the South American society so that the nucleus of an original institution of compaternity can be seen in it which appears still living among the Nambikwara. The documents here presented suggest (2)

2. An English version of these observations has been published under the title: "The social use of kinship

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dúrige ṳetnatúrina édnadṳre lukuĩ'ndige ndakuĩ'ndige monánkiadukuĩ'ndige denõ dúrige monáṳre lĩ'ttige amonotlĩ'ttige toṳodúrige ṳiténdige (bl)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
[224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
[281 mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714] bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loukuĩ'ndige inkara uĩ'rige lotstaĩrige ikuitãdige uĩ'rige (bl)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atásu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atásu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted
171 with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

776
971

and Nimuendaju, "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani,". Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. Also, the atásu in question in the preceding paragraph, curiously evoke the yurupari, or ananga, ancient Tupi genies of the bush against which they defend themselves with a flaming torch which thus plays the same role as the magic javelin (cf. Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 61). Finally, the atásu itself often appears in the form of the jaguar; and in the eastern groups at least, it plays the role of the Messenger of Death which the central, southern, and northern groups give over to the jaguar. There is thus in the vocabulary, a close connection between the stars, the jaguar and the atásu, already noted by Claude d'Abbeville (cited by Métraux, l. c., p. 49) among the Tupinamba: these identified the jaguar with the stars. Like the "celestial" jaguar (Montoya), the "man-eating" (Nimuendaju), the jaguar of the Nambikwara presents a remarkable ambivalence: it is sacred, and at the same time, they kill it. Finally, comparative linguistics confirms the connection. The term which means jaguar in dialect a1, inaãru is associated with the name of the jaguar among the central and southern Tupi: yaouare (Emerillon, Coudreau); saoruhu (Guajajara, Nimuendaju); jaoarohu (Tapirapé, Kissenberth).

[101] COMMUNICATION WITH A SUPERNATURAL WORLD: SHAMANISM.

787

It is considered possible to receive visions of far-distant things and revelations of future happenings. These supernatural communications are usually produced upon the occasion of tempests and storms. They are sudden and unforeseen. Every adult male is apt to
[262] receive them, for in this case too, the women (except, it seems, the oldest) are excluded from the spiritual life:

42. iaṣ̂idádni déñõ tamúmatatjani nahoe ejáni ekuáieni kanahádau uatli aikuaauatlikentete (b1)
Invisible to women the men see it [the thunder]: "Far away I see, close by I see, tomorrow it will arrive, very near it will arrive."
(It is a question here of a warning vision of messengers come from another tribe).

278 757 injection of pao preto (ikátu nǝ̂ṣerám, a1), put in the eye with the aid of a funnel of leaves from whose lower extremity the liquid falls drop by drop. But other maladies, considered the result of
755 756 poisoning (or of a charm; in both cases: nánde) are exclusively within the domain of the sorcerer. He makes the "arrows of thunder" (ndaórede, b1) in all points similar to those used for hunting except that their dimensions are much more restricted. The treatment consists of three operations: throwing the arrows around the sick person to carry away the spirits; sucking the body to force out the cause of the illness; this cause is thrown far away when it has been captured:

43. ãdige underãdige kadirjénka úngeraige tenúndige (b1)
throw, throw far away the little thorns sucked with the mouth, throw away [the evil]. (1)

1. The informant made it known that by "little thorns" he meant to designate the "arrows of thunder" which are only several centimeters in length. One notes the same assimilation in other regions of South America.
[71] Thus, the informant of Karsten in the Chaco (R. Karsten, "Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco," Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cites as the cause of the malady and the way of combatting it, an "arrow" or "splinter").

[103] Afterwards the sick person is usually cured and can take up his work again:

44. enéndige deéndige enéna déjdnige (b1)
To be sick is finished [one can] continue.

756 However, the sorcerer can establish much closer relationships with the supernatural powers. During our stay in his group, C20 disappeared, or more exactly did not return to camp at the usual hour. The other men, having gone hunting, had not seen him the whole day. Night fell and toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, the most profound consternation reigned in the camp and particularly around the fire of the man who had disappeared, whose two wives and child held themselves embraced while mourning in advance the death of their husband and father. At this moment we decided to look around, accompanied by a few Indians. We had only to walk 200 meters to discover C20, crouched on the ground and shivering in the darkness. He was completely naked, that is, divested of his

[581] Dutemõdednige (b1), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodunũere, b1) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tauorõtige, b1). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiriere, b1), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjõtige, b1) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjõtige, b1) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

[71]

1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: "... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
836 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara.

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193 197 171]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ŝibŝa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) u̯ai ʔaniena taikedniena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahéndesu	ahéndesu	deʔénde	pãte
Black	ŝundne	atuũdisu	u̯áre, dédane	tapũte

continued

773
539

nágatatnjáani ukúnaionetátjena ukuajenthni
who do not know how to understand others who live so distant
[that it is necessary]
kanéngore kanéngore kanéngore
that a moon end that a moon end that a moon end
uatlítnjãni (b1)
in order that they arrive.

The whole story can be summed up as follows: alone of all the 773
humans, one old woman succeeded in escaping the Flood by hanging to the top of a buriti palm. By letting some nuts fall from the palm into the water, she was able to measure the decline of the water, and when the ground was dry, she came down and was delivered of a son. Through an incestuous union with her son, she then gave birth to twins of different sex, and from their incestuous union was born a new generation of twins. Thus, the whole of humanity would be descended from a series of marriages between twins, each giving birth to a new couple. As men multiplied, new villages were founded, always further away. So much so that today men live at such distances from one another that they do not speak the same language, do not understand one another, and must travel for whole months in order to visit.

This version offers several points in common with others collected in distant regions of South America. It is doubtless necessary to interpret the throwing of the palm nuts in the light of the "magical projection" 773
which has been studied above. (1) The throwing of small nuts certainly 171

1. Cf. p. 96.

possesses a magic significance. The same episode is found in several versions of the legend of the Flood, (2) and its magical value is formally attested

2. Cf. for example the Tupi version collected by Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 45.

for the Ŝipaia by Nimuendaju. (3) In older versions, the old woman (since

3. To kill the sun by throwing upon it small nuts of the palm tree anaja, thus introducing night upon the earth ("Sagen der Tembe Indianern," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 47, 1915, p. 296).

In older versions, the old woman (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the 171 [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is [538] probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or grains in South American folklore.

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological 157
and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of expression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to 157
respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either 571
a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships:

60. tai undeɟretnɟ̃ ta eɟkirednɟ̃ uɟ̃ ɟiren undétnɟ̃ tatɟene uɟ̃ iritɟani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep, I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. ieɟtʔana amnentɟ̃ hikənariəna iatɟenə amdénɟ̃ kənahádaɟ̃ ɟedétnɟ̃. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it; tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanaɟõnɟani nihin nalirɟani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games 157
of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 521

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakítisu band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakítisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Wakítisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

181 Caduveo, perhaps remindful of their slave-owning
• 171 past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The Arawak-speaking Terena and Paresí, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Bacairí and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
576 and impolite even to rúdeness. On many occa-
609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "raspberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paresí consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[101] 181 648 The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance, "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "crianca" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and ● 171 longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimanta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço 101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. #6, pp. 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units. 571 607 582

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires. 571 607

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men. 571 607 562

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast. 080

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. 114 171 601

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two: 114 171

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

114 171 In questions of relationship they never use the word *eie* (true) since they call their father's brothers "father," their brothers' sons "son," and their father's brothers' sons "brother"; when they wish to designate their actual father or son, they say *zeruba zemonhangara* "my father who engendered me," or, for a son, *zeraira zereminonhanga* "my son whom I engendered." I never heard an Indian call his wife *zeremireco eie*, but simply *zeremireco* or *zeracig* "mother of my children," and I never heard a woman refer to her husband as *zemenete* "real husband," but simply *zemena* or *zemembira ruba* "father of my children." They use these terms indifferently for their husband or lover. If the husband calls one of his wives *zeremireco eie*, he means the most esteemed or best loved wife and she is often the last one he took.[2]

This text also shows that the Tupi encountered a difficulty in their kinship system, namely, how to distinguish the classificatory parents or children from the consanguineous ones. This stresses the structural similarity between their kinship system and that of the Nambikuara, since the latter met with the same problem. Apparently the Tupi, like the Nambikuara, felt no need for special terms, but when it was necessary, made comments based on physiological considerations. When the Nambikuara are asked to point out the real status of their consanguineous children, they add to the name for "son" or "daughter" another word, the meaning of which is "child" or "little one." The physiological implication of this new term is perfectly clear, since is is ordinarily used to designate newly born animals, while the former terms are applied only to relationships within the human family. Complementary indications regarding the assimilation of the father's brother to a classificatory father may be found in Soares de Sousa.[3]

851 842

114 171 The old authors give numerous examples of cross cousin marriage and of marriages between uncles and nieces. Here again Anchieta will be our main source:

> Though many Indians have several nieces, and very attractive indeed, nevertheless they do not use them as wives. However, brothers have such authority over sisters that they consider their nieces as belonging to them and that they are entitled to marry them and to use them ad libitum if they wish. In the same way they give their sisters to some and refuse them to others. Taragoaj, an important chief of the village of Jaribiatiba in the plain of San Vicente, had two wives one of whom was his niece, his sister's daughter.[4]

Both types of marriage are treated as symmetrical institutions in the same document: " . . . because the fathers give them the daughters and the brothers the sisters. . . ."[5] Furthermore, cross cousin marriage is referred to by Staden:

---

[2] *Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil* (Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 8, 1846, I 2da Seria), p. 259.

[3] *Roteiro do Brasil* (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 14, 1851), pp. 316-317.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 259. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

"They make presents also of their daughters and sisters . . . ",[6] by Soares de Sousa,[7] Claude d'Abbeville,[8] and others. With a sound sociological feeling, Anchieta establishes a link between the custom of a man marrying his sister's daughter and the recognition of the male as the only one responsible for conception, a theory also shared by the Nambikuara. On this matter, Anchieta writes:

> They call the brothers' daughters "daughter" and treat them as such. Therefore they would not have sexual intercourse with them, since they believe that the true kinship link has its origin in the father, whom they consider the only agent, while the mother, according to them, is merely a container in which the children are formed. . . . For that reason too, they use the sisters' daughters "ad copulam" without sin. . . . For the same reason, the father will give his daughters in marriage to their uncles, their mother's brothers, a thing which, until now, was never done with the nephew who is the brother's son. . . . "[9]

Cross cousin marriage seems to have a very wide distribution throughout South America.[10] But among the Tupí avuncular marriage in particular aroused the interest of early travellers. For instance, *Léry* notices: "As to the uncle, he marries his niece";[11] and Thevet: "As soon as they are born, the maternal uncle lifts them from the ground and keeps them for his future wives."[12] Magalhaes de Gandavo expresses himself as follows:

> It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, the daughters of their brothers or sisters; these are considered their legitimate and true wives. Fathers of the women cannot refuse them, nor can any persons other than their uncles marry them.[13]

But this statement seems to be doubly inaccurate. For other references to the same phenomenon one may turn to Nobrega,[14] Vasconcellos,[15] and Soares de Sousa.[16]

---

[6] Hans Staden, *The true History of his Captivity* (Ed. Malcolm Letts, London, Vol. II, Ch. 18), p. 146.

[7] *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587*, nova edição (São Paulo, 1938. Cap. CLVII).

[8] *Histoire de las Missions. . .* (Paris, 1614).

[9] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 299-306. The same interpretation is made by Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil 1549–1560, Cartas Jesuiticas I* (Publ. da Academia Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1931).

[10] For instance, Breton gives clear evidence of its occurrence among the Antillean Caribs: "First cousins whom we call father's brother's sons call each other 'brothers' and the father's brothers are also called 'fathers.' The children of brothers do not marry, but they may contract marriages with the children of their father's sisters." *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-Français* (Auxerre, 1665), p. 11.

[11] *Voyage faict en la Terre du Bresil*, ed. Gaffarel. (Paris, 1880. Vol. 2, ch. 17), p. 83.

[12] *Cosmographie Universelle*, p. 932.

[13] Pedro de Magalhaens de Gandavo, *The Histories of Brasil* (The Cortes Society, New York, 1922. II, ch. 10), p. 89.

[14] *Cartas do Brasil. Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

[15] *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil* (Lisboa, 1865. I, 82), p. 133.

[16] *Tratado*, pp. 137, 132.

595
171

Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171
114

The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *chetouassap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*comperage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *atour-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171
607
582

One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

---

[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 30, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Ladeno Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), pp. 421-440; Kirchhoff, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 109.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 189-190.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sisters. Cross cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross cousins. (The same holds for the giving of a daughter by a father.) The potential or actual brothers-in-law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of the brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikuara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations.

We may now summarize our observations. The ancient Tupi acknowledged two forms of marriage; namely, cross cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practised in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by his sister's husband. In both cases the marriage is the result of an agreement between cross cousins, actually or potentially brothers-in-law—which is the definition we retained as a suitable translation of the Nambikuara terms *tarûtę* and *iôpę*. Now, this special "brother-in-law" relationship could be established, under the name of *chetouasap* (Evreux) or *cotou-assap* (Léry), between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie, or else only more remotely related, or even between strangers (as was the case of the French and the Indians). The reason for such a step was to ensure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. One recognizes here the same process described in the analysis of the relations between the newly joined groups, Sabánę and Tarúndę.[38]

[38] The widespread South American custom of using kinship terms to express social relationships is attested to by Von den Steinen (*Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), who was called "elder brother" by the Bakairi and "maternal uncle" by the Mehinaku. We have just established the equivalence of the terms "maternal uncle" and "brother-in-law" in a system of cross cousin marriage combined with avuncular marriage. Regarding the use of the term "elder brother," two observations should be made. First, in a kinship system such as that of the Bororo, not far distant from the Xingu, each generation is to some extent split into two layers, the elder half being assimilated to the younger half of the generation above and the younger half to the elder half of the generation below. In such a system an "elder brother" may well be a true uncle and a potential brother-in-law.

The use of the term "brother" for social purposes may also be understood in another way. Among the Nambikuara, there is a special term, sometimes used to designate a sibling of the same sex, the meaning of which is "the other one." This term is applied not only to describe a familial relationship, but is also used to name objects belonging to a class which includes several units (for instance, the pasts of the huts or the pipes of the whistles). Friendly groups may also consider themselves to be "brothers" and the exclamation, "You are no more my brother!" may often be heard in discussions between angry adversaries.

This suggests that the term "brother" possesses, in addition to its kinship significance, a very wide meaning, both logical and moral. Nevertheless, when the technical problem of establishing new social relationships is put up to the Indians, it is not the vague "brotherhood" which is called upon, but the more complex mechanism of the "brother-in-law" relationship.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

171 The objection may be raised that the old authors have interpreted inaccurate observations in the light of European data. Since we shall suggest the use of the word *compérage*—borrowed from the French—to identify the institution, which we consider to be an authentic aboriginal one, it will be useful to discuss briefly this aspect of the problem.

Without any doubt there is a striking analogy between the facts related above and the Latin-European institution of *compérage*. Originally the *compère* and the *commère* were connected with each other, and both with the child's parents, through the mystical link of parrainage. However, the relation was very soon secularized in all small rural communities, or rather, wherever the familial structures were of greater importance than the social ones; it was then used to establish an artificial link of kinship, or, more precisely, as is the case among the Nambikuara, to express in kinship terms a purely external relationship of spatial promiscuity.[9] The stranger or newcomer was adopted by means of the reciprocal appellation of *compère* or *commère* which he received from—and returned to—his male adult contemporaries. On the other hand, since the stranger usually assimilated himself to the group by marrying within his new community, the terms *compère* and "brother-in-law" soon became synonymous, so that men allied by marriage usually called each other only by the first term. In all small communities of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the *compère* or *compadre* is an actual or a potential brother-in-law. No doubt in certain regions of Central and South America the analogy between the European and aboriginal institution has helped the latter to become fixed and modernized. Thus, in Mexico the primitive institution of the *mollo*, that is, of the heads of families bound to exchange gifts at certain periods, now expresses itself by means of the "compadre" relationship, the Spanish term providing an easy translation of the earlier Otomi.[10] The formal analogy between the institutions cannot hide, however, the fact that they are really opposite in character. In Latin-Mediterranean society, the formerly mystical and, actually, social link of *compérage* may be changed, through marriage, into a real kinship tie. Among the ancient Tupi, as among the Nambikuara, the actual kinship provides the type of link used to establish wider relations.

184 171 174 This being admitted, there are two strong reasons why our authorities cannot have constructed a pseudo-institution based on a European pattern from inconsistent observations. In the first place, men as well acquainted with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry could not have assimilated a relationship whose first consequence and probable aim was to per-

[9] The same sociological derivation is expressed in English through the etymological origin of the word "gossip" (god-sib).

[10] Jacques Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1937).

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

mit new forms of marriage to the relationship between godfathers and parents, the main purpose of which, especially since the thirteenth century, had been to impose new and very rigid restrictions upon marriage. At the time they were writing, the matter was of immediate interest and was being discussed by the Council of Trent, where the earlier rules were somewhat mitigated. But there is a much stronger argument: From the moment of the arrival of the European missionaries both institutions, the European and the aboriginal, actually coexisted among the Indians, at least among those who were baptized, and neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted the Christian "god-father" relationship in terms of the native "brother-in-law" institution.[8] On the contrary, and much more logically, since the new relationship placed restrictions on marriage, they considered it as a modality of the relation of paternity; thus, they assimilated the "god-father" to a classificatory "father."

> They [the newly baptized children] regarded their god-fathers as their true fathers and called them *Cheroa*, that is to say, "my father," and the French called them *Cheoire*, that is to say, "my son," and the little girls *Chesgire*, "my daughter." . . .[8]

Therefore, it cannot be doubted that the *couvade* is quite distinct from its European parallel.

A sufficient number of convergent indications have been recorded so that we may consider the outstanding character of the "brother-in-law" relationship a specific feature of South American sociology, constituting the core of an original institution of *couvade* which appears clearly among the Nambikuara and which, as suggested by the documents presented in this article, may formerly have had a much wider distribution on the continent.

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

---

[8] Yves d'Evreux, *loc. cit.*, II, I, p. 234.

164 The disease of the overos is in fact equivalent to the vaurana
177 of our Tupian Indians, and actually the same as the "Carate disease" of Colombia, the "spotted disease," lota in Central America or purupuru in the Amazon.

164 [186] Spix and Martius at the beginning of the last century,
114 and after them other naturalists, found the disease spread out through the great valley. Many chroniclers dealt with it, Baena in greatest detail.

"Purupuru," [wrote Spix and Martius], "is the name given by the Brazilians to those Indians who are really called Pamaouiri and who live on the Purus River."

They described the disease of the "Pamaouiri" (or Paumary as they are called today), listing as its major characteristic the presence of irregular skin spots, isolated or converging, blackish, and somewhat coarse to the touch.

Martius believed that some white spots occasionally found among the black ones represented the initial stage of the disease.

He thought that purupuru was hereditary, although its external manifestations appeared only after puberty. The Indians Martius met attributed the disease to "a bad condition of the blood"; and the naturalist believed that the "amphibious life" of these people, their food and some of their customs had a great deal to do with the coming forth of purupuru.

Later, through dissemination of the disease, the name came to designate all the tribes of the Purus-Juruá region: Paumary, Yuberi, Arua, etc.

About twenty years ago, Ehrenreich noted certain curious facts about the manifestations of purupuru. He confirmed that the disease only develops after puberty. He found some Indians whose feet and hands were entirely white, giving the impression of a partial albinism or a kind of vitiligo.

According to Ehrenreich, the spots have a grayish blue color in the first stage of the disease. As the edges whiten, the center becomes darker.

[187] He personally never observed the scaling of affected areas. But he relates popular reports to the effect that the Paumary

171 [Map] Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld)
342

O Round or oval, of a temporary character.

Houses of a permanent character:

Roof and walls continuous (beehive-shaped house).

Roof and walls distinct.

Walls of stone or sun-dried brick.

10. Araucanians. Cf. Guevara.
20. Pareni. Cf. Max Schmidt.
28. Bacairi. Cf. K. von den Steinen.
31. Trio, Oyana. Cf. de Goeje.
33. Campa. Cf. Otto Nordenskjöld.
36. Ijca, [Evijico?], Cagaba. Cf. Bolinder.
47. Taupilang. Cf. Koch-Gruenberg.
61. Tribes to the northwest of the Amazon. Cf. Whiffen.
64. Huari. Cf. Nordenskjöld.
233. Indians of the Mapoera River. Cf. Coudreau.
234. Chipaya. Cf. Pomansky.
235. Indians of the Upper Guaporé. Cf. Felix de Lima.
277. Indians of the Machiñero (Upper Amazon). Cf. Ortiguera.
278. Chuquimayo Indians. Cf. Palomino.
SM. Wapishana, Taruma. Cf. Farabee.
NC. Nambicuara. Cf. Roquette-Pinto.
X3. Pinros. Cf. Chaffanjon.

342 [221] The villages consist of fixed, permanent dwellings; in addition to these home shelters, the Nambicuara also use a type of temporary shelter which they erect rapidly wherever they may happen to be when night falls.

The permanent homes of the Juruena Valley differ but slightly from the dwellings of those Indians who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte.

The Cocoma village we visited on the Juina River consisted of two houses. The first was small, hemispherical, poorly built, and

7: Roquette-Pinto--21A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 220]

342
171

Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld).
(Caption on p. 21.)

513 At the post of Três Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[248 127] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[17] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

281 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikáinerá!"

411 The bows of the Serra do Norte Indians (hukiçú) are made of
771 ipê (1) wood and are very long, measuring from 1.70 to two meters;

[424]

1. [In this region, the term covers] trees of the Tecoma and Jacaranda genuses, Bignonia family. The forest variety is J. copaia, D. Don; the field varieties comprise the yellow type (T. ochracea, Mart.) and the purple or black kind (T. ipê, Mart.). (A. J. de S.)

the section is semi-circular. Of all Brazilian tribes, only the Catukina of the Purus River coil the twine around the weapon in a similar way. The cross-section of the Catukina bow, however, is quadrangular.

[Fig. 54]

We made an experiment to determine the approximate strength required to lend a bow the necesary power.

The bow we used measured 2.38 [sic] meters in length by 0.047 meter in its greatest width; its tucum cord [268] had a diameter of 0.002 meter. To set in this bow a fifty-centimeter arrow required 66 kilograms of dynamometric traction.

The [Serra do Norte] Indians use the Mediterranean release (Morse's fourth method): bow vertical, arrow resting against the left edge of the bow and held at the base between the index and middle fingers of the right hand.

In the Americas, this method is peculiar to the Eskimo; the "Redskins" employed another. In Brazil, no [other] tribe uses it as far as I have been able to ascertain; [269] for the most part, our Indians use the third method outlined by Morse.

[269] [Brazilian bows fall into the following categories listed by Hermann Meyer: 1) Peruvian; 2) Northern Brazilian; (1) 3) Guiana;

1. Semi-circular cross-section; dark red, smooth wood of a leguminous tree.

4/11 4) Chaco; 5) Eastern Brazilian.]

178 Nambicuara bows must be placed in the second group on account of their cross-section, which is indeed quite similar to that of Mundurucu bows. Their twine is coiled in the manner of Meyer's Perutypus group.

[Plates p. 248]

[271] [Fig. 58] Meyer classifies Brazilian arrows into seven groups, now insufficient because other types have since been found, but which nevertheless cover the principal characteristics of our arrows. His classification is based on the feathering of the shaft. [1) Eastern Brazilian or Tupian-Ge; 2) Guiana; 3) Xingu; 4) Araca; 5) Maue; 6) Peruvian with fibers; 7) Peruvian with resin, where Nambicuara arrows belong.] This last group is further divided in two: a northern division covering the Amazon Valley, and a southern division covering the Chaco region. The feathers are slit lengthwise, their stem scraped until only the outer layer remains; [272] they are tied spirally to the shaft by means of twine and black resin.

[Fig. 55]

4/11 Our collection includes war, hunting and fishing arrows. It must be noted, however, that these distinctions are not always maintained; when necessary, the Indians use all three types interchangeably.

Anîçô: The tip is of red wood, cylindrical, smooth; used to hunt monkeys.

[Fig. 56]

Uselicô: The tip is sharp, made of taquaruçu bamboo (Merostachys sp.); used in war and to hunt large game--capybara, tapir, jaguar. . . . .

Aleuincô: The tip is smooth, with a barb at the end.

[Fig. 57]

4/11 278 [272] Anâkirikatçô: A unique type, armed with a series of barbs secured with twine and pitch. It is coated with a black substance which the Indians believe to be poisonous; for this reason, they protect the tip with a bamboo sheath. It is a war weapon. The "poison" of Nambicuara arrows is harmless... (1)

1. [Alvaro Osorio de Almeida notes here that he carried out an

7:Roquette-Pinto--58 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

●[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Antilles and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[288 286] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [355] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children).

[283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 824 Kaiaçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the
[288] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[85] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnis en Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[201] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to
197 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be-
177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parataninga River, who use helmets of the same material.

174 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob-
171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

/220 cont./

278 171 [177] The Tamandé Ñambikwara, of the upper course of the Roosevelt River, assured me that curare had come to them from other Indians living farther to the north, in the region of the Gy Paraná /Gi-Paraná River/; it was not possible to make them specify what kind of Indians these were.

The Cabixiano /Cabishi?/ of the Rio Mequem, to the northeast of Ñambikwara territory, also use curare. According to a civilized Indian of this group encountered at the post of Baron de Melgaço, their product with a complex vegetable base is prepared secretly and only by a few old men; it is a hard curare in a jar. It is used for hunting, even of tapirs, and for war.

The Pareci, along with the Ñambikwara, represent the extreme southern point of the spread of curare, the use of which as one goes toward the Amazon becomes more and more frequent and its preparation surrounded with more mystery.

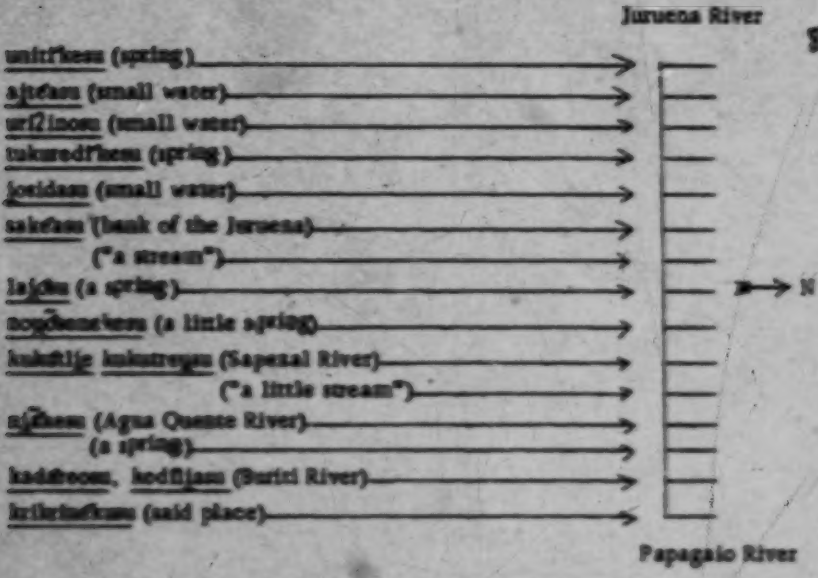
278 137 All the curares are not as simple as the Ñambikwara curare, but all appear to have as their principal base a species of Strychnos which varies according to the region. Certain Strychnos such as St. toxifera Benth., Str. lethalis Barb. Rod., and especially St. crevauxhiana Baill, are particularly toxic; others like St. pseudo-quina are very low in poisonous elements.

278 Besides the Strychnos, active elements of curare, of numerous other plants generally poisonous but with very diverse properties, and of animal substances such as venoms, often enter into the composition of this poison. Their addition answers different ends.

Sometimes these are resins or gums whose sole utility is to harden the product and to assure its preservation.

Sometimes they are toxic substances destined to reinforce or to complete the action of the Strychnos.

/221/ In other cases other substances without any actual effect but with magical properties are added to curare. Their nature is infinitely variable.



TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read above (p. 50) a remark of 81 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as legacies of the "ancestors": 1730 [183 824]

58. irotnose ikãtage uitige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already given. (1) Here is the text used by adults: 773 539

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narotine kãgitire
narukatnikire naukauitaure
nahutende kãng-rage naukãdo uitere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

789 Poison is thus nande par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a curare reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory [121 174] and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of curare, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the strychnos.

Besides the notion of nande we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the atasu (al). Atasu signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: atasu, "it is the animal." Atasu also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, atasu is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the atasu if one does not defend oneself 789 in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick 411 [dnicu] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form [284 539] and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated with black and white bark weaving (javelin: hi'dosu [al], kehujere

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

171 The objection may be raised that the old authors have interpreted inaccurate observations in the light of European data. Since we shall suggest the use of the word *compérage*—borrowed from the French—to identify the institution, which we consider to be an authentic aboriginal one, it will be useful to discuss briefly this aspect of the problem.

Without any doubt there is a striking analogy between the facts related above and the Latin-European institution of compérage. Originally the *compère* and the *commère* were connected with each other, and both with the child's parents, through the mystical link of parrainage. However, the relation was very soon secularised in all small rural communities, or rather, wherever the familial structures were of greater importance than the social ones; it was then used to establish an artificial link of kinship, or, more precisely, as is the case among the Nambikuara, to express in kinship terms a purely external relationship of spatial promiscuity.[5] The stranger or newcomer was adopted by means of the reciprocal appellation of *compère* or *commère* which he received from—and returned to—his male adult contemporaries. On the other hand, since the stranger usually assimilated himself to the group by marrying within his new community, the terms *compère* and "brother-in-law" soon became synonymous, so that men allied by marriage usually called each other only by the first term. In all small communities of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the *compère* or *compadre* is an actual or a potential brother-in-law. No doubt in certain regions of Central and South America the analogy between the European and aboriginal institution has helped the latter to become fixed and modernized. Thus, in Mexico the primitive institution of the *molle*, that is, of the heads of families bound to exchange gifts at certain periods, now expresses itself by means of the "compadre" relationship, the Spanish term providing an easy translation of the earlier Otomi.[6] The formal analogy between the institutions cannot hide, however, the fact that they are really opposite in character. In Latin-Mediterranean society, the formerly mystical and, actually, social link of compérage may be changed, through marriage, into a real kinship tie. Among the ancient Tupi, as among the Nambikuara, the actual kinship provides the type of link used to establish wider relations.

174 171 174 This being admitted, there are two strong reasons why our authorities cannot have constructed a pseudo-institution based on a European pattern from inconsistent observations. In the first place, men as well acquainted with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry could not have assimilated a relationship whose first consequence and probable aim was to per-

[5] The same sociological distinction is expressed in English through the etymological origin of the word "gossip" (*god-sib*).

[6] Jacques Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1937).

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

mit new forms of marriage to the relationship between godfathers and parents, the main purpose of which, especially since the thirteenth century, had been to impose new and very rigid restrictions upon marriage. At the time they were writing, the matter was of immediate interest and was being discussed by the Council of Trent, where the earlier rules were somewhat mitigated. But there is a much stronger argument: From the moment of the arrival of the European missionaries both institutions, the European and the aboriginal, actually coexisted among the Indians, at least among those who were baptized, and neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted the Christian "god-father" relationship in terms of the native "brother-in-law" institution. On the contrary, and much more logically, since the new relationship placed restrictions on marriage, they considered it as a modality of the relation of paternity; thus, they assimilated the "god-father" to a classificatory "father."

> They [the newly baptized children] regarded their god-fathers as their true fathers and called them *Cherou*, that is to say, "my father," and the French called them *Chemire*, that is to say, "my son," and the little girls *Chemire*, "my daughter." . . .[8]

Therefore, it cannot be doubted that the *couvade* is quite distinct from its European parallel.

A sufficient number of convergent indications have been recorded so that we may consider the outstanding character of the "brother-in-law" relationship a specific feature of South American sociology, constituting the core of an original institution of *couvade* which appears clearly among the Nambikuara and which, as suggested by the documents presented in this article, may formerly have had a much wider distribution on the continent.

[New School for Social Research
New York, New York]

---

[8] Yves d'Evreux, *loc. cit.*, II, I, p. 236.

?:Roquette-Pinto--60 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

177 [Fig., p. 60A]

[284] Some items in the collection are of special interest because they document the process of material acculturation. They consist on the one hand of objects that incorporate iron found by accident in the tracks of [Fig. 20] hunters and rubber gatherers; and on the other hand of imitative artifacts, made with the unskilled hand of a primitive people desirous of copying the products of a more advanced industry and the forms of a superior art.

[285: full page of figures.]

[286][Fig. 21] An instance of such imitation is provided by several diadems which crudely attempt to copy similar ornaments found among the Nambicuara; the latter are obviously alien objects plundered from northern tribes, where featherwork has reached a higher development.

[Fig. 68]

They have learned to appreciate the advantages of our hats [287] and prize them highly. An unhappy Indian who had not received one as a gift attempted to make one for his own pleasure, plaiting and adjusting bacaba leaflets...

Chapter XI

Conclusions

177 [307] It is not possible at this time to attempt a definitive synthesis of Nambicuara ethnography in relation to other tribes.

If we could distinguish in Brazil the two classical periods (Paleolithic and Neolithic), the Serra do Norte Indians would be included in the former: their axes are crudely chipped and their culture resembles the characteristic Paleolithic pattern. (1)

1. Diagramatically and in relation to their neighbors, the Nambicuara recall the Paleolithic peoples; but their culture, with its rudiments of agriculture and weaving and its crude

but smooth-edged axes, is more akin to the proto-Neolithic or transitional period. The present trend is to recognise in the New World Paleolithic industries . . . but no formal overlapping periods as in Europe. (R. L.)

A later footnote by Heloisa Alberto-Torres which is not reproduced here contains the following statement: ". . . an interesting ethnographic relationship is [established by] the absolute identity of Australian and Nambicuara axes . . ." (Ed.)

At first observation, the Nambicuara might seem to be an old and backward branch of the Parexi tribe.

[308] What we know of the physical anthropology, ethnography and linguistics of both groups, however, invalidates this supposition.

177 Yet their culture bears unmistakable signs of Parexi influence.
[46] The first is the beehive-shaped house, formerly built by the Parexi. This is an import among the Nambicuara; the original house of the Serra do Norte Indians is the screen of leaves and branches, similar to the kiême of the Botocudo (Windschirm of the German ethnologists) and reminiscent of the North American wigwam.

[Fig., p. 61A]

[308] And if they did not borrow the large "round house" from the Parexi, they adopted it from Bolivian Indians.

[49] Another instance of alien influence is the nose plume, which the Parexi do not wear now but which formerly, according to Antonio
177 Pires, they could not do without; and also the nose flute, which
594 [the Nambicuara] play unskilfully, as though it were a little-known instrument of yet unfathomed secrets.

The double flute seems to have been brought from the north. It must be an import from the Mauê and Mundurucu, with whom the Serra do Norte Indians had serious clashes as already mentioned above.

7:Roquette-Pinto--62 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the [255] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[255] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[256] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to 177 those of the Saya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be- 177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parananinga River, who use helmets of the same material.

174 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob- 171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

2: Steinen--856 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP9
Bororo SP8
Nambiquara SP19
Paressi SP19

/548 cont./

		1848	1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes . .	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecís	400
20 Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecís	250
21 Maimbarés	400		400
22 Cabixís	500		500
23 Nambiquarás	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacáz	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Atáras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

2: Steinen--662E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Nambicuara SP17
Apiaca SP2
Guayayu SF11
Brazilian Indians SL4

N 105 125 131 062

/5[illegible] cont./

23. Nambiquarás. 600 at the confluence of the Rio de Peixe and the Arinos. Hunting, fishing, fruits of the sierra, implements of wood and stone. Carry on habitual warfare with their neighbors, especially the Apiacás. Will have nothing to do with the Brazilians, attack canoes on their way to Pará, but are very much afraid of firearms and offer no open resistance.

A 105 125 131 062

25. Tapanhunas. Of the same type as the preceding ones. About 800 at the confluence of the Tapajoz and the Arinos.

25. Apiacás. Dwellers along the Juruena, also visit the shores of the Arinos. They have iron goods and carry on agriculture, hunting, fishing. In their feuds with the Nambiquarás and the Tapanhunas they remain more on the defensive, but have nevertheless not by any means given up their original anthropophagous customs. Assist travelers, sell farina from mandioca, roasted maize, carás, batatas, sweet mandioca (aypim), beans, watermelons, gourds, birds, and honey, as well as wide-meshed hammocks of cotton or tucum palm, feather ornaments.

BI. 105 195

26. Mequens. On the like-named tributary of the Guaporé between the Guaraios and Palmellas. They flee; gifts which were put in the forest were not accepted.

G 105 125 131

27. Guaraios. At a place called Pao Cerne, 50 leagues from Matto Grosso. Mandioca, beans, maize; hunting, fishing. Seek out travelers.

G 069 061

[Report of 1850: Moved over from Pao Cerne in 1852 to the Aldea de Sta. Ignez somewhat below Matto Grosso. 31 tribes of 40 families = 1240, originating, it is assumed, from a settlement in the Bolivian province of "Mofos" (not "Moxos").]

BI. 105 125 131

28. Cautarios. On the like-named rivers between the Mamoré and Forte Principe. Fishing, hunting, wild fruits, mandioca. Harm us as much as they possibly can. They are robbers, traitors, and murderers.

29. Paceás. On the Mamoré east of the Guaporé mouth up to the first cataract. Quite unknown.

30. Sensbós. West of the Mamoré up to the first cataract. Unknown. At war with the Jacarés (31).

1:Levi-Strauss--1 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAMBIKWARA INDIANS

by

C. Lévi-Strauss

INTRODUCTION

101 The name of the Nambikwara appears in ethnological literature from the eighteenth century on; but it seems useless here for us to [114] compile references reduced to a more or less distorted citation of the tribal name and to the approximate indication of the territory occupied by the group. In fact, with the exception of the name, which seems to be a surname of Tupi (1) origin, the Nambikwara remained

1. Cf. below, page 129, footnote 1.

practically unknown until the time of their discovery in 1907, by General (then Colonel) Candidio Mariano da Silva Rondon. From this date on, we are directly or indirectly indebted to the Rondon Commission for all the information available concerning them.

105 It is known that in 1907 Colonel Rondon was given a commission by the Brazilian government to explore the territories which extend approximately 1, 500 kilometers from the village of Diamantino to the Madeira River. This was to precede the construction of a strategic telegraph line connecting the federal capital with the frontier outposts of the northwest. In the course of a first expedition begun in 1907, Rondon succeeded in reaching the Juruena, principal source of the Tapajoz, unknown up to that time. This discovery took place the twentieth of October. A second expedition, begun in 1908, permitted the opening of a land route toward the Madeira. This was the first objective of the mission entrusted to General Rondon which 177 was realized on December 25, 1909. It was during these two expeditions that contact was established for the first time with the Nambikwara.

The laying of the telegraph line continued through the Indian territories from 1909 to about 1915. During this period and since, there have been regular, although intermittent, relations between the Indians and the members of the telegraph commission--construction

officers, soldiers /2/ and workmen. These contacts have continued since the completion of the work. They are always intermittent and are made especially by the stations whose service is assured by the Pareesi Indians educated in care of the Commission.

Leaving aside several books and articles of anecdotal character written by certain collaborators of General Rondon, we are limited to the following works as the only sources of information concerning the Nambikwara Indians. First, the Rapport ethnologique, by General Rondon himself, and printed in Rio de Janeiro as one of the numerous official publications of the Commission under No. 2, 1911. Next must be cited the lectures of the same author which followed the Roosevelt-Rondon expedition to the Rio da Duvida (Portuguese edition: Missão Rondon, Rio de Janeiro, 1916; English edition: Lectures delivered by General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, etc., Commissão Rondon, Publication No. 43). Recourse should also be made to an article by a young officer of the staff of General Rondon, Antonio Pyrineus de Souza ("Notas sobre os costumes dos Indios Nambikwaras," Revista do Museu Paulista, Vol. 12, 1920) and to the information scattered in the diverse reports of the Commission, published during and after the exploratory work, of which the most useful is doubtless that of Cartier (Rapport géologique et ethnologique, No. 23, Annexe 5). Some information will be found in the book of Theodore Roosevelt (Through the Brazilian Wilderness, Works, Vol. 6) and a short vocabulary in Max Schmidt ("Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 40, 1929).

In 1912, the Director of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, Dr. Edgar Roquette Pinto, was authorized to join the Rondon Commission in the field to receive, examine, and report to the Museum the ethnographic collections made since the beginning of the work. This trip must have given Dr. Roquette Pinto the occasion to write and publish several articles and a book. Certainly the most important of the former is his communication to the International Congress of Americanists held in London in 1912 (Os Indios Nambikwara do Brasil Central); then, his communication to the Pan-American Congress at Washington (1917) under the title, Os Indios da Serra do Norte. The book, Rondonia (last edition: Cia Editora Nacional, Sao-Paulo, 1935) is almost entirely dedicated to the Nambikwara and represents our best source of information.

For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[220] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey--in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks and
221 411 184 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the item is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[189] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[77] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[115] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

601 184 Grandparents are most often singled out among themselves, and distinguished from the parents of the spouse, which does not happen in system a (1 or 2): also, the son (or daughter) of the brother (or the of the sister) of the father (or of the mother) are sometimes designated by different terms. The groups studied are not dense enough to be able to make a base for a theory of the system in force. Solutions of replacement intervene frequently, and the preferential forms of marriage found are not adequate for generalizations, due to an insufficient number of cases. But the preceding considerations suggest that preferential unions, choosing also among certain categories of cross-cousins, could formerly have been in force.

[173]

Finally, the names for brothers (and sisters), elder and younger, are more changeable than in system a (1 or 2): and one sees appear a new term designating the brother or the sister of the other sex. This disorganization of vocabulary can be interpreted as resulting from the influence of the northern system (dialect c), where we shall see later on that it tends more and more to assimilate the system of groups b.

Here is the vocabulary of parentage used, with references to group a (1/2): [Note: m. s. = man speaking; w. s. = woman speaking; m. w. s. = man or woman speaking.]

Dialect a 1/2		Dialect b 1/2	
abuĩ'nosu	1.	(ta)mĩ'nde	(my) father, father's brother.
	2.	ĩnde	father (equals man).
	3.	usĩye	father (used to designate absent father, or father of a third person, or the father's brother.
	4.	(ta)mĩ'nlaore	father's brother (equals other father).
	5.	(ta)minddĩnere	father (father's brother when he substitutes for dead father).
aʒũnosu	6.	(ta)nãde	(my) mother, mother's sister.
	7-8.	(ta)nãdelaore, ndãore	mother (other mother; for the mother's sister and the mother of a third).

551 scrapes it to eat it. Brother! Scrape!"

551 The Indians feel very strongly the inconvenience of the system,
●177 especially when they are in contact with the whites. Those among them who intermittently frequent the posts of the Rondon Line have very rapidly adopted the Brazilian names which they hear pronounced around them, and they are—or have been—baptized Julio, José Maria, Luiza, Iracema, etc., giving these surnames some strange distortions. Sometimes too, there are nicknames like Lebre (lièvre = rabbit), Assucar (sucre = sugar) or Cavaignac (the shape of beard worn by the famous general). Several Indians have preserved this last name, thus perpetuating in the backwoods the memory of the time when Rondon lived and flourished.

We could use these names to designate them in the course of this study, or also their real names insofar as we have been able, in certain cases, to restore them. But these Brazilian names are only carried by the small minority of Indians who are in contact with the posts of the Rondon Line; [38] and the authentic names are lacking to us in a great number of cases. At any rate, the process would not be true to reality. For the remarkable point is that, in daily life, one does not hear a single name pronounced. It thus seems to us more in
128 conformance with the indigenous atmosphere to refrain, in the course
551 of this work, from using names to designate individuals, and we shall content ourselves with symbols indicating the sex, the group, and the place in the group of the individual considered (for each group, respectively A, B, C; capital letter for a man, small letter for a woman, followed by a figure identifying the subject.)

551 Nevertheless, as has just been indicated, it has been possible for
124 us, for group a1, to collect a complete list of names. This is how: one day when we were playing with a group of children, one of the little girls was struck by a playmate. She came immediately to take refuge near us, and began, in a very mysterious manner, to murmur something in our ears which we did not understand, and which we were obliged to have repeated for us several times, so that the adversary realized the trick, and, apparently furious, came in turn to reveal what appeared to be a solemn secret. After several hesitations and questions, the interpretation of the incident left no doubt. The first little girl had come, out of revenge, to give us the name of her enemy, and when the latter saw this, she told us the name of the other one, as a means of reprisal. From this moment on, it was very easy, if not very scrupulous, to arouse the children against one another, and to obtain from each of them the name of all the others. After this, a little complicity thus having been created, they gave us the

531
212 Besides, they called the act of writing: iekariukediutu (a1), that is "make lines," which for them had an esthetic interest:

(3) Kihikagnere mu?iene (b1).
It is nice to make lines.

[177] The drawings reproduced in Figure 19 thus constitute a cultural innovation inspired by our own drawings.

622 confers; also [41] he asked us for a note pad and a pencil, and we
115 are likewise equipped when we travel together. He does not com-
157 municate to me verbally the information that I ask of him, but traces on his paper some wavy lines and presents them to me as though I should read his response. But he himself is half duped by his comedy. Each time that his hand finishes a line, he examines it anxiously, as if the significance should miraculously spring forth, and each time, the same chagrined disillusion is painted on his face. But he doesn't give in. And it is silently understood between us that his scrawl possesses a meaning which I pretend to understand. Naturally, the verbal commentary follows almost immediately, and excuses me from having to demand some very necessary clarifications. When we discuss command, we shall return to certain aspects of this semi-mystification.

He is a valuable informant who understands the problems, perceives the difficulties, and is interested in the work; but his functions absorb him often, and he disappears for whole days on a hunting expedition, a survey of itinerary or a localization of ripe seed or fruit trees. On the other hand, his wives often call him to tender love games in which he lets himself be voluntarily involved.

In a general way, his attitude shows a logic, a continuity of purpose, very exceptional among the Nambikwara who are often unstable and temperamental. Placed in other conditions and with other means at his disposal, he might be a valuable organizer. And he is, after all, alone responsible for the destinies of his group, which he conducts with competence, although in a sometimes utopian spirit.

The father and the mother of A1 are dead. But his father's brother and mother's sister, whom he calls ahuinosu and a?kenosu live in the same village (A65 and a66).

115 a2. --About 30 to 35 years. The eldest of the wives of A1, mother of a5, daughter of a18 and a now dead father. She is serious industrious, a little reserved in social relations. In the triple household

We shall
621 comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.--

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its
[578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabiji) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for
621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:
115 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The
157 chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent
622 Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent
601 in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnʔẽ : njãnajne héni niho ãmdednjẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often
[177] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the
area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
537 seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from
group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments
made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately
the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the
aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instru-
ment.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40
years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years,
b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the
latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18,
sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son"
also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years
old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of
oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl
of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1;
he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors
of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster,
they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of
b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1,
thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of
B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
574 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their
hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was
comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of
B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt
of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the
children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

Lévi-Strauss--142 E-6 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambikwara SP17

532

Fig. 19
Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by Al while explaining his genealogy (c. p. 40, fn. 1).

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the preceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in the course of [124] these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupted, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took 177
place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The 648
six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with 797
arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an [724]
expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp.

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our 278
stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighbor- 578
ing group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (ajdotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later.

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The 157
Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very 648
sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability.

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, 157
or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North

American Indians. As example of the first aspect we shall mention: the 157
public and "scientific" preparation of the curare; the development of certain therapeutics such as the treatment of ophthalmia by instillation; the flexibility of the sexual division of labor; sexual life in general; the atmosphere of the rites of abstinence; the rational attitude as regards alimentary taboos. Several remarks on this point will make clear the indigenous psychology. The white worms (anadu, a1) which are frequently found 157
in the nuts of the bacaiuva palm have been indicated as being inedible. Sub- 262
sequently we verified that they were eaten in secret by the children. Thus a8 finds them while cracking nuts and gives them to her little sister a9; and furtively she too eats a worm. Her action is noticed by a3 and a4 who cover her with sarcasm. However one day when food is scarce, A1 eats a plate of worms which his young wife a4 has gathered for him, and sadly remarks that, due to lack of meat, he is reduced to this poor fare. The same observation is made about the hawk. Above we showed what constitutes the metaphysical basis of the alimentary taboo concerning the jaguar. However, the current interpretation is entirely different:

66. ujatededu[illegible] ulil[illegible]e (b1).

I don't eat any of it, it smells bad!

In the face of new situations, the Indians generally react without 157
mysticism. Thus, A1 before the problem of writing: (1) on the other hand, 177

1. P. 40 f. and p. 89.

the Nambikwara show total indifference toward photography, even when they have understood its purpose. We have never found [126] Indians who tolerated the participation of the camera in the slightest details of their intimate life with such complete indifference.

However, the passage to irrational positions is made with the same 157
brusqueness which characterizes the two attitudes, almost simultaneous, of an infant hilarity before the still unusual sight of an inflated balloon which burns, and of an appeal to evil magic when a second balloon succeeded in rising. (1) Never does the tender indulgence with which the men surround

157
562

1. P. 97.

their companions (2) allow one to suspect the actual metaphyrical curse

2. P. 56 f.

with which the women are burdened in the Nambikwara culture, excluded under pain of death from collective ceremonies, deaf and blind to the voice

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
5P17 Nambicuara 5P17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) ones. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 o.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catiral palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood plants. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Sirionó*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

The Wak[illegible] [illegible] do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Parecsi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Waikisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except 584 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following [182 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a baby strapped on her hip, an older child following 459 her. As they move slowly along they collect 222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae. 226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them catching fish that were only 2 inches in length. [252 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten 262] without being cleaned. Small birds no larger 223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near 222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come [347] to a burití stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it 313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally [177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

226 Xingú, the Nambicuara timbó fishing appears very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in
[252] leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked. Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nambicuara also claim that they fish at night with
[177] torches along the river banks. This method may have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

241 The principal food crops grown by the Nambicuara are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrowroot, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton, tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and native names of these plants are listed in Appendix 1.[1] In more recent times they are known to produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The dependence upon food crops in relation to game, fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gage. The statements of missionaries, however, appear to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide a year-round food supply and may actually play a minor role as compared with dependence upon noncultivated resources.

Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria" forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most of their hunting and collecting. The Waklitisu band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we have said, lives in a single house while thus occupied. In the past the field (*haitsu*) was cleared with a stone ax (*stúnsu*) and a wooden
[177] club (*hukwénisu*). Today steel axes and machetes are used, but the method of planting is still the same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the statement that in the past when a new field had to be cleared the people had to work during most of the wet season in order to fell the trees, a task which they now perform in May and June.

Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten down with the wooden club. The Nambicuara
241 had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near
313 the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small trees part way through, then selected a number of large trees as kingpins. When these large trees were felled they knocked down the smaller trees below them. This was continued until they had a circular clearing of the required size on the slope.
241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

[1] [Cat. 116, pp. 124-126. - Ann.] [p. 90 (B)]

252 The Nambicuara method of processing manioc in comparison with that of the Camayurá is simple and crude. The following describes the method used today: Marciano's wife dug up a burden basket full of manioc from a field belonging to the Protestant Mission. She sat under a tree
[177] and peeled the tubers with an old butcher knife (formerly a piece of bamboo was used). She washed the peeled tubers and placed them in a calabash. She then took a grater made from a piece of kerosene box about 2 feet long and 6 inches wide to which an 18-inch strip of perforated tin was nailed. She placed one end of the grater in a larger copper basin (belonging to the mission) while the other end rested on the edge, and while steadying the grater with one hand she grated the tuber with the other. The tubers did not stand in water nor were they dipped in water during the process of grating.

After the tubers were grated she dipped out a calabash full of mash and began pressing it with her hands and pouring the juice into another calabash. After she had drained off as much juice as possible she picked up a handful of mash (*wiénere*) and rolled it and squeezed it until no more juice could be expelled. This ball she placed in another calabash and continued making balls until the calabash was full. She then patted down the balls to form a round loaf about 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick, which she set out on the bare
[251] ground to dry in the sun. After several days in the sun these loaves get hard and dry and form the storable product (*kinokányere*) from which the edible cake *hi'ínire* (also called *wulíánsu*) is baked. The juice (*oyáuse*) which was left in the calabash she poured into a slight depression in the ground, and after the liquid had drained off she collected the thin film of starch flour (*akaínisu*) along with some sand, rolled it into a ball, and placed it in
[415] hot ashes to bake. The lack of pottery vessels prevents the Nambicuara from saving and boiling the juice. They know, however, that the juice is valuable, and when they have cooking vessels they boil it to form a thick porridge.

When the Nambicuara wish to prepare a greater quantity of pulp they use a piece of bast for a press. This is a piece of embira bark about 3 feet long and 8 inches wide called *sáru*. A woman rolls a ball of pulp in the strip of bark and twists the bark until the pulp is dry. The balls are then

[p. 91(2)]

412 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes,
415 knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along the way. Whenever they kill some animal or
[264] catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the
412 Wakitisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes,
177 two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a
[439] few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatiru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo
[306] knife (*alkúkwirikutu*); a hardwood drill (*hiekutu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*dáligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'ónatu*), used as sandpaper; and a
415 comb (*ha'álatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *kúkisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

283 breaks down. After one-half hour the starchy material is washed out and the ribbons begin to separate into fine strands of fiber. The hank is then shaken out and hung up to dry. When of good quality, that is, when the rod is of the right age, the fibers dry out a pale cream color. While the man is occupied at this task the girls make temporary necklaces from the green outer skin and the boys use the thin central stems as arrows for their small bows. These dried-out hanks are [301] a favorite decoration of the Nambicuara when painted with horizontal bands of urucú. They can then be suspended from the neck and allowed to hang down the back, or pieces are attached to the arm bands, leg bands, and in front to the belt.

Cotton twine is used for making arrows, stringing beads, weaving arm bands and the narrow shoulder straps which women use for carrying young children. From the cotton bush (*kúndeu*) the woman picks the bolls (*kúnkieu*) to make cotton twine (*kúnelieu*). As the making of buriti twine is a man's task, so the making of cotton twine is purely a woman's task. After picking the seeds from the bolls she spreads the cotton into flat disks and then into circles. Next she breaks the circles and joins them to form a long rope about an inch in diameter. This rope she winds around her arm, twists the end of it with her fingers, and fastens it to the top of a spindle (*wanikieu*). With a twirl of her fingers she sets it spinning and lets it drop, plucking out the cotton as it is spun. Later she unties the string and fastens it near the whorl and then by spinning the spindle on the ground the twine is wrapped around it. This process is repeated until the cotton rope is used up.

286 The men do the weaving on a true but very makeshift loom. Two forked sticks, roughly a yard long, are thrust into the ground about 2 feet apart and at an angle. One cross bar rests in the forks while another is fastened on near the ground. The warp is wound around these cross bars. The heddle, shuttle, and sword are used in [177] weaving the narrow material. It seems very likely that this type of loom was taken over from the Arawakan Paressí.

The bast strap or band (*sa'am*) is made from embira and is used for pressing manioc pulp, for carrying children or baskets, and, when cut into strips, is used for tying up bundles.

[p. 95 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
291
301

[177]

[p.136(19)]

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

121 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 177 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilisation between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandzũ.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[177] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. [Fig. 30]

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

291 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
184 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of embira around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

301 [280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the [824] seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . .

[825 237] Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa) [824] palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

291 The jalaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

301 [281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

285 Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara lianas and sometimes bamboo.

[293] . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

534 A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçú) seems ● [177] to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajoz tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. . . .(70, p.]

177 [Fig., p. 60A]

[284] Some items in the collection are of special inerest because they document the process of material acculturation. They consist on the one hand of objects that incorporate iron found by accident in the tracks of [Fig. 20] hunters and rubber gatherers; and on the other hand of imitative artifacts, made with the unskilled hand of a primitive people desirous of copying the products of a more advanced industry and the forms of a superior art.

[285: full page of figures.]

[286][Fig. 21] An instance of such imitation is provided by several diadems which crudely attempt to copy similar ornaments found among the Nambicuara; the latter are obviously alien objecs plundered from northern tribes, where featherwork has reached a higher development.

[Fig. 68]

They have learned to appreciate the advantages of our hats [287] and prize them highly. An unhappy Indian who had not received one as a gift attempted to make one for his own pleasure, plaiting and adjusting bacaba leaflets...

Chapter XI

Conclusions

174 [307] It is not possible at this time to attempt a definitive synthesis of Nambicuara ethnography in relation to other tribes.

If we could distinguish in Brazil the two classical periods (Paleolithic and Neolithic), the Serra do Norte Indians would be included in the former; their axes are crudely chipped and their culture resembles the characteristic Paleolithic pattern. (1)

1. Diagramatically and in relation to their neighbors, the Nambicuara recall the Paleolithic peoples; but their culture, with its rudiments of agriculture and weaving and its crude

7:Roquette-Pinto--60C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

177
285
282

Fig. 68. Imitation of a straw hat made by a Juruena River Indian.

174

but smooth-edged axes, is more akin to the proto-Neolithic or transitional period. The present trend is to recognize in the New World Paleolithic industries . . . but no formal overlapping periods as in Europe. (R. L.)

A later footnote by Heloisa Alberto-Torres which is not reproduced here contains the following statement: ". . . an interesting ethnographic relationship is [established by] the absolute identity of Australian and Nambicuara axes . . ." (Ed.)

At first observation, the Nambicuara might seem to be an old and backward branch of the Paressi tribe.

[308] What we know of the physical anthropology, ethnography and linguistics of both groups, however, invalidates this supposition.

177 Yet their culture bears unmistakable signs of Paressi influence.
[302] The first is the beehive-shaped house, formerly built by the Paressi. This is an import among the Nambicuara; the original house of the Serra do Norte Indians is the screen of leaves and branches, similar to the kijême of the Botocudo (Windschirm of the German ethnologists) and reminiscent of the North American wigwam.

[Fig., p. 61A]

[309] And if they did not borrow the large "round house" from the Paressi, they adopted it from Bolivian Indians.

[303] Another instance of alien influence is the nose plume, which the Paressi do not wear now but which formerly, according to Antonio
177 Pires, they could not do without; and also the nose flute, which
534 [the Nambicuara] play unskilfully, as though it were a little-known instrument of yet unfathomed secrets.

The double flute seems to have been brought from the north. It must be an import from the Maue and Munducuru, with whom the Serra do Norte Indians have had serious clashes as already mentioned above.

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the [285] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[53] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[301] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to 197 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be- 177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parataninga River, who use helmets of the same material.

174 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob- 171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilication [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

/215 cont./

278 threatens to overflow it is removed from the fire for a second and then put back to boil. A thick, reddish scum forms which [413] holds the largest impurities; it is removed as it appears with a straw from a palm tree (Pl. V, A). After five to ten minutes on an average the boiling diminishes; the liquid turns brown and begins to thicken. It is then taken from the fire and [415] poured with the aid of a funnel (kǫ̃li) made from a rolled leaf into a new receptacle to be concentrated (Pl. IV, C).

[415] [177] Concentration. The concentration is done in a receptacle (here, a tin can from the mission) suspended 40 or 50 centimeters above a small fire, into which successive portions of liquid are added as they are prepared. The concentration takes two to three hours. According to its degree /of concentration/ they obtain a thick blackish-brown liquid, reddish when looked through, ready to be applied to the arrows with a straw, or a black paste which becomes very hard on cooling and can be kept for a long time. Before being used this paste must be softened at low heat.

The Çabanè recommend that one not touch the curare with the fingers nor even breathe the steam from it during the boiling. This hypothetical toxicity of the steam had already been noted by former travelers; it was even asserted that these emanations were so dangerous that the Indians had the curare prepared by old women who almost always succumbed to it. One can see (Pl. V, A) that the Çabanè sorcerer is not afraid of it.

Curare does not enter healthy skin, and the Ñambikwara of the Juruena press the water-soaked bark between their hands, taking the sole precaution of washing immediately afterward. The steam that I voluntarily inhaled never caused me the least sickness.

[192] The Çabanè call curare and the plant which produces it irĩwa, and the still unconcentrated liquid from soaking iriwiya. The Tagnani name the plant and the curare naĩdę̃.

/220 cont./

278 171 [177] The Tamandé Ñambikwara, of the upper course of the Roosevelt River, assured me that curare had come to them from other Indians living farther to the north, in the region of the Gy Paraná /Gi-Paraná River/; it was not possible to make them specify what kind of Indians these were.

The Cabixiano /Cabishi?/ of the Rio Mequem, to the northeast of Ñambikwara territory, also use curare. According to a civilized Indian of this group encountered at the post of Baron de Melgaço, their product with a complex vegetable base is prepared secretly and only by a few old men; it is a hard curare in a jar. It is used for hunting, even of tapirs, and for war.

The Pareci, along with the Ñambikwara, represent the extreme southern point of the spread of curare, the use of which as one goes toward the Amazon becomes more and more frequent and its preparation surrounded with more mystery.

278 137 All the curares are not as simple as the Ñambikwara curare, but all appear to have as their principal base a species of Strychnos which varies according to the region. Certain Strychnos such as St. toxifera Benth., Str. lethalis Barb. Rod., and especially St. crevauxhiana Baill, are particularly toxic; others like St. pseudo-quina are very low in poisonous elements.

278 Besides the Strychnos, active elements of curare, of numerous other plants generally poisonous but with very diverse properties, and of animal substances such as venoms, often enter into the composition of this poison. Their addition answers different ends.

Sometimes these are resins or gums whose sole utility is to harden the product and to assure its preservation.

Sometimes they are toxic substances destined to reinforce or to complete the action of the Strychnos.

/221/ In other cases other substances without any actual effect but with magical properties are added to curare. Their nature is infinitely variable.

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
181
291
301

> 2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
[513] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
[101] Paressi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaikoakoré, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the "grated" pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

115 a7. --A pretty woman of some twenty years, perhaps less; young
157 wife of A6. Her parents are living and reside, she says, in the village. She is asintu of A1 and a2, arindesu of a3 and a4, aseetasu of a5. She is stupid, egotistical, interested only in herself. She considers herself very seductive, which appears to be (from the Indian point of view, of course) very exaggerated. She systematically refuses to show the slightest interest in the two daughters of her husband, conducts herself very amorously as concerns him.

115 a8 and a9--About six and two years, daughters of the first mar-
855 riage of A6 and daughters of the deceased daughter of a14. The two
157 children are practically left to themselves. Their stepmother does not bother with them; their father takes care of them when his manly tasks and his wife permit him the time. Their grandmother is their
[603] chief aid and it is to her that they run when they hurt themselves, are hungry, thirsty or afraid. But she herself is absorbed by the cares of her sons, of her stepson (A15) and of her husband. And very often the baby is neglected for entire days, covered with ashes and filth, unless some woman of the group, seized by pity or simply [43] disgusted, takes her and gives her a bath. Most often it is her big sister, precociously mature, who takes care of her, carries her, even though she is scarcely any bigger, feeds her and cleans her up. Both are charming children, gay and hungry for caresses like those who are habitually deprived of them. Their lot is a great worry for the
● [181] community. Under this regime of a hard life constantly absorbed by the small tasks, each one of which is hard work, one can with difficulty accept other cares than one's own. And these neglected children are a perpetual source of irritation, of which they are often the victims, even when taken care of. Many times we wondered if we should not take charge of the youngest of the children. They would have given her to us gladly. uThe baby was so cute that we would have been tempted if the perspective of seeing ourselves having a quarrel on the return trip with the Service for the Protection of the Indians had not, very reasonably, dissuaded us.

115 A10. --About 40 years. He is alonsu of A1, ajunkedisu of a2,
157 ahuinosu of a5, married to a11. His parents are dead. He is amiable and grinning, he suffers from a hernia which he hides under a piece of cloth hanging from his waist. His activity is considerably decreased. He is little interested in our work and not very eager to understand our questions and give us information.

a11. --About 40 years. Wife of A10. She is a "sister" of a2, a "wife" of A1, a "mother" of a5. She is dark, eager and industrious,

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
● 181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarúnde, maimãde (b1); mamaíndeti (c) oaíndesu, nikedetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
131] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Gardening exists only during the rainy season and does not free the Nambikuara from wandering during the seven months of the dry season, looking for wild roots, fruits and seeds, small animals such as lizards, snakes, bats, spiders and grasshoppers and, generally speaking, anything which may prevent them from starving. As a matter of fact, their geographical surroundings, which are located in the northwestern part of the state of Mato Grosso and include the headwaters of the Tapajos, Rio Roosevelt and Rio Gi-Parana, consist of a desolated savanna with few vegetal resources and still less game.

Had I approached my subject from a point of view other than the one outlined above, I could not have avoided a long discussion in South American cultural history, aimed at clearing up this apparent primitiveness, on the question as to whether the survival of early conditions of life in South America is genuine or whether we should consider it as a more recent—although undoubtedly pre-columbian—result of culture clashes and processes of acculturation. Whatever the answer may be, it cannot substantially change our problem: whether tarriant or recessive, the Nambikuara society functions, in the present, as one of the simplest forms of human society to be conceived. We shall not seek information from the particular history which kept them in their exceptionally crude organization or brought them back to it. We shall only look at the experiment in social anthropology which they now enact under our very eyes.

This holds especially true in respect to their social and political life. For if we do not know what was the material culture of the Nambikuara forty years ago (they were discovered only in 1907), we do know that their numbers became tremendously reduced after their contact with white civilization. General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who discovered and studied them, first stated that their number was about 20,000. This was around 1915. I take this figure as greatly exaggerated, but even if reduced by one half, it considerably exceeds the present number which is hardly more than 2,000. Epidemics have taken care of the difference. What does this mean, from the point of view of our study? During the dry season, the Nambikuara live in nomadic bands, each one under the leadership of a chief, who, during the sedentary life of the rainy months, may be either a village chief or a person of position. General Rondon wrote that, at the time he was exploring the country, it was not rare to see bands averaging two or three hundred individuals. Now, sixty or seventy

000 sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakiltisu band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakiltisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

621 622 [731] [595 583]

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Wakiltisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

164 515 [513] [291] [164]

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

181 171

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

181 Caduveo, perhaps remindful of their slave-owning
171 past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The Arawak-speaking Terena and Paresi, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Bacairí and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
576 and impolite even to rudeness. On many occa-
609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "raspberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paresi consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

[p.650]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[101] 181 648 The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicura in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "crianca" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 171 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço
101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. 116, 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnosu, al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[261] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (ezeru, al, eitzende, bl, zola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (koraisu, al, kutende, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (katateriu, al, nagade, bl, taliime, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookesu, al, lokeninde, bl), or uaguassu (aradikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, al, tagere,
[252] bl, taaki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

593
182
462
The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms [342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or [415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all [157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593
831
462
562
[517]
Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʒene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an [83] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

595
601

sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
263] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridaŋkitiu, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
● 182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
●182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover, her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2 and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of "little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the husband's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous). They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a more or less subordinate society. We have found households comprised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five (A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is proportional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly distinguish (thus: tolúrige, b1, to cough, and tolútiore, b2, to sneeze; kasíte, sneeze, and kasípe, c, spit. tarníkititu, a1, to expel flatus or to defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution, ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

857 iõndage ʃutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ʃutẽntere kuajkano (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[368] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ʃutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the
[534] first skeleton of the hut, are called indelẽaore; likewise, the double (kalõde) or triple (lutəndione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtjane tãkənããtjane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[92] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

857 nuts for her sister a20 and eats them with her. When they are
182 satisfied, they give the rest to a8, who cracks them, in turn, for her little sister.

857 The relationships between children giving each other the names husband and wife are more obscure, and we have not succeeded in forming a clear concept of them. We have pointed out a slight taboo exists concerning the expression of this kinship relationship. However, generally, the young "husbands" or "wives" do not manifest any special behavior toward one another, either positive or negative. Nevertheless, we have encountered indisputable cases where the young potential spouses conduct themselves as true spouses. In the evening they leave the family fire and carry burning pieces of wood to light their fire in a corner of the camp. The witnesses pay scarcely any attention to this action. For example, someone will make the remark:

18. u̯ĩtnau̯ri u̯ĩrai̯re :i̯ãahete u̯ĩrai̯ena norẽteu̯ii etlĩtere (b1).
The children are taking fire to make a fire, they blow to make flames.

[72] and the young "husband" says to his potential wife:

19. tadoõtaku̯i niku̯itũteraui̯ etʔere aituruu̯i u̯atadahaki (b1)
Bend down! Stir the fire, carry! Look (for more). Put it there!

857 After this, they install themselves near their fire and give
864 themselves over, insofar as it is within their means, to all the erotic acts that they have seen their elders practice. The incident is greeted by the adults with indifference, or, at the most, with amused smiles: u̯ẽtnõ taminusere, "there are the children having little sexual relations," they say in passing. We have only verified these practices in a haphazard way among the young children (5 to 7 years). They seem to be absent among those nearer puberty, but, in the latter case, a lacuna appears in our observations, due to the lack of subjects for comparison.

857 As regards strangers, the attitude of children is quite variable.
609 Certain ones manifest fear and hostility for a long time:

20. tau̯ẽtte ʔ̂iina i̯aʔirina uni̯ena (b1)
My child is frightened, he is ashamed, he doesn't move.

sometimes explained by a surprising external detail:

herãkəlou̯i iʔ̂ĩena (b1)
he is afraid of glasses.

Others (or the same ones after several days or weeks of acclimatization) are curious, friendly, eventually mystifying. Thus,

605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"—which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarûte—can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted 621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern ●182 184

1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or- [91] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
[197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarũte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jõpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

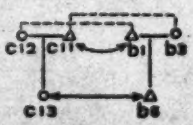


Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

836 who seem to be susceptible to violent passions. We knew an Indian who fled with a Paressi Indian girl during our stay, and lived with her for several months hidden in the bush and fleeing the husband who was in hot pursuit after them. Here is the way an informant (B15) tells of a former adventure. He reconstructs a dialogue with the beloved woman:

51. aindarinie̅ — otendnie̅ — aidote̅ha a̅idakaniaini sutnadaie̅ airhaitasiindige tamintednie̅ (b1)
Do you want to make love?--I do not wish to.--You are worth nothing! I want to make love or I will kill you! Let us go make love.

Very anxiously the woman responds:
higekanhie̅ uairire̅ uairidednie̅ etie̅dahe̅ dungaraieni (b1)
Do it quickly, my husband will be angry, he will beat me.

684 There is no social sanction against adultery; but the wronged
626 husband can avenge himself in a fearful manner and in circumstances of this type poison, used either against the wife or against the lover, plays its role. In order to avoid such incidents, the companions intervene between the adversaries and counsel the seducer to disappear for a while:

52. iiehetnie̅ aikuakatednia̅ni ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude kaia̅dodni uaiknoreniani (b1)
Go away.--I am going far away.--When this moon is ended and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, then, in that one, you may return.

We knew an Indian (C11) whose wife disappeared one day, having left with a member of his group. He thought first of revenge, but his companions intervened, and it was finally decided that the lover should keep the wife and would give him a dog as compensation. Several months later, the lover died (we were not able to find out whether the death was normal or accidental), and the woman returned to her husband, who said he was very happy to have acquired the dog
[562] also. This story should not be interpreted in the sense of an equivalence, conceived by the Indian spirit, between a woman and a dog. We have insisted too much on the fundamental role of the woman in Nambikwara
[182] life to have to return to that here. But in groups where trade [112] exists in such a primitive form (1) exchanges of goods have as a

1. Cf. p. 93 f.

684 conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations
626 incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing
[182] equivalences of value.

764 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern
184 groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriu̯aerekititu, a1) in a circular ditch (sinitákurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in
[768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. au̯regande aŝunikere kadúkərage i̯au̯órige énde énde énde inare inaretai̯re ṣinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aot2eníkere, b1) in a prone position (i̯ótarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doŝore dúrige aórede au̯tadátige au̯dotahãmdige au̯dotaãmde odeneheı̯rẽ odunhínde ni̯aótumni̯ẽ narai̯nidánde narai̯dúrige aíredugei̯óttige dén dén dén nagi̯aõde ai̯re dugi̯otige ti̯atugi̯ótige (b1)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

of the Beyond, and condemned to nothingness after death like non-initiated babies. We have described the tender companionship which presides in the relationships between the sexes, and the general harmony which reigns within the groups. But when these are altered, it is to give way to the most extreme solutions, poisoning and murder. It is quite reasonable for the informants to underline spontaneously the role of forgetfulness in funeral rites. (3)

157 562

3. P. 112.

For there is a striking contrast between the joyous irony with which one answers someone who is ignorant enough to inquire about a relative deceased for quite awhile: "ihitu, ihetu" (a1), "to the sand! in the sand!," and the horrible apparition of the atasu which is evoked with ritual sobbing.

Nambikwara rites do not seem to be symbolic in any way. The skeleton-like state of A21 and a22 at the end of the period of abstinence testifies to that, and although ceremonies are rare, they are carried far. The informants speak of periods of three months for the isolation of the young girl entering puberty, and of a bath in the river lasting a whole night as a preliminary to marriage. However much behavior is supple and without complication in daily life, likewise intrusions of the supernatural (in visions and revelations, the séances of shamanism, war dances, etc.) are manifested by the transition to an atmosphere of tragedy. No South American group, to our knowledge, expresses in such a sincere and spontaneous way (for one never feels the theatrical atmosphere of Tupi or chaqueno shamanism) such violent and opposed sentiments, whose individual expression seems inseparable from a social stylization which never betrays them.

796 157 781

• • • • •

It is far from us to wish to assign an exclusively economic cause to this dualism. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to consider that the psychological dualism goes on an equal footing with the organization of social existence around [127] two opposite poles, on the one hand the sedentary life, agricultural, based on the dual masculine activity of the construction of huts and of gardening; on the other hand, the nomadic period, during which subsistence is principally assured by feminine collecting and gathering, the one representing alimentary security and well-being, the other chance and want. To these two ways of life, one followed in the winter, the other in the summer, the Nambikwara react in very different ways. They speak of the former with the melancholy which is attached to the conscious and resigned acceptance of the human condition, to the dull repetition of identical acts.

157 182

157
182

While they speak of the latter with the excitement, and the almost exalted tone, of discovery. Let us listen to an informant (B1) describe the double cycle of the year:

First the sedentary life:

67. nedəntãtage kanaadau̯ hai̯ndige u̯edəntánkero, u̯atliri'kero 221
Tomorrow go hunting come back again 539
u̯aku̯i'nikero dánkero undákero 157
cook again go to bed again sleep again 182
nai̯ngi'kero ai̯relókero ai̯kənkero
day again go to the field again cultivate the field again
ai̯ngənkero áamkəro nunãkero u̯ininúnkero
cultivate again leave again eat again
nangi'kero danunkero taórige táu̯ táu̯ táu̯
another day cut wood cut cut cut
telunúkero [telóndige] mbári mbári mbári
finish again wait wait wait
ṣorúmkero ŝutnunátau̯e [ṣ̀utnúkero] li'tnuti̯et
burn again the cold comes [still the cold] plants
denúnkero u̯aɣaari'anunkero u̯aaninúnkero
to go again looking for some return again
iráakero kaku̯áidnatu̯e [kai̯ku̯ánde] hi'kərage kúkero
plant much dig again
ikəranukútige li'tnuránkero
in order to plant dig plants cut again
telóndãmkero dei̯nterituapúmkero au̯rhái̯kero
finish again live a long time again pull up the roots
etuʔi' etui'ʔ etuʔi' hánkero
grate grate grate finish again
nlákərahinkero nku̯áu̯lakərahi'nkero átlakero hi'nkero
gu̯átau̯ hikəninuni (b1)
a new field again plant again

And now the great adventure of the nomadic period:

68. inkənáhai̯re mi'ru̯ere i'rige
We leave at dawn; [the basket] is made it waits.
[128] ãgərage tu̯atúrige tu̯a tu̯ikini'nkero i'kəro
one packs; one fills the basket in the woods one travels one travels
nahoreda õkero nlai̯di'nkero ntorai'nkero ái̯nkero
one comes to the water one crosses the water one crosses on the way
ái̯nkero alorekidi'rekəro alorairi'kəro
on the way! one takes the prairie one crosses the prairie

157
182
221
539

ajtuaginiⁿkəro (in) ʃiⁿhun lomãniⁿnkəro ajkəro
in the forest one travels again the hill one goes down travel
ajkəro ajkəro ajritigəmãniⁿnkəro mãgəlaniⁿnkero
travel travel the hill one goes up the hill one crosses
kəlakəlatiniⁿnkəro erəlorãniⁿnkəro ajrikəro
at the crest one travels one goes down another hill, more walking!
ʃikit(a)tittaⁿrige hajtlikəro ʃikitakãlikəro
In the wet sand travel in the wet sand travel
ʃeinlikəro herhaninuⁿnkəro nungeniⁿnkero
one passes the hut of other people traveling meets others
uelikaⁿmunde ʃiitliⁿtte (b1)
one is united with others here are the huts.

As is seen, the two forms of existence not are only very strikingly opposed from the economic and sociological point of view. They constitute two poles around which accumulate complex ensembles of emotions, sentiments and memories. With the same tenderness with which they caress their wives, the men evoke the type of life defined by the temporary shelter and the eternal basket, where the most incongruous means of subsistence are sparingly scraped, gathered together, caught each day, where one lives cruelly exposed to wind, cold and rain, and which leaves no more lasting trace than the souls of the women, dispersed by the wind and storms, on whose activity it essentially reposes. And almost like the reign of need is opposed to that of liberty, they conceive in a completely different aspect the sedentary life (whose specific and ancient character is still borne witness to the original species which they cultivate), but upon which the unchangeable chain of agricultural operations confers the same character of perpetuity as the reincarnated masculine souls, the durable house of winter time, and the cultivable land which will begin to live and to produce "when the death of its preceding cultivator shall be forgotten." (1) We do not think it possible to draw conclusions, from a work

1. Cf. quotation, p. 112.

having to do exclusively with several sociological and psychological aspects of the life of the Nambikwara, relative to the place one should assign them in the ensemble of South-American cultures. However, the preceding information suffices to show under what form the problem is posed. We are in [129] the presence of a culture which shows linguistic affinities with the Ŝibŝa, and which approaches the Tupi from the double point of view of family organization and religious beliefs, at the same time recalling

157
152

the Gé and the Botocudo in its material culture. (1) In other terms, it

101

1. We do not mention the Botocudo by chance. The term "Nambikwara" seems to be a surname of Tupi origin, with the sense of "large ears" (Nhambikwara). However, the Indians who use this name do not use the "bodoque" or any other ornament bringing on the same malformation. Yet it is possible that the name was originally applied to a tribe—or group of tribes—different from that which finally inherited it. In 1931, the telegraph post of Parecis, located 80 kilometers from Diamantino, was attacked and destroyed by some unknown Indians, who descended from an unexplored region somewhere between the Ariños River and the do Sangre River. Since that time, they have repeated their sorties at irregular intervals, so that it was necessary to change the trail going to Utiarity (on the Papagaio River)about 80 kilometers to the south of the telegraph line. The fires of Indian camps were clearly visible at the time of our passage to Parecis, in January 1939. Thanks to two severed heads, brought back a number of years ago by some garimpeiros (searchers of diamonds) who had a bone to pick with these Indians, it is known that the latter wear in the lobe of the ear and in the lower lip some large disks of light wood which recall those of the Suia and Botocudo. For this reason then, they are now called, by the diamond seekers and the gatherers of rubber of the region, by the name of Beiços de Pau, "Mouths of wood." The story is surprising, for people up to then were convinced that the Paressi had remained the sole occupants of these territories, and they themselves seemed completely ignorant of the presence of these dangerous neighbors. We have not found in literature any reference to the "Beiços de Pau" since the beginning of the 18th century; but at that time there is precise testimony: "Further on there is another tribe called Mahibarez... their language differs only slightly (from that of the Paressi), and they have ears with very long pierced lobes which in some of them hang to the shoulder, these being neighbors of the Paressi... and moreover they carry some short swords made from very strong wood... This people lives toward the northern part"

(Antonio Pires de Campos, "Breve noticia, etc.," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 25, 1862, p. 445). Cf. also C. Lévi-Strauss, "The name of the Nambikuara," American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, 1945. 101

is the problem of a syncretistic culture which one finds so frequently in South American ethnology. 157 182

When taken from the geographical point of view, the statement of the problem is easily reconstituted. One may ask one how best to interpret the presence of a nucleus of low cultures placed symmetrically, as regards the tributaries of the right bank of the Amazon, to that which occupied, and still occupies, eastern Brazil. Under the two wings of the "T" which sketches the distribution of far more evolved cultures of the Amazon valley, and the Madeira, with the long vertical zone which extends from the Xingu to the Tocantins, the low level Gé to the east, and the Nambikwara to the west, produce an equilibrium, like isolated islands. In the case of the Nambikwara, a supplementary problem is raised, that of the duality of their culture and their type of life. The latter can be explained either by taking as a basis the most elementary form of adaptation, and by assuming the borrowing of agricultural life from groups of a more evolved culture, or by leaving the higher form as an impoverishment determined by cultural isolation, or by the [130] suppression in particularly inhospitable regions which would have imposed secondary forms of adaptation. However, it is only by an appeal to all the available sources of information which should include, besides sociological studies, the study of the language and the material culture, and by comparison with the groups living in the same geographic atmosphere, that an attempt to interpret these problems can reasonably be undertaken. 121

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

corded among many tribes. Now, what do we find in the chief's case? There is first a monogamous marriage of the cross-cousin type, that is, where the wife belongs to the same generation as her husband. This first wife plays the same part as the monogamous wife in ordinary marriages. She follows the sexual pattern of the division of labor, taking care of the children, doing the cooking, and collecting and gathering wild food. To this marriage are added one or several unions, which, technic[illegible], are true marriages, but of a different type. Usually, the secondary wives belong to a younger generation. The first wife calls them daughters or nieces. Besides, they do not follow the sexual pattern of the division of labor, but share indifferently in men's or women's activities. At the camp, they disdain domestic tasks and remain idle, either playing with the children to whose generation they belong or [illegible]ng with their husband, while the first wife keeps busy with the food and the fire. On the contrary, when the chief leaves on an exploration, a hunt, or some other manly task, they will accompany him and bring him their moral and physical help. These somewhat "tomboy" girls, elected by the chief from among the prettiest and healthiest of the group, are to him rather "girl-friends" than spouses. They live on the basis of an amorous friendship which contrasts strongly with the more conjugal atmosphere of the first marriage.

622 595

This system exerts a tremendous influence upon the whole life of the group. The periodical withdrawal by the chief of young women from the regular cycle of marriages creates a permanent unbalance within the group, between the number of boys and girls of marriageable age. Young men are the chief victims of that situation and must either remain bachelors for several years or marry widows or old women discarded by their husbands. Thus, the right to plural marriages represents a concession of considerable importance made by the group to its leader. What does it mean from the latter's point of view? There is little doubt that access to young and pretty girls brings him a much appreciated gratification, not so much from the physical side (as the Nambikuara share in the quiet dispositions of most South American tribes), as from the psychological and sentimental one. But, above all, plural marriage, together with its distinctive features, constitutes the technical means and the functional device placed at the chief's disposal by the group to enable him to carry out his exacting duties. Left by himself, he could hardly do more than the others. His secondary wives, freed by their special status from the customary

622 595 182

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 595 182 liabilities of their sex, are his helpers, comforters and assistants. They are, at the same time, leadership's prize and instrument. Can it be said, from the native point of view, that the prize is worth the trouble? To answer that question, I shall now have to consider the problem from a broader angle, namely, what does this elementary social structure, the Nambikuara band, teach us about leadership, its basis and its function?

121 There is a first point which does not require great elaboration. Nambikuara data contribute, with many others, to destroy the belief originated by early anthropologists, and temporarily revived by psychoanalysis, that the primitive chief could find his prototype in a symbolical father, and that the simpler forms of the State could progressively have grown out of the family. We have found at the root of the crudest forms of chieftainship a decisive step, which introduced something entirely new in respect to biological relations—and this step consists of *consent*. Consent, we have seen, is at the same time the origin and the limit of leadership. Unilateral relations such as right of age, autocratic power, or others, may appear in groups having an already complex structure. In simple forms of social organization, such as the one I have tried to describe, they are inconceivable. Here, on the contrary, the relationship between the chief and the group can be seen as a perpetual process of arbitration where the chief's talents and authority on the one hand and the group's size, cohesion and willingness, on the other, constantly react on and influence each other. If I had the time, and if it were not so far removed from my topic, I would have liked to show what considerable support modern anthropological observations bring, in this respect, to the analysis of the eighteenth century social philosophers. I am well aware of the fact that Rousseau's "social contract," which is the step by which individuals resign their autonomy in favor of the General Will, is entirely different from the nearly contractual relations existing between the chief and his followers. It remains true, however, that Rousseau and his contemporaries displayed a keen sociological feeling when they understood that cultural attitudes and elements such as "contract" and "consent" are not the result of secondary processes, as claimed by their opponents; they are culture's raw materials, and it is impossible to conceive a political or social organization in which they would not already be present. If I understand correctly, the recent analysis, by modern American

593 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark
182 prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection
462 against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms
[342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or
[415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as con-
831 cerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest
462 is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara
562 have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to
[517] signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
● [83] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

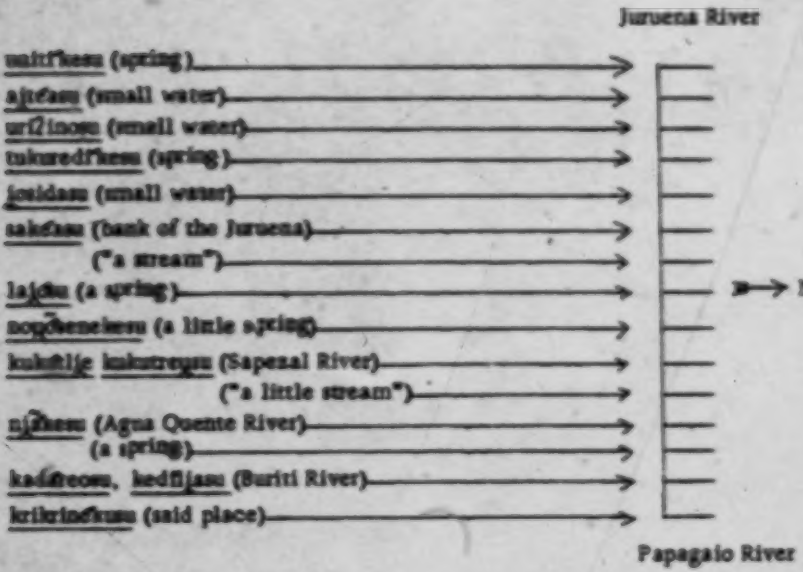
593 fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely
831 realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are
462 considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Na'mbikwara folk-
[83] lore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tagire uirige, b1), a
562 typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second
[198] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

[538] 5. uitnoʃunatukhne joʔotnuʃutnãdnjani deneʃunatukhne. (b1)

The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, a1), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

198 This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact
562 correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect a1, they give words an ending —ʃu instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedjutu or —kedjuzu.



TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read 173
above (p. 50) a remark of B1 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as [1130
legacies of the "ancestors": 829]

58. irotnose ikãtage uiʼttige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] 773
It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already 539
given. (1) Here is the text used by adults:

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narodne kãuihire
narukanihire naukauiʼtaure
nahutende kãng-rage naukãdo uiʼtere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
221 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be
411 distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section
●184 which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 85.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[16] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia sp.fera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[17] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

• • • •

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

601

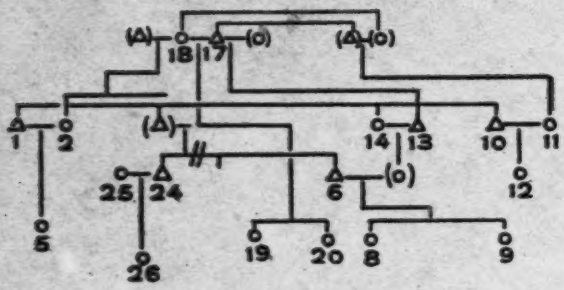


Fig. 9

A17, a man of about 55 years, married a18 (about 50 years) and has by her two daughters, a19 (about 12 years) and a20 (about 6 years). a18 has from a former marriage, a daughter a2 (about 30 years) married to A1 (about 35 years); the latter has taken a son A24 from an older dead brother; this son, himself married and the father of a baby, is about 26 years old. A17 and a18 are then "asoũnosu" and "aɛʔinosu". The daughter a2 of a18 is a "aʔkenosu," mother of a daughter of 8 or 9 years, a5. Under these conditions, the two little girls a19 and a20 are likewise "mothers," and they are called "aʔkenosu" by:

a5 : their contemporary [feminine];
A6 : their elder [masculine] (about 25 years);
a12 : their elder [feminine] (about 22 years);
A24 : their elder [masculine] (about 26 years);

and consequently they are called "grandmother" by:

a8 : their contemporary [feminine] (about 6 years);
a9 : their junior [feminine] (about 3 years);

the daughters of A6; and, in fact, a2, who is a "mother," normally calls them "little sisters."

601 [29] The system of parentage of the central, southern, and west-
● 184 ern groups (dialects b1 and b2) does not present any fundamental difference as concerns the preceding. The degrees of parentage distinguished are less numerous; on the contrary, one finds quite a great variety of terms used to designate a set degree. The fact that the informants use several terms to qualify their situation as concerns a certain subject suggests that these terms are often synonyms, even though their etymological sense is not always perfectly clear.

601 184 Grandparents are most often singled out among themselves, and distinguished from the parents of the spouse, which does not happen in system a (1 or 2); also, the son (or daughter) of the brother (or the of the sister) of the father (or of the mother) are sometimes designated by different terms. The groups studied are not dense enough to be able to make a base for a theory of the system in force. Solutions of replacement intervene frequently, and the preferential forms of marriage found are not adequate for generalizations, due to an insufficient number of cases. But the preceding considerations suggest that preferential unions, choosing also among certain categories of cross-cousins, could formerly have been in force. [582]

Finally, the names for brothers (and sisters), elder and younger, are more changeable than in system a (1 or 2); and one sees appear a new term designating the brother or the sister of the other sex. This disorganization of vocabulary can be interpreted as resulting from the influence of the northern system (dialect c), where we shall see later on that it tends more and more to assimilate the system of groups b. [177]

Here is the vocabulary of parentage used, with references to group a (1/2): [Note: m.s. = man speaking; w.s. = woman speaking; m.w.s. = man or woman speaking.]

Dialect a 1/2	Dialect b 1/2	
ahuĩnosu	1. (ta)mĩnde	(my) father, father's brother.
	2. ẽinde	father (equals man).
	3. uãĩre	father (used to designate absent father, or father of a third person, or the father's brother.
	4. (ta)mĩnlaore	father's brother (equals other father).
	5. (ta)mindũdnere	father (father's brother when he substitutes for dead father).
aʔkẽnosu	6. (ta)nãde	(my) mother, mother's sister.
	7-8. (ta)nãdẽlaore, ndãore	mother (other mother; for the mother's sister and the mother of a third).

601
●184

	9.	denaũdnere	mother (wife of the father's brother. cf. 5)
[30] uettu	10.	uette	child.
	11.	namãde	small child, baby.
a2kiñaru	12.	nkiñaende	son.
	13.	eingire	son (= little man).
	14.	nikilaũdnere	son (used by the father's brother to the brother's son).
a2kiñeru	15.	iñkeninde	daughter.
	16.	deeingire	daughter (= little woman).
	17.	inkãniũdnere	daughter (adopted).
(t)oãnosu	18.	tõaãde	older sister.
	19.	kiruñde	older sister (?).
ariñdesu	20.	(t)õaniuiniñkare	younger sister.
	21.	niñde	brother or sister of opposite sex.
akenãnosu	22.	(t)õuatãde	older brother.
alõnsu	23.	(t)akãnaãde	younger brother.
asiñesu	24.	(t)rere, ndeere	(my) spouse, wife.
oyensaesu	25.	(t)uirare	(my) spouse, husband.
	26.	etende	husband (equals man).
	27.	uiñere	husband (when he is absent, or the husband of another).
asuñosu	28.	(t)arute	cross-cousin (masc.), sister's husband (m. s.).
aseetasu	29.	(ta)dedere	cross-cousin (fem.), brother's wife (w. s.).
asineeru	30.	(t)asirare	sister's son, daughter's husband (m. s.).
	31.	(t)asiniñde	brother's son, daughter's husband (w. s.).
	32.	(ta)uriñde	daughter's husband.
asiñtu	33.	siñdare 34. uikiãde	brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.) son's wife.
asoũnosu	35.	nduku iñde	
	36.	(ta)kuñde	mother's father, father of spouse.
	37.	õuñde 38. (ta)õnde	father of father or of the mother.

601
184

a2éihosu	39.	hi2i'nde	mother of spouse.
	40.	ʃirúnde	mother of the father or of the mother.
asui'ttu	41.	asui'te	son (daughter) of the son (or daughter), sister of father (brother of mother) of father or of mother.
asuélisu	42.	asui'arore	children of the son or of the daughter of the brother (w. s.), children of the son or of daughter of the sister (m. s.).

[31] Descriptive terms:

43.	uéikuainde	44. (ta)uiúdnere	child of a third person, adopted child.
45.	ioóne		adolescent. (masc.)
46.	tilóne		adolescent. (fem.)

(For orphan, masculine or feminine, widower, widow, see above, p. 26.)

* * * *

We go now to the system of parentage of the northern group (dialect c):

1. uáinko..... father.
2. hi'mi..... father's brother.
3. náuko..... mother, mother's sister.
4. asiátaba..... father's sister.
5. kooka..... mother's brother, father of the spouse, father of the father or of the mother.
6. ŝii'ko..... wife of the mother's brother, mother of the spouse, mother of the father or of the mother.
7. taáta..... son, sister's son (w. s.), son of a "wife" (m. s.).
8. taátero..... daughter, sister's daughter (w. s.), daughter of a "wife" (m. s.).
9. ajŝinu..... son or daughter of the sister (m. s.).
10. taámero..... son or daughter of the brother (w. s.).
11. iáia..... older brother or sister.
12. sabáni..... younger brother or sister.
13. iátta..... wife, daughter of the father's sister, daughter of the mother's sister.

601
184

14.	tiimo.....	husband, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother.
15.	iopa.....	sister's husband, wife's brother (m. s.).
16.	ʂiuitta.....	brother's wife, husband's sister (w. s.).
17.	ʂiauitte.....	daughter's husband, (f. p.), daughter's husband, "wife's" husband (m. s.).
18.	ʂinarʂo.....	brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.), when she is at the same time wife of the son (m. w. s.) or wife of the younger brother (m. s.).
19.	ʂiuʂi.....	daughter's children.
20.	ʒoeʂo.....	son's child, or of the daughter when the latter is married to an uncle.
21.	zʊa.....	child (married to an uncle).

[97] [32] This vocabulary of relationships apparently does not offer any affinity linguistically with that of dialects a and b; and the structure of the system also seems different. Without doubt the fundamental principle—the marriage of cross-cousins—remains the same. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to refer to the list of relatives designated by the terms tiimo and iatta. Again one finds the division of members of the same generation into sisters and wives (m. s.), or brothers and husbands (w. s.) on one side, and on the other, sisters and wives of brothers (w. s.), or brothers and husbands of sisters (m. s.). But the distinction here is more confused, since it is accompanied by an absence of symmetry concerning the designation of the brothers and sisters of parents, and the children of the brothers and sisters of the subject. Instead of finding the first divided into fathers and mothers, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, and the second into children, and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, we have a more complicated terminology. The name of the father's sister (asiataba) differs from that of the wife of the mother's brother (ʂiiko), although they are habitually confused in a system of marriage among bilateral cross-cousins. There is also a special name for the father's brother. But, if this latter is a younger brother who has one of his nieces, he will be called brother-in-law (iopa) by his brother's son, his nephew. Even more delicate is the naming of nephews and nieces because the symmetry carried on by the other systems between the children of brother (of a brother) and the children of sister (of a sister) fades out giving way to a new symmetry, this time between the children of sister (of a sister), and the children of the wife (classificatory) of the brother, who are called by the same name. Moreover, the children

601 born respectively from a brother and from a sister receive different
●184 names according to whether they are the sons or daughter of a brother (of a sister), or sons or daughter of a sister (of a brother). Finally, it is no longer normally possible to identify the son-in-law (ŝiauĵtte) and the daughter-in-law (ŝinaĵso) with the nephew or the niece (cross-), and the ŝiuŝi, soeŝo (the same difference as the asuĵttu, asuĵte, and asuelisu or asuiarore of the preceding systems) do not correspond exactly to relatives of the third generation, or to the third degree.

601 184 582 These contrasts are clarified when one studies the forms of marriage actually practiced. Of eight marriages, five are "horizontal," that is uniting a husband and wife coming from the same classificatory generation, and three are "oblique," the husband coming from the generation of his wife's mother:

C1 = c2 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal);
C4 = c5 : husband's brother and wife's sister (horizontal);
C6 = c7 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C12 = c13 : mother's older brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C16 = c17 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C20 = c8 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C20 = c21 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C29 = c28 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal).

[33] In the absence of genealogical facts, one can even suppose that two of the marriages above, classed as "horizontal," are probably oblique, given the considerable difference in age between the husband and wife (C20 = c8, c21); such is often the case of children issued from "oblique" marriages. But even disregarding this possibility, the proportion of "oblique" relationships rises when one passes from marriages as such to the classificatory relationship of husband and wife. Thus C6, for example, calls "wife":

c2 : wife's sister;
c5 : sister of father's wife;
c7 : his own wife;
c8 : sister of father's wife;
c13 : wife's sister;
c17 : wife's sister;
c21 : sister of father's wife;
c24 : wife's sister;
c31 : wife's sister;

there are actually three horizontal relationships and six oblique (directly or indirectly, through the already oblique position of the intermediary).

We have seen above that the "oblique" marriage is not unknown in the eastern, central, southern and western groups. But it is not so frequent there, and above all, the system of names does not take account of it. The problems resulting from this form of marriage are, then, resolved in two ways: either they preserve the names which have become contradictory, or they displace one or several individuals from the category of kinship to another. The method of the northern system is entirely different, for this is the system whose structure is accommodated to marriage between persons of different generations. (1) This new character is shown by a clearer distinction, 601 582 184

1. For the theoretical interpretation, it will be compared with the Miwok and Ao Naga systems, as we have analyzed them in another work. (Les structures élémentaires de la parenté, ch. 17 and 22.)

within each generation, between the "elder" and the "younger"; in place of four terms distinguishing the relative age and sex, there are only two, iãia and sabãni, which refer to age and apply indifferently to both sexes. Moreover, the term sabãni tends to have the general meaning of "young" or "little," and succeeds in specifying, from this point of view, whatever the kinship relationship is (2) implying

2. Cf. below, p. 37, text No. 1.

thus that the quality of sabãni is equivalent to displacement to another generation. And actually, even though the older brother and the younger brother can equally claim to marry their sister's daughter, the older brother, even when married to his niece, will continue to be called iãia by [34] his wife's mother. On the other hand, in the same situation the younger brother sometimes passes to the rank of ŝiauĩtte; he is no longer considered as a brother, but as a son-in-law. Moreover, if the term ŝiauĩtte normally means a "horizontal" son-in-law, that is a cross-nephew married to a daughter, it is significant that a man calls ŝiauĩtte his younger brother, who has married a niece, and even a "wife"; and that a woman designates a younger brother married to a daughter in the same way, as has just been seen. Nevertheless, a man calls his cross-cousins (fem.) and his sisters' daughters indiscriminately iãtta (wife), while distinguishing the husbands of his "wives" as ŝiauĩtte (horizontal son-in-law), sabãni (or ŝiauĩtte, replacing sabãni) and iãia.

601 It might be considered that these differences as regards the other
184 systems are purely formal. They bring on, however, some important
582 consequences. The preferential marriage between mother's brother and sister's daughter must introduce asymmetry between the children of the brother and those of the sister, thus justifying the use of different names in the two cases. For the same reason, one sees a shift of a classificatory generation appear between a woman who has married an uncle, and that of her parallel cousins. Here is a striking example:

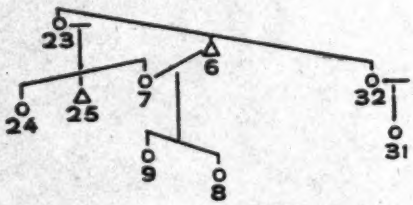


Fig. 10.

c23 calls C6 (in reality, sabãni) ŝiauĩtte; thus her daughter c24 calls him tiĩmo (husband), since he is married to her sister, c7, and their brother C25 calls him jõpa for the same reason. For c23, her granddaughters (and nieces at the same time) c8 and c9 are ŝiuŝi, called taãtero by the sister of the mother c24, and aisinu by the brother of the mother C25. But if one looks at it from the point of view of c31, the essential fact is not, as in the preceding cases, that C6 has married a daughter or a sister (here, a niece or a parallel cousin), but that he is the mother's brother. Consequently, she calls him koõka (father-in-law), and she calls the wife of C6 ŝiĩko (mother-in-law), and the children of the latter become her ŝiuĩtta (sisters-in-law).

A double conclusion can be drawn from this analysis. In the first place, it must be remembered that in systems a and b the term for "older brother or sister" also means parallel cousins. Now we have just established that in the system of group c the parallel cousin can actually be displaced to a younger generation, and that such is the case when the marriage is of the "oblique" type. It may, therefore, be that the oblique marriage has occupied a more important place in systems a and b than is the case today. The second point is that the kinship system of group b, with its use of a special term for the brother or sister of the opposite sex, and its distinction [35] between the parents of spouses and the grandparents, takes an intermediary position

601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system. This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"—which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarûte—can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted 621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern 182 184

1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or- [91] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
[197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarûte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jôpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

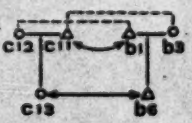


Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern 526 Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [84] a1 whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

684 626 [182] conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing equivalences of value.

764 184 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriuaerekititu, a1) in a circular ditch (sinitakurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in [768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. auregande aŝunikere kadukɔrage iaudrige ende ende ende inare inaretaire ŝinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aoʔenikere, b1) in a prone position (iotarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doŝore dutige adrede autadatige audotahãmdige audotaãmde odenehẽire odunhĩnde niaotumnie narainidãnde naraidutrige aitredugeiottige den den den nagiaode aire dugiotige tiatugiotige (b1)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

224 to me not to say anything. Later that day he
264 returned to the spot, built a fire, roasted the snake, and ate it by himself.

224 Caymans are hunted by first finding their hide-outs under logs or overhanging banks. When one is found under an overhanging bank the hunters peel a number of slender poles and begin to thrust them down through the bank to force the cayman out. Men are stationed above and below the spot, and as the cayman comes out he is shot. When he hides under logs the hunters feel for him with their feet. The hunters are so nimble that few of them get bitten. The large rodent, paca, is also hunted in this way, for it hides in holes under overhanging banks.

The large water snake, anaconda, is hunted in pools where it lies in wait for game. When the hunters have trailed an anaconda to a water hole they keep shooting arrows into the water until they strike it. The first strike then indicates where the snake is, and they continue shooting until the snake weakens and can be pulled out. Sometimes the snake grabs a hunter by the arm, but the others are there to assist if anyone gets into difficulties.

Small anteaters are dug out of holes but the larger kind which does not go into holes is hunted by two men armed with clubs. The men chase it, one on each side, and as the anteater turns on one he strikes it on the nose with his club and then jumps into a tree. The other hunter then strikes it. This continues until the anteater dies.

Monkeys are chased from tree to tree until they tire and come down to hide in a hole in the ground. Dogs can then overtake the monkey or he can be shot or dug out of the hole. Deer usually do not fall when shot, but the hunter chases the wounded deer until he can shoot more arrows into it, especially into the legs.

[278
● 184] Although the Western Nambicuara are said to use arrows poisoned with curare, the Waklítisu say they do not use curare but that they know how to prepare it and that they formerly used it in raids. As arrows do not penetrate bone, the hunter tries to shoot at an angle so that the arrow will enter the chest cavity, or he will aim between the neck and the shoulder bone.

223 The Nambicuara hunt and eat all birds except the urubú. Large rheas are not hunted because it is difficult to approach them on the open sa-

411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small piuva tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with lixeiro leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The siriva bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but
● [184] the black wood surrounding the center is used. The siriva bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

[283] The bowstring (*kalunwiniɨu*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with urucú (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*alukwirikatu*), which appears to be cane (*Gadua* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a piuva foreshaft (*ihdikatsutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with sipó vine for about
[237] 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akinéntsu*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the
[284] butt end of the shaft. The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving
[237] motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold
[284] the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

[p.93(2)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Caluçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacúba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atziri and the Amúéas of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 28 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and bees. The upper disk has three orifices.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always 607 838

tarûtę ialâsiętę

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case. 607 571

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces, In the course of our fieldwork we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabânę* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarûndę* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group. 184 571 621 197 731

145 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their
145 digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[192] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the
[514] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred
164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar piorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots
[513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige,
266 perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

272 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly: to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[263] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (Polyporus sp.) which the others disregard.

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandzü.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[177] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. [Fig. 30]

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

291 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
● 194 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of embira around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-*of*-pearl, which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A.]

[184] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialaçu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, [545] after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[384] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnanî-i! Tagnaní-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[82] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2 , sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 [211] The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [a vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

/211 cont./

114 278 True curares are becoming difficult to find. Many of the modern products brought back as curares or existing under this name in /212/ trade are paralyzing poisons of variable toxicity but with a weak or no curarizing effect. The curarizing effect itself does not interest the Indian; he is only looking for a halting poison producing rapid paralysis with loosening of muscular tonus, no matter by what mechanism, for his arrows. Often also the good faith of travelers has been betrayed and the Indians, anxious about their secret, have given them false recipes or poisons different from true curare. Lastly, some curares are hard to preserve, making it impossible to ascertain their properties upon the return of expeditions.

These causes, so diverse, have always left doubt about the exact composition and method of preparation of curare.

I. Curare of the Ñambikwara /Nambicuara/

During my last trip to the central plateau of the Mato Grosso with my colleague Lévi-Strauss, I was present at the preparation of a very simple but active curare by the Ñambikwara and accompanied these Indians on the search for the necessary plants.

Curare had not been mentioned as existing among the Ñambikwara. The Rondon Commission had certainly observed the existence of an arrow poison among them, but later investigations carried out on arrows sent to Rio de Janeiro had given negative results (Alvaro Ozorio de Almeida and Roquette Pinto). The cause of this failure can only be attributed to the material used in the experiments, which was too old; the arrows keep their activity only a few weeks.

278 184 The composition of curare is the same for all the Ñambikwara, but its method of preparation varies from group to group. It must be emphasized that the preparation of this poison is surrounded with more mystery as one goes toward the

/212 cont./

278 184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 126 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] [117] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[114] [162] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"—which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarũte—can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted
621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern
182
184

1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or-
● [91] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

857 iõndage ʂutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ʂutentere kuajkano (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[868] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ʂutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the
[534] first skeleton of the hut, are called indeléaore; likewise, the double (kalõde) or triple (lutandione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtiane tãkanaãtiane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[92] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19,cracks bacaiuva

789 of warm air, aided by small fragments of paper put over a fire, was at least accepted, is not understood. And as usual when it is a question of excusing an incident (which could have had very unhappy [562] consequences), they put all the blame on the women, "who do not understand anything," "were afraid" and feared a thousand calamities. (1)

1. Later, A1 asked for some balloons to give a demonstration himself before the combined groups assembled by him. But, less forgetful than he, we obstinately refused.

● [192] Two conclusions are gleaned from these facts. The first is that the term of nãnde covers much more than the strict meaning of the word "poison," and that it includes all types of actions of exceptional and likewise menacing character, as well as the products or objects likely to determine this action. All nãnde objects and operations have a common character, expressed by the term kakore. This means the dangerous products or substances, and, at the same time, those of a menacing or dangerous nature which certain living beings may possess by specific or only temporary right. Thus poison, the snake, the poisonous spider, the jaguar, are kakore; but the same is true of an enemy tribe, or an Indian (even if he is a [98] relative or friend) when he projects revenge or is found in a state of violent anger. The second conclusion is that the poisons, whatever may be the positive and utilitarian character of their preparation, are not thought of scientifically as substances provoking physiological disorders, but as vehicles or receptacles of that mysterious force which turns the usual order of phenomena upside down. Nevertheless, nãnde is not conceived of in the abstract form of a power. It resides in, and cannot be separated from, certain apparently recognizable material aspects. When the Indians examined our balloons of silk paper, they sought something there which would be the concrete sign of their magical and malevolent nature; and while they proceeded with their inspection, we wondered anxiously what could be the specific characteristics (happily absent) of the product or the nãnde object. If it is true that the sense of the term nãnde is more complex than that of the word poison, it is no less necessary to recognize that poison carries the better example and the more perfect illustration of the Indian conception. It is a clearly identified substance, and recognizable by its outward characteristics to which its evil effects necessarily correspond.

796

alãgena haĩtige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. ũĩtnore ũĩtnia imagɔre.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

denaãtie ĩatiaeninĩnena ednaso iãineni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[688] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
789 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (arãtasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; juauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
● [192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (ahãru, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

534 (aratasu-aharu), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[192]
[522]

1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kukedetu ukedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called du'uru (a1/2) du'unde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: talittige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dosu saikedutu'akedatelusu alosu usi'nkedjutu inketu iakesaitutu ire ire iagekediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inkatu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

193 their suffixes in Ŝibṣa: —nak (Bribri), "excretion, secretion, resin"
197 and -dio, -rio (Bribri), "secretion, damp." (3)
811

3. There would be, naturally, a large number of detailed observations to present. In the different languages, the logical categories partially overlap; thus, the Nambikwara category -kere corresponds partially to the Bribri -kal, and at the same time to -Xkuo. The suffix -kere expresses resistance largely, and the suffix -kate, which we have connected with it, form.

The phonetic analogies which occasionally appear between the classifying suffixes of the Nambikwara and the Ŝibṣa do not seem to us of great importance. On the other hand, morphological analogy, and above all the division of things and beings into classes which are not imposed on the mind [114] by any internal necessity, do not seem to us to be logically the result of a pure phenomenon of convergence. We see there, on the contrary, sufficient reason to affirm a linguistic affinity between the Ŝibṣa and Nambikwara groups. (1)

1. In his book Durch Central-Brasilien, Von den Steinen had already suggested the constitution of a linguistic area extending from Colombia to northern Bolivia by a chart of the northern and western distribution of the word sisi (sun, fire). The term sisi can be approximated in Nambikwara: siisu (a1), siise (b1): round hut, circle.

[197]

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Type, family, group	-ãnde -ẽnde -õnde		-ũak	-uah	
Hair, fur, feathers	-uette	-ulis	-kŏ, -kõ -tsa	-zok -so	-lisa -ko-a
To cut, to pierce, hole	-ire	-sik			-kali -ka

continued

193
197
811
192

Logical Category	Nambik-wara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wood, stretched	-kere -kate	-kat	-kāt̆	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretched	-e̯ere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, grain, rounded object	-kəni'nde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That which hangs, is added, decorates, trembles	-gəre	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-di'o -ri'o -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Season, weather, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kã -kõ	-shco	
Bark, leather, skin, clothing, what accompanies	-ore	-ŭuk	-Xkŭŏ	-cuota -cuo	-t̆ĕn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kās	-tšká	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ring finger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193 197 171]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ŝibŝa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) u̯ai ʔanj̯ena taj̯kednj̯ena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahéndesu	ahéndesu	deʔénde	pãte
Black	ŝundne	atuũdisu	u̯áre, dédəne	tapũte

continued

822
192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehedné-kenesu	ahe˥ én-dutu	e˥édne	ṣereṣeraĩnte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehéndutu	aeh˥éndutu	e˥édne	ṣeraĩnte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asu̯isu̯éndisu	ṣiṣu̯ĩdna	tapũte, tiku̯alẽnte
Ultramarine blue	---	asu̯isu̯éndutu	ṣiṣu̯ĩdna	tapũte, tiku̯alẽnte
Veronese green	ṣidiṣĩde	asetesedeén-dutu	ṣedeṣedédne	pasĩnte
Emerald green	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesede˥-éndutu	ṣedeṣe-dedne	pasinte, ku̯alénte
Strontian yellow	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesede˥-éndutu	ṣedeṣe-dedne	natopeṣeraĩnte, ku̯alénte
Yellow ocher	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesede˥-éndutu	húndne	ṣeraĩnte
Burnt sienna	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesede˥-éndutu	húndne	natopeṣeraĩnte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitásu, atásu (supernatural animal) or iu̯initu atásu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgəre (classifying: -gəre, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãgəniu̯ĩkəre, -niu̯ĩkəre being a diminutive) and "planets" (tágərare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otianiĩkisu, uteriĩtisu (a 1/2), ṣúnde (b 1/2), iota (c); the moon ĩru, irékisu (a 1/2), heĩnde, heĩtənde (b 1/2), hiĩta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: arãditatinoa (a1), eiedámniene (b1) ipaĩkolota (c);

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgiaĩ˥ĩnoa (a1), eu̯emirakende (b1), ipaĩkolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mihĩrage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (kómirige,

5 Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date) 1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

superior existem tres orificios. E' uma flauta mui semelhante ao "Xan-harí" dos Parecí, tocada pelo sopro do nariz.

Em Novembro 1910, no Jurueña, não longe de um posto telegrafico, puderam ser olhidas as seguintes palavras da lingua dos Nhambiquára:

Portuguese.	English.	Nhambiquára.	Portuguese.	English.	Nhambiquára.
Flecha	Arrow	Arukirapisú.	Cabelo	Hair	Anikisú.
Olho	Eye	Aisú.	Dedo	Finger	Taitasú.
Braço	Arm	Tanukisú.	Arco	Bow	Arankisú.
Dente	Tooth	Ani.	Vem cá	Come here	Nhangan.

Esse pequeno vocabulario difere um pouco do que vai adiante transcrito, o qual foi obtido em um posto avançado da Expedição, estabelecido na Serra do Norte, em 20 de Julho de 1909:

Portuguese.	English.	Nhambiquára.	Portuguese.	English.	Nhambiquára.
Agua	Water	Arí.	Taquará	Bamboo	Uanosú.
Abobora	Gourd	Ahitum.	Urucú	—	Nukirú.
Arara	Arara	An-nanzí.	Assucar	Sugar	Nakú-nosú.
Abacaxi	—	Koáre.	Agulha	Needle	Tatoá-nesú.
Amigo	Friend	Tiranhô.	Barro	Clay	Inosú.
Arroz	Rice	Isi-hinsú.	Burro	Mule	Anunasú.
Algodão	Cutton	Konguisú.	Boca	Mouth	Toái-iuçú.
Batata	—	Uinsú.	Cão	Dog	Inanzí.
Beijú	—	Urinosú.	Chapeu	Hat	Uinarí.
Cigarro	Cigarette	Jxi.	Camiza	Shirt	Uare.
Carne	Meat	Uicingú.	Panela	Stove	Sotrá.
Cabaça	Pumpkin	Uruxí.	Cerca	Enclosure	Kukuxí.
Calças	Trousers	Xranasú.	Cigarra	Cicada	Kikisú.
Caminho	Road	Aukuí.	Cajú	—	Irikisú.
Cuia	—	Katasí.	Cabelo	Hair	Uainikesú.
Collar	Neckchain	Airinkisú.	Dente	Tooth	Oicú.
Chocalho	Rattle	Nan-nisú.	Enxada	Hoe	Euasú.
Corrego	Stream	Un-ranasú.	Faca	Knife	Nuketiré-aha narú.
Enfeite para a cabeça	Headdress	Notum.			
Espingarda	Gun	Kukinasú.	Feijão	Beans	Koakisú.
Farinha	Flour	Orikesosú.	Tabaco	Tobacco	Esanasú.
Foice	Sickle	Eranzí.	Cesta	Basket	Atiri.
Gafanhoto	Grasshopper	Nakisú.	Machado de pedra	Stone Axe	Esú.
Machado	Axe	Uanharú.	Mandioca	Mandioc	Inasú.
Milho	Maize	Guisaquisú.	Mulher	Woman, wife	Akiaksú.
Melancia	Water melon	Bixú.	Nariz	Nose	Aiusisú.
Mão	Hand	Tosikisú.	Olhos	Eyes	Osiosú.
Orelha	Ear	Oasasinsú.	Cavilha para o nariz	Nose ornament	Usitesú.
Ovo	Egg	Nukúkrakarú.			
Cavilha do labio superior	Wood ornament for upper lip	Isosú.	Bastão ignijuso	Firewood	Aitisú.
			Pena de ave	Bird's feathers	Asasirí.
Pilão	A mortar	Nuxí.	Seringueira	Rubber tree	Uritisú.
Palha	Straw	Erenandú.	Tucum	—	Jaracú.

Nota: As palavras indijenas foram escritas de acordo com a fonetica portugueza. H deve ser aspirado. S-Z-X-U, como em Portuguez. K sempre brando.

[Two slightly differing vocabularies, the first recorded in 1910, the second in 1909. Phonetics as in Portuguese. "H" should be aspirated, "K" always soft.—Anal 1954]

7:Roquette-Pinto--74 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
[348] (ca. 1912)

Tawite Nambicuara Word List

192 forearm -- Tanokrê.
beard -- Taiuitê.
mouth -- Taiũiri.
arm band -- lái-ndê.
arm -- Toarabatndê.
hair -- Tanaguitê.
sky -- Uũtcindê.
elbow -- Tanokurukri.
child (offspring) -- Tauhitê.
gourd -- Ualotê or Kautê.
finger -- Tahitê.
back [of the body] -- Taragutnari.
knee -- Tacinguedukrê.
lip -- Taiunindê.
tongue -- Taiũ-hendũ.
hand -- Toaiguedokrê.
nose -- Taiũiran-di.
eye -- Taiendê.
ear -- Tanakalatndê.
pot [pan] -- Uat-ndi.
foot -- Taiutê.
chest [breast] -- Tanokaindê.
penis -- Taguiri.
leg -- Talahendê.
chin -- Taiukautê.
breast -- Tanohurê.
abdomen -- Tatahari.

Tagnani Nambicuara Word List
Serra do Norte -- Festa da Bandeira River
(Carumi River)

water -- Narutundũ.
cotton -- Gũndê.
forearm -- Uánokri.
bow -- Hutê.
armpit -- Uenakalauendi.
fire sticks -- Haitandũ.
mouth -- Uaiuri.
arm band -- Talãte.
arm -- Uanokri.
head -- Danakirũ.
hair -- Uonekitê.
meat -- Iutũ or Lutê.
lip plug -- Tauiriri.
nose plug -- Kondũ.
basket -- Tchirê.
cigarette -- Etũ.
straw hip cord -- Iahundũrũ.
elbow -- Uonokurokri.
thigh -- Uacednori.
gourd -- Eruendi.
finger -- Uahitê.
tooth -- Dũũirũ.
back [of the body] -- Ueragodnê.
star -- Tangrê.
wooden knife -- Hikauti.
bamboo arrow -- Uaindê.
blunt arrow -- Duhũndê.
smooth arrow --Hauguidê.
fire -- Ekatê.
forehead -- Uignakri.
smoke -- Tchindê.
grasshopper -- Kiguitê.
to cry [scream]; a cry (larynx?) -- Uilakurokri.
knee --Uaneguerũ-kurandê.
lip -- Uikohuin-ndi.

7:Roquette-Pinto--75 E-4, 5 (no date) 1928 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

Tagnani Nambicuara Word List (cont'd)

[349]

/92 tongue -- Uaihendê.
monkey (Gebus sp.) -- Hotê.
stone axe -- Hiaug-nindi.
manioc -- Hiritê or Chi-ritê.
hand -- Uahitê.
urucu paste -- Huduhú-kaidi.
barbecue [moquém] -- Hiriri.
maize -- Guiaté or Kuetê (or ũ).
nose -- Oiranindê.
eye -- Uignindi.
ear -- Unaçolandê.
(to call someone:) -- Heron! Heron!
(to ask something:) -- Iriri? Iriri? or endutrá?
stick [piece of wood] -- Irikatê.
foot -- Ualutê.
chest [breast] -- Uaenakaedê.
pubic hair -- Uoguiri.
leg -- Uanaduri.
neck -- Uaelatgotê.
hammock (ours) -- Teendê.
breast -- Uano-huri.
sun -- Tchondi.
armadillo -- Ualutndũ.
earth -- Alôre.
nail [finger or toe] -- Uegatndê.
urucu -- Uduhúkaidi.

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List
Juina River

fan -- Kuêkiçú.
bojui bee -- Detoçú (P).
borá-cavalo bee -- Arukitaçú (P).
jati bee -- Oiaçú (P).
to light [a fire or light] -- Hanêçú.
water -- Unrazú.
to walk -- Aikedũrũ.
tapir -- Iunzú (P).
forearm -- Oanukizú (or çú).
to put out [a fire or light] -- Unritirá.
macaw -- Aranzú (P).
bow -- Hukiçú.
toe -- Toaiugualizú.
arrow barbs -- Aiêuinçu.
bacaba -- Uêdndũ.
hummingbird -- Duniriguizú.
mustache -- Toaiôetaçú.
mouth -- Toaiuçú.
to yawn -- Toaiá endnuzú.
tapioca cake -- Urikanzú.
pretty [bonito] -- Uarú.
butterfly -- Uodedeçú.
dung -- Iaiguenoçú.
fiber arm band -- Kolá-antçú.
arm -- Oanukiçú (or zú).
earring -- Arokiçú.
muriti [palm] -- Hêêrú.
head -- Toanekiçú.
hair -- Uaekikiçú.
cashew [fruit] -- Erekiçú.

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

[12] heat -- Uaninditxũ.
way [path] -- Dihinoçú.
field -- Uentxũ.
to sing -- Haiguedaxũ.
small -- Baiseenditxũ.
house -- Siçú.
skull -- Mamahlitxũ.
sky -- Ocendjú.
basket -- Atiçú.
to cry [weep] -- Nanditxũ.
[360]
rain -- Ueçú.
black bead hip cord -- Kaisundzú.
fiber hip cord -- Ialáçú.
liana [cipó] -- Hukinuxũ.
circumference -- Irengçú.
snake -- Diçú (or Tiçú).
rabbit -- Iakeçú.
colhereiro [a wading bird] -- Diglizú.
to eat -- Irurindixũ.
what is your [its] name? Iriritoá?
earring shell -- Nenzú.
string [rope] -- Aloenoçú.
owl -- Kalendzú.
to run -- Iiedixũ.
child -- Uetú.
gourd -- Katoçú.
termite [cupim] -- Cabú.
to defecate -- Tonzignoçú.
tooth -- Toatuiçú.
sick -- Inonenditxũ.
to ache -- Inonenditxũ.
to sleep -- Aiguriguidixũ.
back [of the body] -- Toadaçuçú.
to sneeze -- Uaikacê-ingui-hêçú.
star -- Ikizaçú.
child-carrying strap -- Cáarú.
ugly -- Inkiú-kinikidutú.
drawing, figure -- Kore-nauá.
son [offspring] -- Uetú.
cotton thread (on arrows) -- Kondzú.
fiber thread (on arrows) -- Kaceçú.
flute -- Kaiguetazú.
nose flute -- Hait-tea-taçú.
arrow with flattened tip -- Aieraçú.
arrow with smooth cylindrical tip -- Anieeçú.
bamboo-tipped arrow -- Uaeliçu.
flower -- Talatçú.
fire -- Aneiúherú.
leaf -- Adenandzú.
cigarette [-rolling] leaf -- Enanzú.
forehead -- Toaiêkuzuzú.
tobacco -- Etú.
smoke -- Aiokeçú.
spindle -- Gdarêtatú.
grão de gaio [a huckleberry-Celtis iguaneus] -- Aiuinikiçú.
gravata [a Bromeliad] -- Koaloeentçú.
cricket -- Baguedaçú (?).
to cry [to scream] -- Kaiguetaucú.
guarirova do campo [a Syagrus palm] -- Konin-tê.
herb [weed] -- Ikazú.
man -- Noçú.
that -- Dêra.
jatoba -- Oiarú.

7:Roquette-Pinto--77 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

● 142 alligator -- Nuntaçú.
knee -- Toakiritanzú.
lizard [lagarto] -- Enarú.
small lizard [lagartixa] -- Ianoçú.
milk -- Anungçú.
to rise [get up] -- Ihái-cenogo-dotü.
tongue -- Toáioherú.
far -- Uetçú.
moon -- Irikiçú.
monkey -- Hotú.
nipple -- Anunguetizú.
mangaba [fruit] -- Katékiçú.
hand -- Toái-ikiçú.
manioc dough -- Uri-nodzú.
to chew -- Iaiguedutú.
jungle [mata] -- Daikiniotçú.
honey -- Duhiazú? (P).
to die -- Aunindutú.
woman -- Doçú.
nose -- Toiaionendzú.
bamboo stem joint [nó de taquara] -- Karitandçú.
eye -- Toai-ikikiçú.
[351]
jaguar -- Ienarú.
ear -- Toanenendzú.
lip perforation -- Ionkon-nandetü.
nasal septum perforation -- Ononkon-nandetü.
babassu straw [thatch] --Uenandzú.
eyelid -- Toaiecindjú.
wood (tree) -- Içú.
pau santo [Guajacum sanctum] Hinekiçú.
foot -- Toaiukizú.
chest [breast] -- Toanunkizú.
fish -- Aiutchú.
pubic hair -- Toaliketaçú.
arrow feathers (sariema) -- Kolatoedçú.
penis -- Toakiçú.
partridge -- Uiteá-guiçú.
leg -- Toaçuçú.
neck -- Toaietolozú.
mortar -- Notú.
dorsal fiber pendant [cape] -- Ialaçú.
louse -- Kani-iniçú.
piqui -- Aarú.
ray [beam] -- Uaduguezú.
grater -- Tomarú.
arrow resin -- Niaendçú.
blood -- Toatiçú.
sariema [sic] -- Kolatzú.
to sit (squat) -- Acikáuekedotú.
grave (1) -- Ilurindütü (204).
yes -- Han-han!
sun -- Uterikuçú.
sweat -- Uaienoçú.
bamboo -- Ikuirikazú.
bamboo of arrow -- Arukirikatçú.
earth -- Inoçú.
anthill clay -- Katunuzú.
testicles -- Toalikiçú.
tocanguira -- Tietátáglizú (or çu).
triangle -- Nendzú.
thunder -- Taridzú.
tucura -- Taketazú.
navel -- Takodadlizú.

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

192 toenail -- Toaiutçua-kuzû.
to urinate -- Kereguetauçû.
urucu -- Dukiçû.
abdomen -- Toaendzû.
vulva -- Akioçû.

Those words marked (P) belong to a word list compiled by Lt. Pyreneus in 1911.

(1) This word seems to be compounded of a Tagnani word, alôre (earth), and a Cocozu word, nandetû (hole); viz. alore-nandetû, "hole in the earth."

Anunse Nambicuara Word List
Serra do Norte -- Dose de Outubro River

fomarm -- Uancouzê.
bow -- Ukizê.
fire sticks -- Haitzû.
[382]
arm -- Uanukizê.
pitch (resin) -- Duhu-taarû.
earring -- Nan-ninzê.
head -- Uaneguetû.
cashew [fruit] -- Eehrû.
nose plug -- Uonedezê.
wax -- Duhutaarû.
sky -- Uacinzê.
bead necklace -- Kairizê.
to eat -- Ikiuzê.
heart -- Iakzê.
elbow -- Uanokunduzzê.
thigh -- Uanikizê.
finger -- Uaikuenrezê.
tooth -- Uanizê.
back [of the body] -- Uatiuzê.
testicles -- Uaiariguinizê.
shoulder blade -- Uanomarizê.
knife -- Iurê.
liver -- Aierê.
flute -- Kiazê.
arrow (general term) -- Hauktiçû.
mouth -- Uaiuarê.
good -- Idaknikdaçû.
arm band -- Nokonigui-guizê.
stone axe -- Eun-erû.
straw cape -- Ielaçû.
hand -- Uaikizê.
woman -- Ducê.
nose -- Uanonzê.
eye -- Uaiekedakzê.
ear -- Uonaninzê.
stick [piece of wood] -- Içuzê.
foot -- Uaiukizê.
nose feather -- Unetizû.
penis -- Uakizê.
comb -- Halatzû.
leg -- Uaçuzê.
feather pendant -- Ieiakizê.
chin -- Uainklu-enzê.

7 Roquette-Pinto--79 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Anunze Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

● /F2 scraper of capybara tooth -- Iakizû.
medicine [remédio] -- Inekiaçú.
armadillo -- Nunzê.
nine-banded armadillo [Dasypus novemeinetus] -- Hatde-nandzú.
earth -- Inozê.
tripe (general term for intestines) -- Aiokzê.
fire -- Anizê.
forehead -- Uaenakezê.
man -- Idnizê.
alligator -- Nuntaçú.
knee -- Uaguididanzê.
tongue -- Uaileherô.
line [twine?] -- Kuituiçú.
nail -- Uaitnakezê.
navel -- Uaikedanzê.
urucu -- Duhiazê.
deer -- Iatarú.
abdomen -- Uatiçú.

Colors

[522] yellow -- Katetiçú.
blue -- Iadneaçú.
white -- Kuidiçú.
black -- Kaikiduçú.
black (pitch) -- Iadeneazú.
green -- Cedecededenoçú.
red -- Duhiaçú.

[353]

Words Collected by Lt. A. Pyreneus de Souza

achopé bee -- Arazi.
borá regina bee -- Kaiudêzê.
mandaguari-vermelho bee -- Iuzê.
manduri bee -- Kloarizê.
tatá bee -- Arizê.
tibuna bee -- Tararê.
pumpkin (ours) -- Aria-tacê.
macaw -- Aranzê.
araticum [shrub of Annona genus] -- Ararê.
meat -- Uanozê.
coatá [spider monkey] -- Kadozê.
heron -- Mokarê.
jennet -- Kuruaiudezê.
pacu [small fresh-water fish] -- Mambire.
castiçal palm tree -- Kaicê.
parakeet -- Kakaitezê.
piau [large minnow] -- Akurizê.
painted -- Uanuncê.
dove -- Tuizê.
pig -- Iakizê.

Anunze Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

192 quan-quan -- Peantezê.
what is it [are you] called? -- Uaixi-guidi?
what is that? -- Ianakere? or Uazanakere?
rat [mouse] -- Dodecê.
fat [grease] -- Ionenêzê.
cricket -- Dakizê.
scorpion [lacrau] -- Atiam-dacê.
minnow [lambari] -- Kajarê.
small lizard [lagartixa] -- Ianuzê.
wasp -- Urutecê.
honey -- Dezazê.
Doze de Outubro River -- Ori-handezê.
Nambicuara River -- Oare-iokandezê.
agricultural plot [roça] -- Aitiê.
sun -- Ikidazê.
vulture -- Uruciú.

/215 cont./

278 threatens to overflow it is removed from the fire for a second and then put back to boil. A thick, reddish scum forms which [414] holds the largest impurities; it is removed as it appears with a straw from a palm tree (Pl. V, A). After five to ten minutes on an average the boiling diminishes; the liquid turns brown and begins to thicken. It is then taken from the fire and [415] poured with the aid of a funnel (kõli) made from a rolled leaf into a new receptacle to be concentrated (Pl. IV, C).

[415] [177] Concentration. The concentration is done in a receptacle (here, a tin can from the mission) suspended 40 or 50 centimeters above a small fire, into which successive portions of liquid are added as they are prepared. The concentration takes two to three hours. According to its degree /of concentration/ they obtain a thick blackish-brown liquid, reddish when looked through, ready to be applied to the arrows with a straw, or a black paste which becomes very hard on cooling and can be kept for a long time. Before being used this paste must be softened at low heat.

The Çabanè recommend that one not touch the curare with the fingers nor even breathe the steam from it during the boiling. This hypothetical toxicity of the steam had already been noted by former travelers; it was even asserted that these emanations were so dangerous that the Indians had the curare prepared by old women who almost always succumbed to it. One can see (Pl. V, A) that the Çabanè sorcerer is not afraid of it.

Curare does not enter healthy skin, and the Ñambikwara of the Juruena press the water-soaked bark between their hands, taking the sole precaution of washing immediately afterward. The steam that I voluntarily inhaled never caused me the least sickness.

[412] The Çabanè call curare and the plant which produces it iríwa, and the still unconcentrated liquid from soaking iriwiya. The Tagnani name the plant and the curare naĩdé.

/215 cont./

278 Curare of the Ñambikwara of the Rio Juruena

The technique of the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena is more primitive.

They use only bark which has just been gathered. The draining off of the bark is done only once and with warm water: the bark /216/ is put on the fire in a rather large amount of cold water, and the operation is ended when the temperature reaches 37° to 40° /centigrade/. It is filtered quickly by squeezing the bark with the hands to extract all the liquid from it. Then comes rapid boiling over a high fire and skimming. After several minutes of a rolling boil the fire is lowered and the liquid kept at a temperature a little below boiling until it has a pasty consistency.

[415 237] The curare is kept in paste form in bamboo tubes or changed into a very hard mass by the addition of meliponine beeswax.

This method exposes the curare to strong heat for at least two hours. The Çabanè method reduces this time to ten minutes, the other operations being carried out at low heat. Both produce curares with about the same activity.

[192 411] The Rio Juruena Ñambikwara call curare and the plant a'utĩsú or a'ukisú; the roots ta'ãdisú; the poisoned arrow aurú kiritkatsú, and its protective bamboo sheath asirikatsú.

Utilization of Curare

278 411 The Ñambikwara are not familiar with the blowgun. They use curare to poison large arrows with long, notched points, capped with a protective bamboo sheath. The points of the Tamandé curare arrows are shorter and more slender than those of the other Ñambikwara. They are usually placed in twos, threes, and fours under a single protective sheath.

According to the Indians an arrow's activeness does not last more than three or four months. The curare in paste form is kept for a longer time (close to a year). Hard curare can be kept for years.

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead
[428 425] has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝibŝa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝibŝa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibŝa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

193 their suffixes in Ŝibŝa: —nak (Bribri), "excretion, secretion, resin"
197 and -dio, -rio (Bribri), "secretion, damp." (3)
811

3. There would be, naturally, a large number of detailed observations to present. In the different languages, the logical categories partially overlap; thus, the Nambikwara category -kere corresponds partially to the Bribri -kal, and at the same time to -Xkuo. The suffix -kere expresses resistance largely, and the suffix -kate, which we have connected with it, form.

The phonetic analogies which occasionally appear between the classifying suffixes of the Nambikwara and the Ŝibŝa do not seem to us of great importance. On the other hand, morphological analogy, and above all the division of things and beings into classes which are not imposed on the mind [114] by any internal necessity, do not seem to us to be logically the result of a pure phenomenon of convergence. We see there, on the contrary, sufficient reason to affirm a linguistic affinity between the Ŝibŝa and Nambikwara groups. (1)

1. In his book Durch Central-Brasilien, Von den Steinen had already suggested the constitution of a linguistic area extending from Colombia to northern Bolivia by a chart of the northern and western distribution of the word sisi (sun, fire). The term sisi can be approximated in Nambikwara: siisu (a1), siise (b1): round hut, circle.

[192]

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Type, family, group	-ãnde -ẽnde -õnde		-ũak	-ũah	
Hair, fur, feathers	-uette	-ulis	-kõ̆, -kȭ -tsa	-zok -so	-liisa -ko-a
To cut, to pierce, hole	-ire	-sik			-kali -ka

continued

193
197
811
192

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wood, stretched	-kere -kate	-kat	-kãr	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretched	-ẽere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, grain, rounded object	-kənĩnde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That which hangs, is added, decorates, trembles	-gəre	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-di'o -ri'o -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Season, weather, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kã -kõ	-shco	
Bark, leather, skin, clothing, what accompanies	-ore	-ũuk	-Xkŭŏ	-cuota -cuo	-tĕn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kãs	-tška	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ring finger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193 197 171]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ŝibŝa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) uai ʔanjena taikednjena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahéndesu	ahéndesu	deʔénde	pãte
Black	ŝundne	atuũdisu	uáre, dédəne	tapũte

continued

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Nambicuara (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu,* which includes his *Kabishi, Tagnani, Tauitê, Tarutê,* and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma, Saruma,* or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuma.*

In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha.*

Nambicuara culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupí-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

194 The consonants are b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z; h is always strongly aspirated, like German ch.

F, j, v, and x are lacking.

The following consonant clusters are characteristic: an, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kt, nt, nz, tz, td, nç, tç, tzũ, gç, gd, ndz, nk.

193 Those words designating parts of the human body have the same root in all Nambicuara dialects, slightly modified in one case or another: uá or toá.

[263]

	Cocozu	Tagnani	Tawite	Anunze
Arm	Oá-nukicú	Uá-nokrí	Toá-rabatndê	Uá-nukizê
Mouth	Toá-iuçú	Uá-iurí	Tá-iuirí	Uá-iuarê
Tongue	Toáio-herú	Uái-hêndê	Táiu-hendú	Uáile-herú

Here the particle toa (uá, oá) has the same possessive value as the nu particle of Arawakan languages; it is found only in words pertaining to parts of the human body. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "The Indians of Serra do Norte," [Engl.] Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1917).

[Fig. 50]

Nearly all Cocozu words end in zu or çu, used interchangeably. Anunze words often end in zé. But this last sound, to be pronounced properly, must be approximated to gé. (2) In the Tawite dialect and

2. This may be a linguistic trait of Ge parentage. (H. A. T.)

/are common.

in the several Tagnani dialects, endings in di, tê, rê, and ri (soft r)

197 One particle found rather frequently in these dialects deserves
193 special mention, owing to its importance for the [264] evaluation of

194 relationships with other American languages. This is the gui or gue
193 particle:

Kaiguetazú -- flute (Cocozu)
Hauguidê -- smooth arrow (Tagnani)
Toáiguedokrê -- hand (Tawite)
Uáneguêtu -- head (Anunze)

124 Although various phonetic systems are in existence for the transcription of primitive languages (Kosmos Alphabet, Schmidt's Alphabet, etc.) (1), I deemed it preferable to use the letters of the

1. Fa. W. Schmidt (Anthropos, 1907) describes in detail the historical evolution of phonetics and the various systems which have been suggested. In the same paper he presents his own method, which has been granted wide acceptance.

Latin alphabet in conjunction with a few special signs such as the umlaut, which are within the grasp of any reader.

[Fig. 51]

194 If Martius' linguistic scheme were still accepted, the Nambi-
197 cuara tongue would be included among the languages of the "Guck" or "Koko" group. This family, however, was not maintained in view of its great diversity; and now its former members are [considered] to belong to the Ge-Botocudo and Nu-Arawakan groups.

The languages of the Nu-Arawakan family, however, own certain significant characteristics which are not encountered among the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

For instance, the personal possessive particle nu, one of the most valuable traits in the identification of these languages, is never found among the Nambicuara.

[265] The word used to designate water, one of the best elements for purposes of linguistic comparison because of its constancy throughout the Nu-Arawakan dialects in spite of other differences (onê, uní), has no equivalent in the Serra do Norte.

7:Roquette-Pinto--48 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

115 We managed to obtain four different word lists: Cocozu,
124 Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite. The two lengthier ones--Anunze and Cocozu--were obtained with us much exactitude and certainty as possible (and, I believe, as much as necessary) thanks to Nuleke and Krikricêknerá. These two Indians had been devoted friends of Lt. [Plates p. 261.] Pyrineus de Souza since the days when he had managed the post at Campos Novos.

[Fig. 48]

Nuleke is so fond of Lt. Pyrineus that when we returned in 1912 he did not hesitate to cross the borders of his territory, leaving the land none of his people had abandoned in centuries, to follow the muleteers to Tapirapuã in search of his friend.

He was the first to place himself trustfully into Brazilian hands.

These two Indians lived at Campos Novos like adopted children of the household. At night they both slept under Pyrineus' hammock. They already spoke a few words of our language.

[Fig. 49]

The Indian Damasceno (Urinenoá), already mentioned above, was of great help with the Cocozu language. He was the most intelligent boy we could find. One Tagnani shared this honor, and we were sorry to part with him. He understood the slightest gesture, and carried out to perfection our every request. It was he who consented to simulate an arrow attack which I asked for by means of signs and which is now recorded on a film belonging to the [National] Museum and shown at the National Library in 1913.

[262] Each word on the lists was verified more than once in the presence of the object or phenomenon it describes.

We were more interested in the quality than in the quantity of words.

This does not mean that we believe no corrections are possible; it is sufficient to compare two lexicons compiled by capable persons among the same Indians, on separate occasions, to see how differently certain terms may be rendered.

● 194 The Nambicuara language contains the following vowels: a, ê, i, ô, o, u, ü, with the same values as they would have in Portuguese; the sound of ü is intermediate between German ü and French eu.

194 The consonants are b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z; h is always strongly aspirated, like German ch.

F, j, v, and x are lacking.

The following consonant clusters are characteristic: an, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kt, nt, nz, tz, td, nç, tç, tzn, gç, gd, ndz, nk.

193 Those words designating parts of the human body have the same root in all Nambicuara dialects, slightly modified in one case or another: uá or toá.

[263]

	Cocozu	Tagnani	Tawite	Anunze
Arm	Oá-nukicú	Uá-nokrí	Toá-rabatndê	Uá-nukizê
Mouth	Toá-iuçú	Uá-iurí	Tá-iuirí	Uá-iuarê
Tongue	Toáio-herú	Uái-hêndê	Táiu-hendú	Uáile-herú

Here the particle toa (uá, oá) has the same possessive value as the nu particle of Arawakan languages; it is found only in words pertaining to parts of the human body. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "The Indians of Serra do Norte," [Engl.] Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1917).

[Fig. 50]

Nearly all Cocozu words end in zu or çu, used interchangeably. Anunze words often end in zé. But this last sound, to be pronounced properly, must be approximated to gé. (2) In the Tawite dialect and

2. This may be a linguistic trait of Ge parentage. (H. A. T.)

/ are common,

in the several Tagnani dialects, endings in di, tê, rê, and ri (soft r)

197 193 One particle found rather frequently in these dialects deserves special mention, owing to its importance for the [264] evaluation of

194 relationships with other American languages. This is the gui or gue
193 particle:

Kaiguetazú -- flute (Cocozu)
Hauguidê -- smooth arrow (Tagnani)
Toáiguedokrê -- hand (Tawite)
Uáneguêtu -- head (Anunze)

124 Although various phonetic systems are in existence for the transcription of primitive languages (Kosmos Alphabet, Schmidt's Alphabet, etc.) (1), I deemed it preferable to use the letters of the

1. Fa. W. Schmidt (Anthropos, 1907) describes in detail the historical evolution of phonetics and the various systems which have been suggested. In the same paper he presents his own method, which has been granted wide acceptance.

Latin alphabet in conjunction with a few special signs such as the umlaut, which are within the grasp of any reader.

[Fig. 51]

194 If Martius' linguistic scheme were still accepted, the Nambi-
197 cuara tongue would be included among the languages of the "Guck" or "Koko" group. This family, however, was not maintained in view of its great diversity; and now its former members are [considered] to belong to the Ge-Botocudo and Nu-Arawakan groups.

The languages of the Nu-Arawakan family, however, own certain significant characteristics which are not encountered among the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

For instance, the personal possesive particle nu, one of the most valuable traits in the identification of these languages, is never found among the Nambicuara.

[265] The word used to designate water, one of the best elements for purposes of linguistic comparison because of its constancy throughout the Nu-Arawakan dialects in spite of other differences (onê, uní), has no equivalent in the Serra do Norte.

194
197 These traits alone would be sufficient to set the Nambicuara language apart from the Nu-Arawakan dialects.

But beyond this, it is easy to verify the dissimilarity between the lexicons [of these two groups]. Compare the Paresi vocabulary, an excellent representative of the Nu-Arawakan family, with the word lists of the Serra do Norte Indians. They are completely different.

We would search in vain through South America for a language possessing any deep affinities with the Nambicuara dialects.

[Fig. 52]

It is true, however, that the language of the Xingu River Suya bears a certain resemblance to the dialects of the Serra do Norte. The possessive particle wos of the Suya, which is clearly found among the Nambicuara in the form of either ua or toa, constitutes the best argument in favor of this relationship.

In view of this characteristic, therefore--and it is a significant one for it has served as a basis for the modern classification of our tribes--[266] wherever the Suya are placed the Nambicuara should also be included. (1)

[p3]

1. In "Beitrage zur Ethnographie des Araguaya-Xingú Gebietes [Contribution to the Ethnography of the Araguaia-Xingo District]," Proceedings of the XXI International Congress of Americanists (Göteborg, 1924), Fritz Krause confirmed this linguistic affinity and attempted to make it even closer by citing additional words akin not only to Caraja but also to Ge dialects.

As to cultural aspects, it becomes obvious, especially in view of Nordenskjöld's comparative ethnographic studies, that the Nambicuara as well as the Caraja have been influenced by sub-Andean cultures.

The Caraja show signs of being partially subjected to this influence at the time when

RR
197

it reached the Chaco region, where they would thus appear to have lived at an earlier time. (See Krause, op. cit.)

On the other hand, as already pointed out elsewhere, the Nambicuara seem to have received this cultural influx by way of a different route--probably through the other channel of sub-Andean cultural expansion described by Nordenskjöld, which ran from northeastern Bolivia down the Amazon and La Plata watersheds. (Nordenskjöld, op. cit., Vol. I).

(H. A. T.)

This is perhaps where the problem becomes most difficult: although Ehrenreich places the Xingo Indians alongside the Ge, other experts on South American linguistics believe, perhaps rightly, that they should be included with the Caraja in Chamberlain's "Carajan" group. (2)

2. Krickeberg, Rivet, and other experts still place the Suya among the Ge.

[Fig. 53]

Yet it is also inevitable to recognise in the Nambicuara language certain special characteristics of the Kirirí tongue. These traits are exclusively phonic, and [thus much less significant than if they were lexical or morphological.

[267] They merely consist of the ng, tz and kz sounds, which are accepted as peculiar to the Kirirí language (Baptista Caetano).

In the absence of well translated texts, it is impossible to delve more deeply into the study of these dialects. Even the relationships suggested above will be subject to revision when more complete linguistic materials become available.

467 As regards the [National] Museum collection, the following data are worthy of note.

where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned, must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabiji. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and

1. See below, p. 52.

owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

* * *

All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast, the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camarazt Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunsé, who occupy the basin of the Dore de Outubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uainazu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Dore de Outubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Taruté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 30 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

1. loc. cit.

[10] Tamaindé, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
[11] comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
[17] the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -ʒore, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiaté, and the name Tamaindé was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b1) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

[12] What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
[13] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

[17] This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjutu, -kedutsu -ki'titu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Done de Ombro River and the Camararé River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

147 sub-group b1 with the verbal suffix -dige or -dage, and a sub-group b2, in all points identical to the preceding except the verbal suffix of the form [10] -ʒore. The region of the dialect b1 extends from the right bank of the Guaporé in the south to the lower course of the Tenente Marques and Ikê Rivers in the north, and from the basin of the Doze de Otubro River in the east, to a region terminating above the right bank of the Roosevelt River to the west. One hears dialect b2 from the upper basin and the middle basin of the Roosevelt River to the juncture of the Barão de Malgaço and Commemoração de Floriano Rivers.

In these semantic and morphological characters, dialect c departs clearly from the preceding. We have not progressed far enough in studying it linguistically to decide whether or not it is correct to include it in the Nambikwara family. It is spoken in a region situated to the north and northeast of the region of dialect a2.

We shall now attempt to establish a correlation between our classification and the previous outlines.

101
147

1. Group a.

Sub-group a1.

From the vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto at the end of Rondonia, and from geographic indications which he furnished, one can conclude that his Kokozu (which form his group in the southeast) certainly corresponds to our sub-group a 1. Nevertheless, we have not been able to find the term Kokozu (P. de Souza: Cocozu) again. The ending -u indicates dialect a 1; but the term koko belongs to the Paressi language and to the dialects of group c, with the same meaning "maternal uncle." It is completely unknown in the system of parentage of group a. According to our information, group a 1 would be called:

1. ualiʒere by group b 1;
2. ualiriri'te by group c;

and it is divided into numerous bands who call themselves, or who give these names to one another:

3. oakiétosu (right bank of the Juruena);
4. halotesu (left bank of the Juina);
5. kiaaru (surname: "the liars"; upper-Juruena);
6. kuri'tsu (left bank of the Juruena).

[Map No. 1 follows here. - Analyst]

1:Lévi-Strauss (1) E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

101 Group a 1 is in contact with the Iranje Indians, whom they call:
197 7. ira'su (at the juncture of the Clavary and do Sangue Rivers).

[11] Sub-group a2.

These are the Anunzu, Anunzé, or the southeast group of Roquette Pinto (P. de Souza: Anonzé). The brief vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto following his own vocabularies also belongs to this group. We have never found the term Anunzé nor the other forms, but only the names,

8. soálesu (a 1/2);
9. kaká'teli (b 1);
10. munsí'koti (c).

II. Group b.

Sub-group b1.

Our sub-group b 1 includes the Uaintaçu, Uaindzé (Rondon: Uainedezi), Kabixi, Tagnani (Rondon: Tagnani), Tauité (Rondon: Tauité), Taruté, Taschuité (Rondon: Tachivuité) of Roquette Pinto, that is his two groups, southwest and northwest. We have never found the term Tagnani, nor, as a name of a band, the terms tauitte, tarute, tasuitte, which signify respectively, in the system of parentage of group b, "my child," "my brother-in-law," "my relative to the third degree." The Paressi apply the name Kabisi to group b. For the term Uaintaçu, we have found an equivalent:

11. oaindesu (a 1),

which designates group b. On the other hand, we have collected the following appellations:

12. nikedetosu (a 1; to the west of the Camararé River);
13. tarunde (b 1; basin of the Doze de Otubro River);
14. maimande (b 1; --Kabisi [Paressi] Mama-Inde [Rondon]; sources of the Doze River and right bank of the Guaporé);(1)

1. It seems that the southern frontier of the maimande group is rather on the course of the tributaries of the right bank of the Guaporé River. The Guaporé strictly speaking is inhabited by river tribes, distinct from the Nambikwara in tongue and culture. But these tribes

101
197

know and fear the Indians called Kabiṣi, this as far away as the São Miguel River (Haseman, "Some notes on the Pawumwa Indians of South America," American Anthropologist, 1912, p. 333). To add to the obscurity which still covers the problem of the southern frontiers of the Nambikwara, the Paressi of the south, who live to the east of the sources of the Juruena, are also known by the name of Kabiṣi (Max Schmidt, "Reisen in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1912, Vol. 44, pp. 146-176). Today they have intermingled or disappeared.

[12] 15. mamaindeti (c; identical to the preceding, and, by extension, to the whole group b 1);
16. itamolo (c; toward the south).

Sub-group b 2.

This dialect had never been pointed out, except by the short vocabulary published by Max Schmidt and attributed to a Tamaindé group. We have collected the following names:

17. toánde (b 1; left bank of the Barão de Malgaço River);
18. jolola (c; same region);
19. nasélate (b 1; between the Tenente Margues and Roosevelt Rivers.
20. lakónde (b 1; right bank of the Roosevelt River);
21. sovajnte (c; same region);
22. navajte (b2 [Rondon: Navaite]; Roosevelt River);
23. taiate (b2; Roosevelt River).

III. Group c.

This group seems not to have been studied. Only Rondon mentions, without geographic or dialectic information, a group Sabané and a group Taia. This last term belongs to the system of parentage of group c with the meaning "elder brother (or sister)"; we have never found it as a name of a band. On the other hand, group c calls itself by the name:

24. sabáne (c),

and is called by other groups:

25. toántesu (a 1/2;
26. tamajnde (b 1/2).

IV. Names of Other Nambikwara Groups.

101 For the terms Malutundu, Ualutnudu, Ua-lut-ndu (Roquette
197 Pinto), Malotundu (Rondon), we have an equivalent:

27. malõnde (b 1),

which, nevertheless, has been given to us with the general sense of "Indian" (mazlone, b 1 = "it is an Indian") as opposed to "Brazilian" (keiaogere, b 1 = "the dressed").

We have not been able to collect any equivalent for the following terms cited [13] by Roquette Pinto and Rondon to designate Nambikwara groups: Taiopa (Roquette Pinto), Teiobé (Rondon), Tayopa (P. de Souza) (1), Xaodikokas (Roquette Pinto), Xaodes (Rondon), Xaodys

> 1. There is a term of parentage iópa which belongs to dialect c with the sense of "brother-in-law," but the possessive t or ta comes from dialect b.

(P. de Souza), N'éné (Rondon), Minis (Rondon), Pavates (Relatorios de Commissão Rondon, passim). The authors mentioned do not furnish any precise information concerning the dialect and the geographic situation of these groups.

V. Names of Other Tribes

Roquette Pinto cites the term Saluma as belonging to his northwest group. We have documented it under the forms:

28. solõnde (b 1);

29. solóma (c);

to designate a northern tribe strange to the Nambikwara. As von den Steinen cites the name Suruma, given, he says, by the Paressi to the Munduruku, this interpretation seems more reasonable. Group c calls the Paressi,

30. jamãte ĩkaraka (c)

and recognizes at least the existence of three other northern tribes,

31. ikãtinaui (c);

32. kaualí (c);

33. jerãkolõnte (c).

Sub-group b 1 at times mentions a tribe living around the Barão de Malgaço River,

34. ikãnjere (b 1).

601
184

14. tiimo..... husband, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother.
15. iopa..... sister's husband, wife's brother (m. s.).
16. iiuitta..... brother's wife, husband's sister (w. s.).
17. iiauitte..... daughter's husband, (f. p.), daughter's husband, "wife's" husband (m. s.).
18. iinaiio..... brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.), when she is at the same time wife of the son (m. w. s.) or wife of the younger brother (m. s.).
19. iiti..... daughter's children.
20. ioeio..... son's child, or of the daughter when the latter is married to an uncle.
21. zoa..... child (married to an uncle).

617 [32] This vocabulary of relationships apparently does not offer any affinity linguistically with that of dialects a and b; and the structure of the system also seems different. Without doubt the fundamental principle—the marriage of cross-cousins—remains the same. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to refer to the list of relatives designated by the terms tiimo and iatta. Again one finds the division of members of the same generation into sisters and wives (m. s.), or brothers and husbands (w. s.) on one side, and on the other, sisters and wives of brothers (w. s.), or brothers and husbands of sisters (m. s.). But the distinction here is more confused, since it is accompanied by an absence of symmetry concerning the designation of the brothers and sisters of parents, and the children of the brothers and sisters of the subject. Instead of finding the first divided into fathers and mothers, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, and the second into children, and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, we have a more complicated terminology. The name of the father's sister (asiataba) differs from that of the wife of the mother's brother (siiko), although they are habitually confused in a system of marriage among bilateral cross-cousins. There is also a special name for the father's brother. But, if this latter is a younger brother who has one of his nieces, he will be called brother-in-law (iopa) by his brother's son, his nephew. Even more delicate is the naming of nephews and nieces because the symmetry carried on by the other systems between the children of brother (of a brother) and the children of sister (of a sister) fades out giving way to a new symmetry, this time between the children of sister (of a sister), and the children of the wife (classificatory) of the brother, who are called by the same name. Moreover, the children

We shall
621 comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its
[578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for
621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

115 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The
157 chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent
622 Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent
601 in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnʔẽ njãnajne héni niho ãmdednjẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often
[77] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 [53] Western group, dialect b2: tajate, lakõnde (b1/2);
601 souaínte (c).

We shall limit ourselves to giving the genealogical scheme of the composition of this little group (Figure 16), found, only for several days, toward the line of the division of the waters which separate the basins of the Roosevelt and the Gi-Parana (Tres Buritis). Its members seem to be the survivors of a formerly important group, the tajte.

Northern group, dialect c: sabáne (c); tamajnde (b1/2); toãtesu (a 1/2).

•[147] We have not been able to establish the genealogical composition of this group for reasons of linquistic difficulties (dialect c does not seem to spring from the same family as the others) and because of the consecutive impossibilities which we encountered in determining the true position in the system of individuals designated by the same term. We shall thus content ourselves with an analysis by households.

Fire 1 (1 to 3). --C1, about 30 years, and his wife c2, 25 years; he, "brother" of C6, she, "daughter" of c23; their son, C3, is about 10 years old.

Fire 2 (4 and 5). --C4, 40 years, is the younger brother of C20 and of c23; his wife c5, 25 to 30 years, is called "wife" by C6, "older sister" by c21, and "daughter" by c23.

Fire 3 (6 to 10). --We have already analyzed (1) the kinship

1. Pp. 33 to 35.

situation of C6, of his wife c7 (both are 30), and of their children c8 and c9 (6 to 8 years); the younger brother of the wife, C10, about 10 years, lives with them.

Fire 4 (11 to 14). --C11 is 50 odd years old; he is called "elder brother" by C6, C4, C15, C20, and c23; his wife c12, about 35 years, is "daughter" of c23; the young brother of the latter, C14, about 17 years, unmarried, lives with them as well as their daughter of 7 years, c13.

Fire 5 (15 to 18). --C15, about 30 years, is called "younger brother" by C20 and c23; his wife c16 is "daughter" of c23; she has a young brother C17, about 12 years, and a baby of some 20 months, c18.

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edẽdé edẽdé edẽdé signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 [201] The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tayétte, tayétte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 833 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated ɥiĩ'nedjutu and, in the central and southern dialects, tamĩ'ndige, tuɥĩ'rare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahɥĩ'nosu (nosu = man, al), tamĩ'nde, ɥáĩ're. On the other hand, in the northern

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, juũreli, while "father" is uũinko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ʒikiʃikiʃi, whose
●197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds uinikuʒiʒu (a1), iekejakãtige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ainʒore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninʃore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: uetnẽdige, b1; from uette, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tyãde takenãde tamĩndige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[284] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
197 which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarûte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jôpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

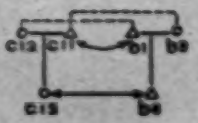


Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

721 collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its
[683] members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as
[537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ĩednãẽ ũodegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ualauriŝenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not.
[292 Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods
535] of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[787]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622 is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he
[756 exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The
789] arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

●[197]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead [428 has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring 425] land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language, ● 197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1), 811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝiḅṣa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝiḅṣa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝiḅṣa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix -are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

193 their suffixes in Ŝibşa: —nak (Bribri), "excretion, secretion, resin"
● 197 and -dio, -rio (Bribri), "secretion, damp." (3)
811

3. There would be, naturally, a large number of detailed observations to present. In the different languages, the logical categories partially overlap; thus, the Nambikwara category -kere corresponds partially to the Bribri -kal, and at the same time to -Xkuo. The suffix -kere expresses resistance largely, and the suffix -kate, which we have connected with it, form.

The phonetic analogies which occasionally appear between the classifying suffixes of the Nambikwara and the Ŝibşa do not seem to us of great importance. On the other hand, morphological analogy, and above all the division of things and beings into classes which are not imposed on the mind [114] by any internal necessity, do not seem to us to be logically the result of a pure phenomenon of convergence. We see there, on the contrary, sufficient reason to affirm a linguistic affinity between the Ŝibşa and Nambikwara groups. (1)

1. In his book Durch Central-Brasilien, Von den Steinen had already suggested the constitution of a linguistic area extending from Colombia to northern Bolivia by a chart of the northern and western distribution of the word sisi (sun, fire). The term sisi can be approximated in Nambikwara: siisu (a1), siise (b1): round hut, circle.

[192]

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Type, family, group	-ãnde -ẽnde -õnde		-ŭak	-ŭah	
Hair, fur, feathers	-nette	-ulis	-kŏ, -kŏ -tsa	-zok -so	-lisa -ko-a
To cut, to pierce, hole	-i're	-sik			-kali -ka

continued

193
197
811
192

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wood, stretched	-kere -kate	-kat	-kāt	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretched	-e̯ere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, gain, rounded object	-kanī'nde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That which hangs is added, decorates, trembles	-gare	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-dī'o -rī'o -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Season weather, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kā -kō	-shco	
Bark, leather, skin, clothing, what accompanies	-ore	-tuk	-Xkúŏ	-cuota -cuo	-lēn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kās	-tíkā	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ring finger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

THE COLORS

§22 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193, 197, 171]

> 1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ŝibŝa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kólo-kólo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[§26]

> 2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":
>
> (56) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (b1)
> You are fair (clear), I am dark.

different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

§22 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahéndesu	ahéndesu	de[illegible]ende	pãte
Black	ŝendne	atuŝdisu	[illegible], [illegible]	tapũte

continued

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 The *Nambicuara* (*Nambikuara, Mambyuara, Mahibares*) have been identified only recently. *Nambicuara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupi* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiçus de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber [648] collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondón discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambicuara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambicuara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

131 Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambicuara* (map 1, *No. 2*; map 2: map 4) is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Guaporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

101 The first classification of the *Nambicuara* was made by Roquette-Pinto (1938, pp. 216–217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b), 197 using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is undivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kôkûau, Cocoau*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anunaz*) in the basins of the Camararé and Dose de Otubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

[Not processed for the File. - Paralyst]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

101 *Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*,
197 *Tagnani*, *Tanitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tachuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marquès, Ikê and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

101 The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara*; one called *Salama*, *Sarama*, or *Salondê* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú*; another may be the *Tapanyuma*.

161 In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

197 The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe
193 into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha*.

101 *Nambicuara* culture, although less primitive than that of the *Siriono* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Parecí* to the southeast and of the *Tupí-Cawahib* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

133 The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500
134 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes
137 from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

221 In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both semiromadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children,
[229 forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch
222] grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether those South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Orenoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

101 are their enemies whom they call the Salundé or Salãozú, probably the Apiões whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

•[197] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into
131 an Eastern and a Western group. Both the
101 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elótasu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Suina River; the Waklítisu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwáisu now including the Hégndisu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindisu on the Kabishí River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Tãondisú and Suédndisu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Waklítisu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Waklítisu, Elótasu, and Kitánhlu the Iritoa; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwáisu and Hégndisu are called the Manduca by the local people, and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoa and Manduca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability
621 has arisen from the changes in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite
621 conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

[illegible]

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our fieldwork we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabáne* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tawándy* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissension, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

§02 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

§02 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the num-
201 ber demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

§03 To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

§22 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irenaçú, a triangle nendau. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

§21 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangrê the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

§17 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

194 The consonants are b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z; h is always strongly aspirated, like German ch.

F, j, v, and x are lacking.

The following consonant clusters are characteristic: an, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kt, nz, nz, tz, td, nç, tç, tzd, gç, gd, ndz, nk.

193 Those words designating parts of the human body have the same root in all Nambicuara dialects, slightly modified in one case or another: uá or toá.

[263]

	Cocozu	Tagnani	Tawite	Anunze
Arm	Oá-nukicú	Uá-nokrí	Toá-rabatndẽ	Uá-nukizẽ
Mouth	Toá-inçú	Uá-iurí	Tá-inirí	Uá-iuarẽ
Tongue	Toáio-herú	Uái-hẽndẽ	Táiu-hendú	Uáile-herú

Here the particle toa (uá, oá) has the same possessive value as the nu particle of Arawakan languages; it is found only in words pertaining to parts of the human body. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "The Indians of Serra do Norte," [Engl.] Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1917).

[Fig. 58]

Nearly all Cocozu words end in zu or çu, used interchangeably. Anunze words often end in uẽ. But this last sound, to be pronounced properly, must be approximated to gẽ. (2) In the Tawite dialect and

2. This may be a linguistic trait of Ge parentage. (H. A. T.)

/ the common,

in the several Tagnani dialects, endings in di, tẽ, rẽ, and ri (soft r)

197 One particle found rather frequently in these dialects deserves
193 special mention, owing to its importance for the [264] evaluation of

relationships with other American languages. This is the gui or gue particle:

Kaiguetanú -- flute (Cocozu)
Hauguidê -- smooth arrow (Tagnani)
Toáiguedokrê -- hand (Tawite)
Uáneguêtu -- head (Anunze)

Although various phonetic systems are in existence for the transcription of primitive languages (Kosmos Alphabet, Schmidt's Alphabet, etc.) (1), I deemed it preferable to use the letters of the

> 1. Pa. W. Schmidt (Anthropos, 1907) describes in detail the historical evolution of phonetics and the various systems which have been suggested. In the same paper he presents his own method, which has been granted wide acceptance.

Latin alphabet in conjunction with a few special signs such as the umlaut, which are within the grasp of any reader.

[Fig. 51]

If Martius' linguistic scheme were still accepted, the Nambicuara tongue would be included among the languages of the "Guck" or "Koko" group. This family, however, was not maintained in view of its great diversity; and now its former members are [considered] to belong to the Ge-Botocudo and Nu-Arawakan groups.

The languages of the Nu-Arawakan family, however, own certain significant characteristics which are not encountered among the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

For instance, the personal possessive particle nu, one of the most valuable traits in the identification of these languages, is never found among the Nambicuara.

[285] The word used to designate water, one of the best elements for purposes of linguistic comparison because of its constancy throughout the Nu-Arawakan dialects in spite of other differences (onê, uni), has no equivalent in the Serra do Norte.

194
197 These traits alone would be sufficient to set the Nambicuara language apart from the Nu-Aruaquian dialects.

But beyond this, it is easy to verify the dissimilarity between the lexicons [of these two groups]. Compare the Parecí vocabulary, an excellent representative of the Nu-Aruaquian family, with the word lists of the Serra do Norte Indians. They are completely different.

We would search in vain through South America for a language possessing any deep affinities with the Nambicuara dialects.

[Fig. 82]

It is true, however, that the language of the Xingu River Suya bears a certain resemblance to the dialects of the Serra do Norte. The possessive particle wan of the Suya, which is clearly found among the Nambicuara in the form of either ua or ue, constitutes the best argument in favor of this relationship.

In view of this characteristic, therefore--and it is a significant one for it has served as a basis for the modern classification of our tribes--[288] wherever the Suya are placed the Nambicuara should also be included. (1)

[13]

1. In "Beiträge zur Ethnographie des Araguaya-Xingú Gebietes [Contribution to the Ethnography of the Araguaia-Xingu District]," Proceedings of the XXI International Congress of Americanists (Göteborg, 1924), Fritz Krause confirmed this linguistic affinity and attempted to make it even closer by citing additional words akin not only to Caraja but also to Ge dialects.

As to cultural aspects, it becomes obvious, especially in view of Nordenskiöld's comparative ethnographic studies, that the Nambicuara as well as the Caraja have been influenced by sub-Andean culture.

The Caraja show signs of being partially subjected to this influence at the time when

194
197

> It reached the Chaco region, where they would thus appear to have lived at an earlier time. (See Krause, op. cit.)
>
> On the other hand, as already pointed out elsewhere, the Nambicuara seem to have received this cultural influx by way of a different route--probably through the other channel of sub-Andean cultural expansion described by Nordenskjöld, which ran from northeastern Bolivia down the Amazon and La Plata watersheds. (Nordenskjöld, op. cit., Vol. 1).
>
> (H. A. T.)

This is perhaps where the problem becomes most difficult: although Ehrenreich places the Xingo Indians alongside the Ge, other experts on South American linguistics believe, perhaps rightly, that they should be included with the Caraja in Chamberlain's "Carajan" group. (2)

> 2. Krickeberg, Rivet, and other experts still place the Suya among the Ge.

[Fig. 63]

Yet it is also inevitable to recognize in the Nambicuara language certain special characteristics of the Kiriri tongue. These traits are exclusively phonic, and [thus much less significant than if they were lexical or morphological.

[267] They merely consist of the sz, tz and kr sounds, which are accepted as peculiar to the Kiriri language (Baptista Caetano).

In the absence of well translated texts, it is impossible to delve more deeply into the study of these dialects. Even the relationships suggested above will be subject to revision when more complete linguistic materials become available.

6/7 As regards the [National] Museum collection, the following data are worthy of note.

197

LINGUISTIC COMPARISONS

[268-269]

	NAMBICUARA								
	Cocuzu	Anunze	Tagnani	Tawite	Chicriaba (Martius)	Cherente (Martius)	Camacan (Martius)	Caraja (Ehrenreich)	Suya (K. von den Steinen)
Genitalia	--	--	--	Taguiri	D'agri	--	--	--	--
Chest [breast]	Toanunkizú	--	--	Tanakaindê	--	Dajukudá	--	--	--
Snake	Tiçú	--	--	--	--	--	Ti	--	--
Maize	--	--	Ket	--	--	--	Kechu	--	--
Leg	Toaçuçú	Uaçuzê	Uaduri	Talahendê	--	--	Guang-gestú	--	--
Mouth	Toaiuçú	Uaiuarê	Uaiuri	--	{Daidana / Datoha}	Dageau	--	Waru	Wanakoni
Tooth	Toainiçú	--	Ditrú	Taiú-iri	--	--	Aenkūh-tciokah	Wa-idzu	Woatoá
Tree	Içú	--	--	--	--	--	--	Iê	--
Tongue	Toaio-herú	Uauizê	Uaihendê	Taiú-hendā	--	--	--	--	Wanuotó

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the
[213] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[154] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[206] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to
177 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be-
177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Paranaiuba River, who use helmets of the same material.

176 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob-
171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Aruaquan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

551 either by simple exclamations:

hena (dialect a1): herō (a2, b1, b2): "People!"; or by the kinship term

1. sabani ō - ṇaipko (c): "Hey young one. —Father?"
2. ṣidimejte mandotjena takenaāde kuikunjena ṇi'rige takenāē kui'mkumenē (b1) (1): "The manioc is burnt; my brother

126 1. It is necessary to define more exactly the manner in which these texts, and those which follow, have been obtained. We have not had the aid of any interpreter. At the time of our stay there was only one, a Nambikwara Indian educated far from his own people by the Jesuit fathers, and whom unfortunately, we could not employ. The Indians in contact with the posts of the telegraph line use, in their relations with the Paressi or Brazilian employees, a sort of "sabir", formed about forty words, one part Indian and the other Portuguese. This ingenious language, accompanied by numerous gestures, served as an introduction. At the end of about three months we had achieved a grossly empiric knowledge of Nambikwara itself, permitting us to make ourselves understood by the Indians, and more or less to follow a conversation. This result could not have been obtained without the tireless good will of the informants always ready to exchange words (Nambikwara for French or Portuguese) and to develop the obscure points by the use of an appropriate sign language. Working with these methods of chance we have both noted in passing fragments of conversation which were not addressed to us, and collected information by dictation. In both cases, the interpretation of the text was taken up again, afterwards, with the informants. It goes without saying that a meaning established in such a superficial way is not free from inaccuracies which sometimes may prove to be gross. We do not publish them for their literal meaning, often subject to caution, but rather because of the rough impression of indigenous life and atmosphere which they nevertheless aid to recreate. For the transcriptions, we are indebted to Mr. Paul L. Garvin for those which he established with the aid of our travel notes, and which he uses in his "Esquisse du système phonologique du Nambikwara-Tarande," which appears in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, 1948.

[195]

[illegible] fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely
[illegible] realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are
[illegible] considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folk-
[illegible] lore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tagore yirige, bl), a
[illegible] typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second
[illegible] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

[illegible] 5. yitnoṣunatukhne joṣotnuṣutnādujani deneṣunatukhne. (bl)

The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, al), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

[illegible] This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact
[illegible] correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect al, they give words an ending -ḥu instead of the usual -su or -tu. They also pronounce -kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, -kodjutu or -kodjutu.

198 It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity.
562 when one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

462 But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step, [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (nevertheless, a[illegible]

[101] 181 648 The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance, "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shiki*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "criança" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 171 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranze, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabiskí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°20' on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended further northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço

101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [see c.of 86, p. 128 [illegible]-A.] [p. 83 (a)]

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edēdē edēdē edēdē signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian [20] clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tagēte, tagēte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 336) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: 853 in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated gāl'andjūtu, and, in 187 the central and southern dialects, tam'ndige, tuj'rare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahg'nuna (nuna = man, al), tam'nde, gāl'ra. On the other hand, in the northern

538 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[575] the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
[582] and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
606 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (bl) has named poetically: tamindige kihadige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross-cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutehadige tamindige (bl)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

538 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
606 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
● [201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarihe ialhapiete. (bl)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (hajpohi'tunshi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

648 37. tamal'ŋ ãjtue munãjtjere munãjtjenãjtiore njanĩ (bl)
609 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!

201 In one case which we witnessed, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[241] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [98] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[201] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tõhe tõhe kãhe kãhe muniniti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
609 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take—commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

515 At the post of Tres Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[268] [129] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[17] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

281 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikâtnerâ!"

512 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[137] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uérê!" (son).

858 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atigú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[171] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunsu threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the num-
201 ber demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

805 To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle kengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangré the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home. But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
202] from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately, and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalōde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of nande (bl). To analyze it, we should first say a few words concerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparacão do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

653 and she opened the nut and threw the viscera and
282 the nut on the coals. Within 15 minutes that nut was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaure and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination.
[642] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

811 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has
[304] his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-preto"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present
[553] at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her
[202] female relatives. The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the
[251] camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

601
621

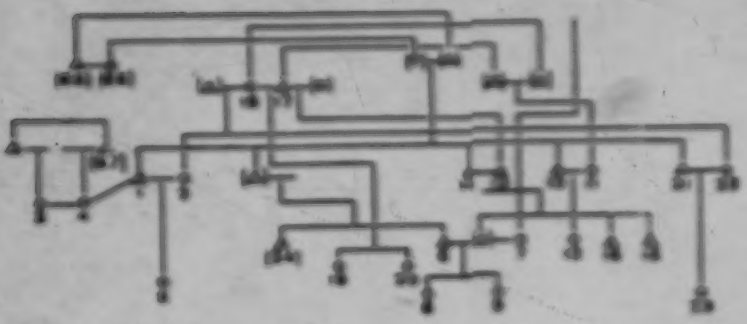


Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622 A1.--The chief of the group. He is a man of about 26 years,
115 married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and
157 a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531
●212

1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

531 212 Besides, they called the act of writing: iekariokediuto (a1), that is "make lines," which for them had an esthetic interest:

(3) Kihikuignere mulieme (b1).
It is nice to make lines.

[177] The drawings reproduced in Figure 19 thus constitute a cultural innovation inspired by our own drawings.

622 confers; also [41] he asked us for a note pad and a pencil, and we
115 are likewise equipped when we travel together. He does not com-
157 municate to me verbally the information that I ask of him, but traces on his paper some wavy lines and presents them to me as though I should read his response. But he himself is half duped by his comedy. Each time that his hand finishes a line, he examines it anxiously, as if the significance should miraculously spring forth, and each time, the same chagrined disillusion is painted on his face. But he doesn't give in. And it is silently understood between us that his scrawl possesses a meaning which I pretend to understand. Naturally, the verbal commentary follows almost immediately, and excuses me from having to demand some very necessary clarifications. When we discuss command, we shall return to certain aspects of this semi-mystification.

He is a valuable informant who understands the problems, perceives the difficulties, and is interested in the work; but his functions absorb him often, and he disappears for whole days on a hunting expedition, a survey of itinerary or a localization of ripe seed or fruit trees. On the other hand, his wives often call him to tender love games in which he lets himself be voluntarily involved.

In a general way, his attitude shows a logic, a continuity of purpose, very exceptional among the Nambikwara who are often unstable and temperamental. Placed in other conditions and with other means at his disposal, he might be a valuable organizer. And he is, after all, alone responsible for the destinies of his group, which he conducts with competence, although in a sometimes utopian spirit.

The father and the mother of A1 are dead. But his father's brother and mother's sister, whom he calls ahuinosu and aʔkenosu live in the same village (A65 and a66).

115 a2. --About 30 to 35 years. The eldest of the wives of A1, mother of a5, daughter of a18 and a now dead father. She is serious industrious, a little reserved in social relations. In the triple household

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
181
291 2. On dual organization in South America, América
301 Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
[50] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
[101] Paresi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaikoakore, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later; the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the grated pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

1: Lévi-Strauss--18 E-6 (1938-1939) 1948 SP 17 Nambikwara SP17

For about seven
223 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[128] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers,
rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or
wild honey--in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger.
Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several
weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of
palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected
at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all
activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks and
221 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be
411 distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section
184 which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex
section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made
for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to
five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem
is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 98.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small
game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb
is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[169] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for
magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

224 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
225 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees
(Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the
monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments),
feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp
piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments
of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of
wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills
are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[17] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission ex-
panded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes
serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the
objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to
carry water.

157
182

While they speak of the latter with the excitement, and the almost exalted tone, of discovery. Let us listen to an informant (B1) describe the double cycle of the year:

First the sedentary life:

67. nedɔntãtage kanaadaɥ hɑ̃ɥndige ɥɔdɔntɑ́nkero, ɥatliri'kero 221
Tomorrow go hunting come back again 539
ɥakɥi'nikero dɑ́nkero undɑ́kero 157
cook again go to bed again sleep again 182
naɥngi'kero ɑ̃ɥrelɔ́kero ɑ̃ɥkɔnkero
day again go to the field again cultivate the field again
ɑ̃ɥngɔnkero ɑ̃ɑmkɔro nunɑ̃kero ɥinɪnɑ́nkero
cultivate again leave again eat again
nangi'kero danunkero taɑ́rige taɥ taɥ taɥ
another day cut wood cut cut cut
telunɑ́kero [telɔ́ndige] mbɑ́ri mbɑ́ri mbɑ́ri
finish again wait wait wait
ɥorɑ́mkero ɥ̃utnunɑ́taɥe [ɥ̃utnɑ́kero] li'tnutɥɛ́t
burn again the cold comes [still the cold] plants
dezɑ́nkero ɥaɥbari'anunkero ɥaaninɑ́nkero
to go again looking for some return again
iraɑ́kero kakɥɑ́idnatɥe [kaɥkɥɑ́nde] hi'kɔrage kɑ́kero
plant much dig again
ikɔranukɑ́tige li'tnurɑ́nkero
in order to plant dig plants cut again
telɔ́ndɑ̃mkero dɛ̃ɥnteritɑapɑ́mkero aɥrhɑ̃ɥkero
finish again live a long time again pull up the roots
etuɩ' etuɩ'ɩ etuɔ̃ɩ' hɑ́nkero
grate grate grate finish again
nlakɔrahinkero nkɥɑ̃ɥlakɔrahi'nkero ɑ́tlakero hi'nkero
ɥɥɑ́taɥ hikɔninuni (b1)
a new field again plant again

And now the great adventure of the nomadic period:

68. inkɔnɑ́hajre mi'rɥere i'rige
We leave at dawn; [the basket] is made it waits.
[128] ãgɔrage tɥatɑ́rige tɥa tɥikini'nkero i'kɔro
one packs; one fills the basket in the woods one travels one travels
nahoreda õkero nlajdi'nkero ntorai'nkero ɑ̃ɥnkero
one comes to the water one crosses the water one crosses on the way
ɑ̃ɥnkero alorekidi'rekɔro alorairi'kɔro
on the way! one takes the prairie one crosses the prairie

157
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

ajtungini'kero (is) ŝi'hen lomēni'nkero ajkero
in the forest one travels again the hill one goes down travel
ajkero ajkero ajtitigomāni'nkero māgalani'nkero
travel travel the hill one goes up the hill one crosses
kalakalatini'nkero erikorāni'nkero ajtikero
at the crest one travels one goes down another hill, more walking!
ŝikit(a)tistsherige hajtlikero ŝikitakālikero
in the wet sand travel in the wet sand travel
ŝejalikero herhaninshikero nungeni'nkero
one passes the hut of other people traveling meets others
gelikahunde ŝiitli'tte (bl)
one is united with others here are the huts.

As is seen, the two forms of existence not are only very strikingly opposed from the economic and sociological point of view. They constitute two poles around which accumulate complex ensembles of emotions, sentiments and memories. With the same tenderness with which they caress their wives, the men evoke the type of life defined by the temporary shelter and the eternal basket, where the most incongruous means of subsistence are sparingly scraped, gathered together, caught each day, where one lives cruelly exposed to wind, cold and rain, and which leaves no more lasting trace than the souls of the women, dispersed by the wind and storms, on whose activity it essentially reposes. And almost like the reign of need is opposed to that of liberty, they conceive in a completely different aspect the sedentary life (whose specific and ancient character is still borne witness to the original species which they cultivate), but upon which the unchangeable chain of agricultural operations confers the same character of perpetuity as the reincarnated masculine souls, the durable house of winter time, and the cultivable land which will begin to live and to produce "when the death of its preceding cultivator shall be forgotten." (1) We do not think it possible to draw conclusions, from a work

1. Cf. quotation, p. 112.

having to do exclusively with several sociological and psychological aspects of the life of the Nambikwara, relative to the place one should assign them in the ensemble of South-American cultures. However, the preceding information suffices to show under what form the problem is posed. We are in [129] the presence of a culture which shows linguistic affinities with the Ŝibŝa, and which approaches the Tupi from the double point of view of family organization and religious beliefs, at the same time recalling

2: Lévi-Strauss K-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

101 *Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaya*, which includes his *Kabishi*,
197 *Tagnani*, *Tauité*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuité*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marquês, Ikê and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

101 The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara*; one called *Salumu*, *Saruma*, or *Solondê* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú*; another may be the *Tapanyuma*.

161 In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

197 The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe
193 into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha*.

101 *Nambicuara* culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Parexí* to the southeast and of the *Tupí-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

133 The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500
134 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes
137 from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

221 In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children,
[224 forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch
222] grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambikwara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 207 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal hairworks. Manioc is grated on thorns of the animal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood planks. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at cached places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambikwara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumaré bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambikwara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by cows seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambikwara*, like the *Siwiond*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes
262 reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena
[131 118] 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 90° F. During this
132 period the grass withers, the livestock of the white
221 men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August
[229] the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[805] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwinkiro*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season
805 (*wahiaru*) is divided into periods depending upon
221 the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yaddunru*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'owadjuru*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *ahru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *casiru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *dongadiru*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
621 has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

1/A [i.e., A fish poison — A.] [p. 87 (B)] 2/A [See cat. 116, pp. 124-126. — Analyst]

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *kinakingere* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet *mengu* of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry ball in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*haikánakídutru*). [262] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are [252] roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*waínrhu*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

[p. 92(N)]

221 subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A
[262 favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes
252] with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which
824 the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the
[262] buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers
[283] from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and
[262] multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked.
[501] (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only
[766] men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method.
372 They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

412 The material equipment of the Eastern Nam-
415 bicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

?; Roquette-Pinto--17 E-4,8 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP1"
(ca. 1912)

[6] The geographical range of the name "Nambicuara" is very significant; the term designates these Indians both in Mato Grosso and in Pará. This means that the inhabitants of the Serra do Norte are known by the same name to the north and to the south.

This might lead us to believe that the name is unusually distinctive. However, it is unknown to its bearers and altogether alien to the dialect of any of the groups. It is fitting nevertheless to retain it in order to avoid confusion.

[7] The southern boundary of the Nambicuara region is the Papagaio
[8] River.

In the north their territory apparently extends to the Gi-Paraná; in the east, to the Tapajoz; in the west, to the Guaporé.

The people who live near the banks of the Juruena and Juina, between the Papagaio and Camararé riven, [216] and whom I shall name the "southeastern group," are called "Cô[illegible]" or "Cô[illegible]."

Those who live along the lower reaches of the Dose de Outubro River are called "Anunsê"; I shall refer to them as the "northeastern group." They probably extend as far as the confluence of the Arinos Juruena rivers, where a few members of the first group are also likely to be found.

[illegible] Those who live to the southwest of the wintering place [invernada] at Campos Novos extend down to the Guaporé River; they are called "Uainrazê" and constitute the "southwestern group."

The great "northwestern group" lives near the Madeira River, on the banks of tributaries of the Gi-Paraná. It seems to consist of various secondary groups related in ways which have not yet been clearly defined. The Indians I encountered at the wintering place of Três Buritis, at the Campos de Quatorze de Abril, at José Bonifacio and at Campos de Maria de Molina all belong to this division. Their principal group lives between the Dose de Outubro and Roosevelt (Rio da Dúvida) rivers.

Of the northern division I found only the Tagnani, Tawite, Saluma, Tarute and Tashwite [Taschuitê]; and I only succeeded in gathering data on the first two.

For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
● [222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks and
221 411 184 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[189] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[77] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[418] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

622 and oxen for carrying could pass. The provisions of manioc proved to be insufficient and one morning the little band found itself without anything to eat. Our own attempts to kill some animal were in vain, and the worst [88] bad humor began to reign, the chief of the group being obviously held responsible for an affair which we, he and I, had contrived. In place of undertaking a hunting or collecting expedition, each one decided to go to sleep in the shade of shelters, and they left the chief alone to find the solution to the problem. He disappeared, accompanied by one of his wives (his first wife a2, [222 415] contrary to usual procedure; but a3 and a4 shared the general irritation) and toward evening both were seen reappearing, their heavy baskets filled with grasshoppers which they had spent the entire day [262] catching. Although grasshopper pie is not a particularly esteemed dish, everyone ate with good appetite and found his good humor again. They took up the journey again the next morning.

But other things than these exceptional relief measures are expected of the chief. He must sing and dance willingly and well, and be capable of animating the collective life. He must organize the work in the most reasonable way in order to eliminate useless fatigue and effort. Thus on the eve of a departure, B1 recites for us his order of march:

30. mãdorige mãdohadhudne hajtehãdige nãnjehnile
uietnonãnahara jãuehara kanahaniñdeere hinkanaha
iinãamnjẽ ãkeena iinãmnjẽ ihikoro ihikoro. (b1)
When it is hot, one is tired, one is hungry, the children walk badly; when one marches at dawn, one marches well, at dawn, one should march, change routes, march; on the way! on the way!

He must also win over his companions by numerous gifts. According to B1, who gives in willingly to the servitude of power, generosity plays a fundamental role in determining the degree of popularity which the new chief will enjoy, and the companions indulge in all sorts of speculations:

31. uilikã aheni ajnire tunun2entutnuilikã agnhãhare
tunuriani (b-1)
The chief is leaving; the one who will come will give me a great deal.--"Chief! Be generous! Give to me!"

The presents thus anticipated consist of food or objects which the chief will have made himself with the assistance of his polygamous wives, or that he will have procured by good exchanges with neighboring bands, or which might come from war booty. Often, it seems,

796

alãgena hãjtige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. ui̯tnore ui̯tnja imãgəre.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

denaãtje jatjaeninĩnena ednaso jãjneni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[688] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
789 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (arãtasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; jnaujzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
[192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (ahãru, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[432
411]
415

[231
342]
415
285

[231
222]
482
855

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

101 197 *Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*, *Tagnani*, *Tauitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

101 The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma*, *Saruma*, or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuna*.

161 In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

197 193 The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha*.

101 *Nambicuara* culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupi-Cawahib* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

133 134 137 The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

221 In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, [224 222] forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Gardening exists only during the rainy season and does not free the Nambikuara from wandering during the seven months of the dry season, looking for wild roots, fruits and seeds, small animals such as lizards, snakes, bats, spiders and grasshoppers and, generally speaking, anything which may prevent them from starving. As a matter of fact, their geographical surroundings, which are located in the northwestern part of the state of Mato Grosso and include the headwaters of the Tapajos, Rio Roosevelt and Rio Gi-Parana, consist of a desolated savanna with few vegetal resources and still less game.

Had I approached my subject from a point of view other than the one outlined above, I could not have avoided a long discussion in South American cultural history, aimed at clearing up this apparent primitiveness, on the question as to whether the survival of early conditions of life in South America is genuine or whether we should consider it as a more recent—although undoubtedly pre-columbian—result of culture clashes and processes of acculturation. Whatever the answer may be, it cannot substantially change our problem: whether tarriant or recessive, the Nambikuara society functions, in the present, as one of the simplest forms of human society to be conceived. We shall not seek information from the particular history which kept them in their exceptionally crude organisation or brought them back to it. We shall only look at the experiment in social anthropology which they now enact under our very eyes.

This holds especially true in respect to their social and political life. For if we do not know what was the material culture of the Nambikuara forty years ago (they were discovered only in 1907), we do know that their numbers became tremendously reduced after their contact with white civilization. General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who discovered and studied them, first stated that their number was about 20,000. This was around 1915. I take this figure as greatly exaggerated, but even if reduced by one half, it considerably exceeds the present number which is hardly more than 2,000. Epidemics have taken care of the difference. What does this mean, from the point of view of our study? During the dry season, the Nambikuara live in nomadic bands, each one under the leadership of a chief, who, during the sedentary life of the rainy months, may be either a village chief or a person of position. General Rondon wrote that, at the time he was exploring the country, it was not rare to see bands averaging two or three hundred individuals. Now, sixty or seventy

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To the east and south are the remnants of the Paressí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paressí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87 (1)]

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
854] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

241 but the method of felling is the same. All clearing has to be completed by the end of June to permit the felled trees to dry.

In late August, when the cicada begins to sing and the first thunder is heard, the Nambicuara return to undertake their planting activities. At a given signal, men with lighted bunches of dry grass set fire to dry trees and bushes all around the edges of the field. The rest of the people are concentrated at the river's edge at the bottom of the slope, and as animals, such as rats, lizards, and snakes, flee toward the water they kill them. [222] After the fires have died down the people go through the field collecting grubs, insects, and whatever else that is edible.

Among the stumps and unburnt logs the Nambicuara hoe up hills about 3 feet in diameter into which they stick 6 or 7 pieces of last season's manioc stems, each about 10 inches long. These hills are made about 5 or 6 feet apart. Formerly they used a digging stick (*kadikádsu*) but today the metal hoe (*isakúlusu*) is used. Bitter manioc (*walídnsu*) is their most important crop.

After the rains have begun and the manioc is several inches high, they begin to plant maize (*kayátsu*) of which the Nambicuara have several varieties. Maize is planted between the manioc hills by making a hole in the ground with a digging stick into which 2 seeds are dropped. As the holes are about 6 inches deep, the seeds are not covered. Whether this is to protect the seeds from birds is not clear.

When the maize has grown tall enough to provide shade they plant beans (*kwą́'su*), sweetpotatoes (*wísų*), and tobacco (*étsu*). The bean which the Nambicuara grow looks like a large red kidney bean and has a tough skin. Beans are planted one seed to a shallow hole and covered. Sweetpotatoes are planted by placing cuttings in shallow trenches near logs and stumps. When
249 planting tobacco a man places a handful of seeds on a leaf, climbs onto a high stump, and blows the fine seeds so that they scatter over the field. They weed the field only once when the maize is about a foot or two in height. Cotton is planted
248 in the field but urucú bushes and gourds are planted near the houses. After the planting is finished and the field is growing well the people leave on their continuous rounds of hunting, fishing, and collecting.

[p. 91 (A)]

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc
354 scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come
[352] through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

412 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To
[222 one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled
262] and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis.

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
85 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
222 her. As they move slowly along they collect fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats,
226 wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae. When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[197] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

224 to me not to say anything. Later that day he
264 returned to the spot, built a fire, roasted the snake,
and ate it by himself.

224 Caymans are hunted by first finding their hide-outs under logs or overhanging banks. When one is found under an overhanging bank the hunters peel a number of slender poles and begin to thrust them down through the bank to force the cayman out. Men are stationed above and below the spot, and as the cayman comes out he is shot. When he hides under logs the hunters feel for him with their feet. The hunters are so nimble that few of them get bitten. The large rodent, paca, is also hunted in this way, for it hides in holes under overhanging banks.

The large water snake, anaconda, is hunted in pools where it lies in wait for game. When the hunters have trailed an anaconda to a water hole they keep shooting arrows into the water until they strike it. The first strike then indicates where the snake is, and they continue shooting until the snake weakens and can be pulled out. Sometimes the snake grabs a hunter by the arm, but the others are there to assist if anyone gets into difficulties.

Small anteaters are dug out of holes but the larger kind which does not go into holes is hunted by two men armed with clubs. The men chase it, one on each side, and as the anteater turns on one he strikes it on the nose with his club and then jumps into a tree. The other hunter then strikes it. This continues until the anteater dies.

Monkeys are chased from tree to tree until they tire and come down to hide in a hole in the ground. Dogs can then overtake the monkey or he can be shot or dug out of the hole. Deer usually do not fall when shot, but the hunter chases the wounded deer until he can shoot more arrows into it, especially into the legs.

[278
184] Although the Western Nambicuara are said to use arrows poisoned with curare, the Wakitisu say they do not use curare but that they know how to prepare it and that they formerly used it in raids. As arrows do not penetrate bone, the hunter tries to shoot at an angle so that the arrow will enter the chest cavity, or he will aim between the neck and the shoulder bone.

● 223 The Nambicuara hunt and eat all birds except the urubú. Large rheas are not hunted because it is difficult to approach them on the open sa-

223 vanna, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs for fear of angering the mother cayman. After [535] a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the ridicule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

226 As the Nambicuara hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacú or matrinchã to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuara claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cut-offs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*kéats*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the weeds where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tendru*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

411 (1) The *hányesu*, an arrow which is used for
[223 224] shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lashing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *salátisu*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dúnkisu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptisu*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrowhead was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *hatátsu*, provides not
[306] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers,
[252] and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buriti twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

000 [245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

[411] A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds
223 which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some
231 become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes
[225] campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anmize woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[225] Doves (Chamepelius talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atratus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

855 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

484 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

/216 cont./

224 278 411 [303] The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain animals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys.

Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediately.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[262] [262] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanè do not even take this precaution.

278 411 726 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanè, are very lightly attached to their shafts.

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nʔiuuenāgheē nʔuuēeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehēna uʔtte uʔkarage, "the woman caresses the baby," or uāinuētte uʔkarage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. From the children.--Analyst]

603 611 On the other hand, grandparents behave toward their descendants so as to show the permanence of the filial line. a14 takes special care of her granddaughters (daughter's daughters), orphaned by the mother, a8 and a9. She feeds them, bathes them, and the baby spends her days near her, and often the nights. When the group travels, she is the one who carries her when she can no longer walk. But above all, when a piece of game has been brought in by a hunter, one sees in the choice of beneficiaries, outlined in the heart of the group, the limits of a unit greater than the conjugal family, and whose reality appears only rarely in daily circumstances.

224 602 Thus, when a boa sucuri (irɨtasu, a1: Eunectes murinus) has been brought in one day by A17, he gives the tripe to his daughter a19, who passes it on to her sister a22; the latter divides it between a12 and a5 (her "daughters") and reserves a portion for herself; at the same time A17 cuts the body into portions which he gives to A13, A1, A21, and of which he keeps part. Here, the division is almost coextensive with the restricted group. But, in more serious circumstances (1), the division of

1. P. 106 sq., cessation of menses (état de marge).

an irara (inihɨnuklesu, a1: Mustela sp.) by A21 gives rise to the following distributions:

A quarter to a18 (wife's mother);
A quarter to a2 (wife's elder sister);
A quarter to a14 (brother's wife);
A foot to a19 (wife's younger sister);
A half-head to A17 (wife's mother's husband).

[75] He consumes the rest with his wife and baby, and the beneficiaries divide their share with spouse and children. Thus in the heart of the group there is outlined an even more restricted unit:

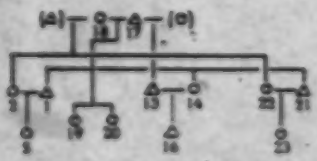


Fig. 17.

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauêttu, tauêttu, tauêttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
OR
COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseêtasu, a1; ndêdere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (astikosu, a1; tartire, b1), or more exactly (since the name astikosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dúrige ɥetnatúrina édnadɥre lukɥíndige ndakɥíndige monánkjadukɥíndige denõ dúrige monáɥre líttige amonotlíttige toɥodúrige ɥiténdige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
281 mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714 bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loɥkɥíndige inkɐra uírige lotɐtáɥrige ikɥitãdige ɥírige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atásu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atásu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted
171 with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

846 them between herself and the baby. For the first time, she ex-
252 changes some words with her neighbors while laughing.

846 In the meantime, A21 has cleaned the irara. He gives the
252 stomach, the large intestine, the small intestine to a2 (wife's sister);
●224 she, aided by her daughter a5, cleans the intestines, puts them on to cook and begins to eat them with a5 and a3.

A21 cuts the tail of the irara, cooks it rapidly, and eats it with his wife and baby.

The three bats have been given to a2 (wife's sister) and a14 (sister), who divides her lot with her son A16 and her son-in-law A15. a22 cooks the lizards and the organs (liver, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys of the irara). She gives the whole thing to her husband, who gives a piece of liver to the baby and divides the rest with his wife.

All of these operations are carried out very rapidly in a sort of hurry, and are finished at the end of a half-hour. At 30 minutes past 15 o'clock, a22 lights a different fire from the one that each household uses, and places the irara there. She then goes to take her first bath in the river, and brings back some water in a gourd to wash the baby. Toward 16:15 the cooked irara is taken from the fire by A21. At this moment everyone has returned to camp and has taken his habitual place. A21 and a22, seated near the new fire, occupy a central position. A21 cuts the irara into five pieces and divides it among the members of the family, as was said previously. (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 74 f.

From that time on, A21 and a22 take up normal activity and are no longer distinguished from their companions.

846 Thus the period of abstinence is characterized by relative isolation of the couple in question, which is at the same time under a certain number of taboos (social contacts, baths, preparation of food, dress, eating of certain foods). It ends at the moment when the child takes its first meal not consisting solely of milk (in this
[224 case the lizard eggs and the irara liver. This meal is part of a hunting
842] feast offered to the group by the parents who up to now were under the taboo. However, the atmosphere in which these operations are carried out merits attention. No solemnity surrounds them, and the parties concerned perform them with the same routine and nonchalance which characterizes daily activities. It is not a question then of a ceremony with the psychological implications which this term carries, but of a collection of acts which must be done, and are done, with a minimum of attention accorded to their exceptional character.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

101 197 *Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*, *Tagnani*, *Tauitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

101 The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma, Saruma,* or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuma.*

161 In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

197 193 The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha.*

101 *Nambicuara* culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupi-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

133 134 137 The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

221 In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, [224 222] forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To the east and south are the remnants of the Paressí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paressí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87(A)]

headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadédunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'awadjítsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *castíru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paressí in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
854] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
222 her. As they move slowly along they collect fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats,
226 wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae. When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and [264] along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot. [412] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more than one with a small family even though the [251] man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which [231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry [264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

224 to me not to say anything. Later that day he 264 returned to the spot, built a fire, roasted the snake, and ate it by himself.

224 Caymans are hunted by first finding their hide-outs under logs or overhanging banks. When one is found under an overhanging bank the hunters peel a number of slender poles and begin to thrust them down through the bank to force the cayman out. Men are stationed above and below the spot, and as the cayman comes out he is shot. When he hides under logs the hunters feel for him with their feet. The hunters are so nimble that few of them get bitten. The large rodent, paca, is also hunted in this way, for it hides in holes under overhanging banks.

The large water snake, anaconda, is hunted in pools where it lies in wait for game. When the hunters have trailed an anaconda to a water hole they keep shooting arrows into the water until they strike it. The first strike then indicates where the snake is, and they continue shooting until the snake weakens and can be pulled out. Sometimes the snake grabs a hunter by the arm, but the others are there to assist if anyone gets into difficulties.

Small anteaters are dug out of holes but the larger kind which does not go into holes is hunted by two men armed with clubs. The men chase it, one on each side, and as the anteater turns on one he strikes it on the nose with his club and then jumps into a tree. The other hunter then strikes it. This continues until the anteater dies.

Monkeys are chased from tree to tree until they tire and come down to hide in a hole in the ground. Dogs can then overtake the monkey or he can be shot or dug out of the hole. Deer usually do not fall when shot, but the hunter chases the wounded deer until he can shoot more arrows into it, especially into the legs.

[278 184] Although the Western Nambicuara are said to use arrows poisoned with curare, the Wakítisu say they do not use curare but that they know how to prepare it and that they formerly used it in raids. As arrows do not penetrate bone, the hunter tries to shoot at an angle so that the arrow will enter the chest cavity, or he will aim between the neck and the shoulder bone.

223 The Nambicuara hunt and eat all birds except the urubú. Large rheas are not hunted because it is difficult to approach them on the open sa-

223 vanna, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

● 224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs for fear of angering the mother cayman. After [535] a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the riducule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

226 As the Nambicuara hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacú or matrinchã to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuara claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cut-offs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*kúnte*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the weeds where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tandru*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

411 (1) The *hányesu*, an arrow which is used for [223 shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lash-
● 224] ing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *saldítsu*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dúnkisu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptisu*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrowhead was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *haldtsu*, provides not [306 only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers, [252 and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buriti twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

[p. 94 (A)]

302 Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads,
[431] they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

● 224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)
The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

535 Anunze and Uintaçu tribes participated; and a festive dance in which we took part, executed in our honor at Três Buritis by the Tagnani and Tawite.

The war dance filmed in Campos Novos was later also [253] performed by the Tagnani in Três Buritis.

Armed with bows and arrows, the warriors form a line some 15 meters from a piece of wood which represents the enemy, singing in two-part time and marking the beat on the ground with their feet. [Fig. 25]

Two Indians leave the line, arrows ready and bows half strung, and walk as if cautiously hiding among shrubs in the bush. After a wide detour they come near the "enemy" and hurl their weapons at him.

This is the signal to attack; the singing ceases and a rain of arrows falls on the "unfortunate victim"...

411 Then they advance upon him and give him a thorough drubbing
524 with their bows or with sticks. Incidentally, this is always the func-
726 tion of the arrow--to immobilize the enemy or game and permit the attacker to come close and finish his work with blows. In the hunt or in combat, attack is always made from ambush. This is because the aim of the Indians at a distance [Fig. 27] is not as sure as generally supposed. The Nambicuara are not especially good archers. They certainly cannot draw the bow with their feet like the Bororo. Some can shoot well in height. They use no shield whatever either in the hunt or in war. After the attack they try to recover their projectiles. An arrow represents a certain amount of labor and must not be squandered...

They hold a number of arrows in their left hand and shoot them one after the other with incredible rapidity.

535 Men, women and girls participated in the festive dance.

A large circle was formed to the sound of an endless chant. The women stood on the men's left; pair after pair were joined until the circle was closed. [254] Each man placed his hand on the shoulder of the woman next to him. Within the circle, three girls of approximately the same age accompanied them in a close line, eyes lowered, hands crossed upon the chest. The girl in the center acted as a hub for this choreographic formation... [Fig. 43]

/216 cont./

224 278 411 [293] The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain animals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys. Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediately.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[262] [253] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanè do not even take this precaution.

278 411 726 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanè, are very lightly attached to their shafts.

796 The seasonal celebrations take place at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and probably mark the opening and closing of agricultural labor. They consist of festivals with dancing, singing and music. Several days in advance, hunting expeditions go in
● [226] search of small game, and they also go in for large fishing expeditions. In fact, fish seems to play a role of the first rank in the ritualistic
796 534 activities. (1) Other Indians leave, sometimes for far-off places in

1. See below, p. 109.

[224] order to find thick bamboo in the forests which border the rivers or which occupy the valleys, from which they cut pieces to make the flageolets for the ritual. These are about 70 centimeters long and pierced by four holes besides the one for blowing. An air passage is effected at the upper end in the mouthpiece of wax which closes the opening. They are only used upon occasion of these ceremonies and are played in unison in groups of three, one of them, engraved with a white longitudinal line, being named iomõte yilikãde, (chief flageolet), and played by the chief. A resonator made from a bamboo trunk furnished at the lower end with a hollowed-out gourd usually accompanies them (dutʔande, b1). The flageolets are called "male" and the resonators "female." Quite curiously, these flageolets are called iomõte (b1/2) and iamaka (c), by the central, northern and southern groups, that is from the same term (iamaka) by which the Paressi name the same instrument, while the eastern groups, who are the only immediate neighbors of the Paressi, employ a completely different term: kaigetasu (a 1/2). The Indians describe these festivals thus:

796 45. ukuerige ãidnige iuarhaidne ungʔrage (haidʔne) ãinsurgerage
to hide to blow to play [the flageolet] to make merry fishing.

nahundage tatige niuattahatrige kade kade kade ka aitendige
to carry to roast to make chicha moon moon moon this moon to dance

iukuohaindige mihadage komiegerage
and another time to play [the following month] more rain everything is dry

[105] mĩadage tutʔhaihaikuitrige
the rain is finished let [the flutes?] be carried away

haintendige halehaidnige denõ horatige ejeteende
to make the field feast the women are hidden they do not see it

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catimá palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood planks. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Siriono*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 443 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwakáre*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wakáru*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadáduwu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *yu'ewadjíru*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dáru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *cuxíru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *dzupadíru*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[142 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
858 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
222 her. As they move slowly along they collect fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
● 226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

223 vanna, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs for fear of angering the mother cayman. After [535] a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the ridicule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

• 226 As the Nambicuara hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacú or matrinchã to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuara claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cutoffs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*kénte*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the weeds where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tondru*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

226 Xingú, the Nambicuara timbó fishing appears very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in [252] leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked. Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nambicuara also claim that they fish at night with [177] torches along the river banks. This method may have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

241 The principal food crops grown by the Nambicuara are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrowroot, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton, tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and native names of these plants are listed in Appendix 1.[1] In more recent times they are known to produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The dependence upon food crops in relation to game, fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gage. The statements of missionaries, however, appear to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide a year-round food supply and may actually play a minor role as compared with dependence upon noncultivated resources.

Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria" forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most of their hunting and collecting. The Waklítisu band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we have said, lives in a single house while thus occupied. In the past the field (*haítsu*) was cleared with a stone ax (*etúnsu*) and a wooden [177] club (*hukwénisu*). Today steel axes and machetes are used, but the method of planting is still the same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the statement that in the past when a new field had to be cleared the people had to work during most of the wet season in order to fell the trees, a task which they now perform in May and June.

Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten down with the wooden club. The Nambicuara 241 had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near 313 the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small trees part way through, then selected a number of large trees as kingpins. When these large trees were felled they knocked down the smaller trees below them. This was continued until they had a circular clearing of the required size on the slope. 241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

[1] [Cat. 116, pp. 124-126.—Ms.] [p. 90 (B)]

411
N2
291
226
286
301

[p. 136 (H)]

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
824 [Lupinus cascavella] used in fishing.
278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).
262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.
--Guaiatú: white maize.
--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated, is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater
252 [1:5]

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.
[Fig. 17]
262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.
--Katunuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[828] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was [251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.
415 Mortars (nutêzê) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

411 (1) The *hányesu*, an arrow which is used for [223 224] shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lashing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *saldítsu*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dúnkisu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptisu*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bambco point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrowhead was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *haldítsu*, provides not [306] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers, [254] and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buriti twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

302 Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads,
[431] they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set
ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a foothridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

● 227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)

The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

7:Roquette-Pinto--36B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 32 Trident fishing arrow.

411
278

experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

441 Aieracú: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[227] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong [824] imbé liana (Philodendron imbe, Mart.).

[Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

[324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a Bauhinia. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . . .

381 [824] The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatai (Hymenea stigonocarpa or H. stilbocarpa), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of duhutaarú, which means "wax."

[Fig. 62]

595
571 piece of small a[illegible]al. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers:
"Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
856 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives,
take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves,
timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great
success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, be-
side their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among
themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of
play. In certain groups (central and south), the children
manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided
straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights
or contests which they do together, and lead an existence
modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal
day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then
the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the
sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gather-
ing wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they
walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to
play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much
later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious
of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara
life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected
of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting ex-
peditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare
to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to
unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped
branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know
what an important role the women have in the economic life of
the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy
482] in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and
we make the remark:

16. uainuttte ufkɔrage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

uefkuatnore uainuetuikɔdeʔena tãjtniene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to
raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nʔiuu̯enãghee̅ nʔuu̯éeguedne (b1)

Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

● 231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehéna u̯ɪ̃tte u̯ɪ̃kərage, "the woman caresses the baby," or u̯ãi̯nu̯ette u̯ɪ̃kərage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them
231 receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. From the children.--Analyst]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. jakhũninde ɾteru ɲirokũnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: ɲoʂɾ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hõte ɲãinde miramiraina hõte ɲairɾdniena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣariʂena tãkɲlahẽ tãkela aɣoriʂẽ kãdaiena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
987] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

415
361
342
291

411
361
415
231

484
415
231

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

[End Plate III]

231
302
301
142

301
304
302
142

1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[482
411]
415]

[231
342
415
285]

[231
222
482
855]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
482
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catizal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood plants. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Siriono*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take
[264] out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot.
[412] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more
[251] than one with a small family even though the man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which
[231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry
[264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

000 [411] 203 [245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some 231 [825] become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[825] Doves (Chamepelius talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atratus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

855 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

484 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small piuva tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with lixeiro leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The siriva bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but
[184] the black wood surrounding the center is used. The siriva bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

[283] The bowstring (*halunwénisu*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with urucú (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*alukwírikutu*), which appears to be cane (*Gudua* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a piuva foreshaft (*ihéikutsutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with sipó vine for about
[237] 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akinéntsu*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the
[284] butt end of the shaft. The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving
[237] motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with
[284] waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

[p. 93(a)]

7: Roquette-Pinto--30A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambiquára SP17 (ca. 1912)

412
257

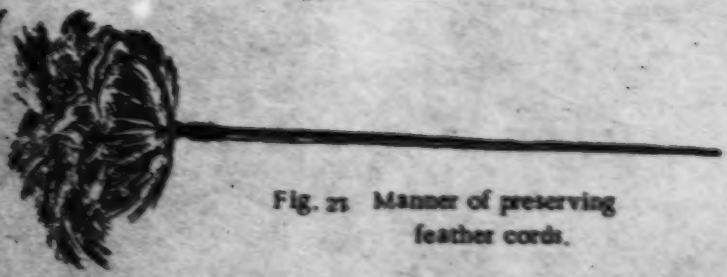


Fig. 21 Manner of preserving feather cords.

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads, the feathers of black birds, the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A.]

[184] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialacu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[515]

[Fig. 44]

[382] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

7:Roquette-Pinto--42 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

113 Brasil [Materials for the Study of Brazilian Indian Psychology]." Arquivos Brasileiros de Psiquiatria, Neurologia e Medicina Legal (Rio de Janeiro, 1917).

● 237 301 Featherwork is scarce and in fact insignificant. One of the illustrations in this book [p. (608)] shows an interesting feather diadem patterned after an object of similar type but of admirable craftsmanship which the Indians purloined from their neighbors to the west and which is also to be found in the [National] Museum. (2) [Fig. 42]

2. Semicircular straw head ornaments are to be found mainly in the state of Amazonas as well as among the Huari of the Guaporé River, who resemble the Nambicuara in their primitive axes, their circular houses, etc. (Cf. Nordenskjöld, "The Ethnography of South America Seen from Mojos in Bolivia." [Engl.]).

The use of cotton has given an extraordinary boost to the development of featherwork among the Tupian Indians, as I demonstrated with the gorgeous ornaments made by the Urubu Indians (Gurupi River). The Nambicuara are familiar with cotton, but have not even developed featherwork based on plaiting or netting; this seems to attest to a tradition poor in such textile techniques. The Guayaki, who are Tupian Indians of rudimentary culture, according to Vellard, have neither featherwork nor agriculture. (R. L.)

535 We were able to observe two types of dances: a war dance which we recorded in a film shown at the National Library [of Rio de Janeiro] on March 15, 1913, and in which Indians of the Cocozu,

7:Roquette-Pinto--57A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

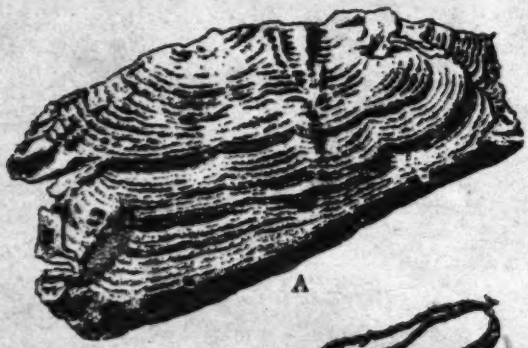
[264
824]

[283
825]

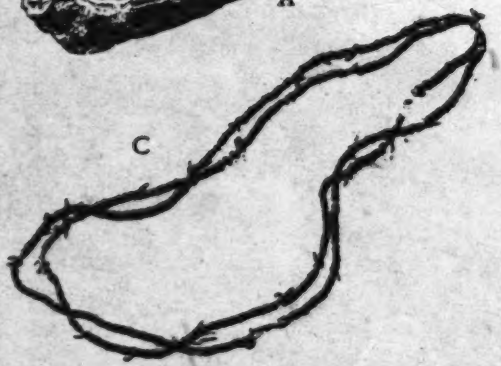
[297]

[301]

[321]

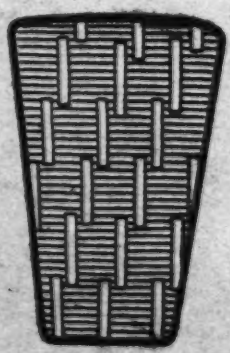


A



C

12417



D

B

A. Arezi mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

301 [823] [280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . .

[825] [824] Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa) palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

291 The jalaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

301 [281] The stem of the unetizũ (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

285 Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçũ).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

[293] . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

534 [171] A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçũ) seems to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajoz tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. . . . (70, p.]

7:Roquette-Pinto--59A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301
237

Fig. 65. Oradaikruzê--Serra do Norte bracelet.

/215 cont./

278 Curare of the Ñambikwara of the Rio Juruena

The technique of the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena is more primitive.

They use only bark which has just been gathered. The draining off of the bark is done only once and with warm water: the bark /216/ is put on the fire in a rather large amount of cold water, and the operation is ended when the temperature reaches 37° to 40° /centigrade/. It is filtered quickly by squeezing the bark with the hands to extract all the liquid from it. Then comes rapid boiling over a high fire and skimming. After several minutes of a rolling boil the fire is lowered and the liquid kept at a temperature a little below boiling until it has a pasty consistency.

[415] [237] The curare is kept in paste form in bamboo tubes or changed into a very hard mass by the addition of meliponine beeswax.

This method exposes the curare to strong heat for at least two hours. The Çabanè method reduces this time to ten minutes, the other operations being carried out at low heat. Both produce curares with about the same activity.

[192] [411] The Rio Juruena Ñambikwara call curare and the plant a'utĭsú or a'ukisú; the roots ta'ãdisú; the poisoned arrow aurũ kiritkatsú, and its protective bamboo sheath asirikatsú.

Utilization of Curare

278 411 The Ñambikwara are not familiar with the blowgun. They use curare to poison large arrows with long, notched points, capped with a protective bamboo sheath. The points of the Tamandé curare arrows are shorter and more slender than those of the other Ñambikwara. They are usually placed in twos, threes, and fours under a single protective sheath.

According to the Indians an arrow's activeness does not last more than three or four months. The curare in paste form is kept for a longer time (close to a year). Hard curare can be kept for years.

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
181
291
301

> 2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
[513] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
[101] Paresi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaikoakoré, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the grated pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

[End Plate I]

137
133

241
142
482
415

484
482
415

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catizal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood plants. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Siriono*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Gardening exists only during the rainy season and does not free the Nambikuara from wandering during the seven months of the dry season, looking for wild roots, fruits and seeds, small animals such as lizards, snakes, bats, spiders and grasshoppers and, generally speaking, anything which may prevent them from starving. As a matter of fact, their geographical surroundings, which are located in the northwestern part of the state of Mato Grosso and include the headwaters of the Tapajos, Rio Roosevelt and Rio Gi-Parana, consist of a desolated savanna with few vegetal resources and still less game.

Had I approached my subject from a point of view other than the one outlined above, I could not have avoided a long discussion in South American cultural history, aimed at clearing up this apparent primitiveness, on the question as to whether the survival of early conditions of life in South America is genuine or whether we should consider it as a more recent—although undoubtedly pre-columbian—result of culture clashes and processes of acculturation. Whatever the answer may be, it cannot substantially change our problem: whether tarriant or recessive, the Nambikuara society functions, in the present, as one of the simplest forms of human society to be conceived. We shall not seek information from the particular history which kept them in their exceptionally crude organization or brought them back to it. We shall only look at the experiment in social anthropology which they now enact under our very eyes.

This holds especially true in respect to their social and political life. For if we do not know what was the material culture of the Nambikuara forty years ago (they were discovered only in 1907), we do know that their numbers became tremendously reduced after their contact with white civilization. General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who discovered and studied them, first stated that their number was about 20,000. This was around 1915. I take this figure as greatly exaggerated, but even if reduced by one half, it considerably exceeds the present number which is hardly more than 2,000. Epidemics have taken care of the difference. What does this mean, from the point of view of our study? During the dry season, the Nambikuara live in nomadic bands, each one under the leadership of a chief, who, during the sedentary life of the rainy months, may be either a village chief or a person of position. General Rondon wrote that, at the time he was exploring the country, it was not rare to see bands averaging two or three hundred individuals. Now, sixty or seventy

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To the east and south are the remnants of the Paressí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paressí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87 (A)]

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
621 forest which lines its banks. Except during the planting and harvesting season the members of the band are on the move up and down the narrow confines of the territory. Within this hunting territory they have camping places rather than villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinciésu*. Any place where the band or a family may stop overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
621 where it is farming. The entire band occupies the house, each family having its own fire around
[513] which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men gather around another fire. Julio informed me that their house is rectangular with stake walls and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some years ago when the band was larger he said they occupied a different place on which they built three houses. These houses were built by placing a series of saplings into the ground to form an oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole, the framework being covered with sapé or palm fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
[343 in the same way. Houses of this type are from
346] 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they build a small flute hut (*sinedónklesu*) and, when the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sihdentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting the band or the family may build a temporary brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a windbreak (*siotdutsi*) is considered sufficient. On warm nights during the dry season the group camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some distance away and small huts are put up for the workers. As the distance increases the old camp site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
415 furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

226 Xingú, the Nambicuara timbó fishing appears very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in
[252] leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked. Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nambicuara also claim that they fish at night with
[177] torches along the river banks. This method may have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

241 The principal food crops grown by the Nambicuara are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrowroot, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton, tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and native names of these plants are listed in Appendix 1.[1] In more recent times they are known to produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The dependence upon food crops in relation to game, fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gage. The statements of missionaries, however, appear to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide a year-round food supply and may actually play a minor role as compared with dependence upon noncultivated resources.

Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria" forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most of their hunting and collecting. The Waklítisu band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we have said, lives in a single house while thus occupied. In the past the field (*haítsu*) was cleared with a stone ax (*etúnsu*) and a wooden
[177] club (*hukwénisu*). Today steel axes and machetes are used, but the method of planting is still the same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the statement that in the past when a new field had to be cleared the people had to work during most of the wet season in order to fell the trees, a task which they now perform in May and June.

Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten down with the wooden club. The Nambicuara
241 had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near
313 the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small trees part way through, then selected a number of large trees as kingpins. When these large trees were felled they knocked down the smaller trees below them. This was continued until they had a circular clearing of the required size on the slope.
241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

[1] [Cat. 116, pp. 124-126. - Am.] [p. 90 (B)]

●241 but the method of felling is the same. All clearing has to be completed by the end of June to permit the felled trees to dry.

In late August, when the cicada begins to sing and the first thunder is heard, the Nambicuara return to undertake their planting activities. At a given signal, men with lighted bunches of dry grass set fire to dry trees and bushes all around the edges of the field. The rest of the people are concentrated at the river's edge at the bottom of the slope, and as animals, such as rats, lizards, and snakes, flee toward the water they kill them. [222] After the fires have died down the people go through the field collecting grubs, insects, and whatever else that is edible.

Among the stumps and unburnt logs the Nambicuara hoe up hills about 3 feet in diameter into which they stick 6 or 7 pieces of last season's manioc stems, each about 10 inches long. These hills are made about 5 or 6 feet apart. Formerly they used a digging stick (*kadikádsu*) but today the metal hoe (*isakúlusu*) is used. Bitter manioc (*walídnsu*) is their most important crop.

After the rains have begun and the manioc is several inches high, they begin to plant maize (*kaydítsu*) of which the Nambicuara have several varieties. Maize is planted between the manioc hills by making a hole in the ground with a digging stick into which 2 seeds are dropped. As the holes are about 6 inches deep, the seeds are not covered. Whether this is to protect the seeds from birds is not clear.

When the maize has grown tall enough to provide shade they plant beans (*kwɋ'su*), sweetpotatoes (*wísu*), and tobacco (*ítsu*). The bean which the Nambicuara grow looks like a large red kidney bean and has a tough skin. Beans are planted one seed to a shallow hole and covered. Sweetpotatoes are planted by placing cuttings in shallow trenches near logs and stumps. When 249 planting tobacco a man places a handful of seeds on a leaf, climbs onto a high stump, and blows the fine seeds so that they scatter over the field. They weed the field only once when the maize is 248 about a foot or two in height. Cotton is planted in the field but urucú bushes and gourds are planted near the houses. After the planting is finished and the field is growing well the people leave on their continuous rounds of hunting, fishing, and collecting.

[P. 91 (A)]

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *kinokányere* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet *menyú* of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry ball in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

● 241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*haikánakídutsu*). [262] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are [252] roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*waínrhu*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

[p. 92(N)]

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

778 The sacred flutes (*wáinrhu*) are associated with *oklihâitlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and
534 chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the
[784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 The *wáinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After planting, the men gather into the flute hut and play
775 the flutes and sing the *weiyánsu*. The ghosts of
533 the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *haikánakídutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wáinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

[p. 101 (B)]

APPENDIX 1

RESOURCES OF THE NAMBICUARA

AGRICULTURAL FOOD PLANTS

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Annatto	Pawpaw	*Arabis hypogaea*	Wilitsu.
Arrowroot	Arrowroot	*Maranta arundinacea*	Tahlum.
Banana	Pineapple	*Ipomoea batatas*	Wat.
Cará		*Dioscorea* sp.	Ha'lim.
Fava	Bean	*Phaseolus lunatus*	Kwi'in.
Manihot bravo	Manioc	*Manihot esculenta*	Wahlum.
Milho	Maize	*Zea mays*	Kayéim.

AGRICULTURAL NONFOOD PLANTS

Algodão	Cotton	*Gossypium* sp.	Kéum.
Fumo	Tobacco	*Nicotiana tabacum*	S'im.
Cabaça	Gourd	*Lagenaria clavaria*	Kal'l'amum.
Urucú		*Bixa orellana*	D'ualum.

WILD FOOD PLANTS (FRUITS)

Araçá	Thevetia	*Anona crassa*?	Kalilu.
Bacuparí		*Ochipaga multiflora*	Walwalilim.
Bacuri		*Couroupita bacuri, Rhizobium*	Wilum.
Bacuriova		*Anacardia orientalia*	Kalilulim.
Buriti (palm)		*Mauritia flexuosa; M. vinifera*	Hiwu.
Cajá-do-campo	Savanna cashew	*Anacardium nanum*	S'iwu.
Cajá-do-mato	Forest cashew	*Anacardium gigantum*	Dwalilim.
Cambará		*Diptera alcrata*	Nalglim.
Feijo-de-bolo		*Solanum lycocarpum*	K'dalilim.
Jabuticabeira	Jabuticaba tree	*Eugenia cauliflora*	Alilulim.
Mangabeira	Mangaba tree	*Hancornia speciosa*	Hahlalglim.
Marmeleiro-do-campo	Quince tree	*Magnonna braziliensis*	Tlalalu.
Marmeleiro-do-espinho	...do.	...do.	Kal'l'ilim.
Marmeleiro	...do.	...do.	Wat'lilim.
Marmeleiro	...do.	...do.	Kak'lilim.
Pupunheira	Pupú tree	*Guilielma braziliensis*	A'lwu.
Frutas brancas de arbusto			Alilwyum.

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE

Buriti		*Mauritia flexuosa; M. vinifera*	Yilum.
Caraipeira		*Gustavia* sp.	Kalilum.
Cipó		*Philodendron linde*	Kadal.
Flecha-de-mato (Pachpaul)		*Ampomis arguta*	Kak'in.
Imbé		*Imperata brasiliensis, sambucin*	Kalalilum.
Seringueira	Rubber tree	*Hevea brasiliensis*	Wahlilum.

[p. 124]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abarcó.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéro, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí. 131 114

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Quibanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxiniti and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabuçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition. 101 [184]

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbanába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atziri and the Amúésa of the Gran Pajonal. 142 301 [304] 241 276 513

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature. 252 381 [411]

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices. 412 [301 554] 411 [147] 534

[Fig. 18]

241 They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

242 As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[250] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata,
253 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after
[255] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca),
[225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

244 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, clucking their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[225] An upland rat (Scapteromys guambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Parecsi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantacú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier
[115] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was
[118]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaza. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

[945] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunse woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living coxily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

Doves (Chamepelia talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atratus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[946] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

241 It was the practice of agriculture--and we do not know where they borrowed it, if it did not arise among them spontaneously--which enabled them to continue living in the stone age until today.

By cultivating the rich lands of the Juruena Valley and the Serra do Norte and entrusting their sustenance to the soil of the virgin Amazon forests, the Nambicuara were able to continue living until now in that relatively restricted environment. This paradoxical effect of agriculture may not yet have been found elsewhere in so distinctive a form; and because they were forced to subsist by cultivating the earth, they perfected this industry while remaining in a very elementary stage of civilization. Wholly isolated, without any knowledge of white men or their domestic animals [247] such as the dog, the Indians of the Serra do Norte became excellent farmers.

Their plots are always evenly circular. Large open spaces are frequently found in the forest; they are artificial fields, old Nambicuara plots.

The Indians use fire to clear these plots after cutting down the trees, which until now they felled with stone axes. In order to fell a large tree, several axemen gather around it; and the wood, gnawed by the stone, yields sooner than expected. The strength of the axe handle is truly remarkable.

[Fig. 22]

A pointed stick is used to make holes for [planting] seeds.

Maize and manioc are the principal products of Nambicuara agriculture. Both belong to the same species cultivated among us. Maize is of the variety known as white maize or sabaró; the manioc [246] has unusual nutritive value. In fact, the manioc cultivated by the Tagnani is the best I have seen, low in fiber content and very rich in starch.

[248] Surely the root does not owe its excellent qualities to the imperfect cultivation of the Indians, but to the very fertile land where it is planted.

The great ethnographic question raised by aboriginal agriculture and brought into sharp focus by Martius still remains unanswered.

Neither maize nor manioc have been found growing wild in the jungle. Either these plants came from elsewhere with the Indians,

● 24 or else they were derived from other species which grow wild in very different forms, disguised in various ways.

In any case, we found an isolated tribe in the stone age, subsisting on agriculture and cultivating maize (1) and manioc identical to ours.

1. The Nambicuara corn cobs which are to be found at the National Museum are of three kinds, each solid in color, fully kernelled, large, and of first quality. They deserve the attention of our geneticists, especially in view of the fact that maize is a heterogamous plant subject to the hazards of cross-fertilization. . . . . Nambicuara maize must be of pre-Columbian Peruvian origin . . . .

The secret of [its] selectivity must be the cultivation of each variety in an "aboriginal field" entirely isolated from the others by stretches of jungle; the term "aboriginal field" was given by Gen. Rondon to those clearings made in the jungle by the Indians for purposes of cultivation.

It would be advisable to study aboriginal agriculture thoroughly, as Hoehne already has pointed out, for the standard products obtained [by the Indians] prove that they possess keen genetic intuition. (A. J. deS.)

At the Fourth Maize Fair (Rio, 1918) many corn cobs cultivated in Rondonia were exhibited. It was concluded that Nambicuara maize should be considered autochtonous, for it displays hues entirely unknown to cultivators of the civilized world. Although the external coloring varies, the albumen of Rondonia maize is invariably very soft and white.

241 [Plates p. 254]

[249] Yet a wild form of manioc has been found (Manihot utilissimo, Pohl); if not the very species we use, at least one of the same genus. But maize?

Where on the surface of the earth does maize exist in a wild state except for the tunicated Zea mais which is sometimes considered to be the ancestor of the modern species?

What unveiling of mysteries, if this question were to be answered!

Some Tagnani who were watching the herdsman João Lucas weed a small plot in Três Buritis began to laugh at him, indicating that it would be better to root up the weeds; the hoe severed the stems but left in the roots, and the plants would grow up again. When the Nambicuara weed, they pull out everything that is not useful. Their plots are always clean.

Their tobacco is the Nicotiana that grows wild in their mountains; it may not properly be said that urucu and cotton are cultivated: they are planted and utilized. Some large beans of various kinds de-
278 241 serve mention. [250] They are to be found in the Indians' baskets along with many other plants; but we never saw an Indian eating them or making any use of them. Pending further research, I am of the opinion that they are saved for medicinal undertakings carried out in secret by old men and women. The same may be said of the castor oil plant (Ricinus communis), which is definitely adventitious.

[Fig. 39]

415 The spools of cotton fiber that await spinning and the seeds saved for future use are kept out of the weather, dust and rain in bags made of straw or pacova leaves.

[Fig. 40]

759 It seemed to us that medicine was not exercised by any special segment of society. They all take part in the treatment of certain diseases; in serious cases, an experienced elder takes over.

752 Wounds are dressed with straw fibers [coated] with certain resins (jatobá). Burns are treated with cold water. Fractures and dislocations are reduced haphazardly.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

275 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[[71]]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[203 256] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [855] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children). The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round [283] potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 824 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

241 but the method of felling is the same. All clearing has to be completed by the end of June to permit the felled trees to dry.

In late August, when the cicada begins to sing and the first thunder is heard, the Nambicuara return to undertake their planting activities. At a given signal, men with lighted bunches of dry grass set fire to dry trees and bushes all around the edges of the field. The rest of the people are concentrated at the river's edge at the bottom of the slope, and as animals, such as rats, lizards, and snakes, flee toward the water they kill them. [222] After the fires have died down the people go through the field collecting grubs, insects, and whatever else that is edible.

Among the stumps and unburnt logs the Nambicuara hoe up hills about 3 feet in diameter into which they stick 6 or 7 pieces of last season's manioc stems, each about 10 inches long. These hills are made about 5 or 6 feet apart. Formerly they used a digging stick (*kadikddsu*) but today the metal hoe (*isakúlusu*) is used. Bitter manioc (*walídnsu*) is their most important crop.

After the rains have begun and the manioc is several inches high, they begin to plant maize (*kaydtsu*) of which the Nambicuara have several varieties. Maize is planted between the manioc hills by making a hole in the ground with a digging stick into which 2 seeds are dropped. As the holes are about 6 inches deep, the seeds are not covered. Whether this is to protect the seeds from birds is not clear.

When the maize has grown tall enough to provide shade they plant beans (*kwǫ'su*), sweet-potatoes (*wisų*), and tobacco (*ítsu*). The bean which the Nambicuara grow looks like a large red kidney bean and has a tough skin. Beans are planted one seed to a shallow hole and covered. Sweetpotatoes are planted by placing cuttings in shallow trenches near logs and stumps. When 249 planting tobacco a man places a handful of seeds on a leaf, climbs onto a high stump, and blows the fine seeds so that they scatter over the field. They weed the field only once when the maize is ● 248 about a foot or two in height. Cotton is planted in the field but urucú bushes and gourds are planted near the houses. After the planting is finished and the field is growing well the people leave on their continuous rounds of hunting, fishing, and collecting.

[p. 91(A)]

513 At the post of Três Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[248 824] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[171] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

201 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikátnerá!"

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

275 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[203 236] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [855] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children). [283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 924 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

241 but the method of felling is the same. All clearing has to be completed by the end of June to permit the felled trees to dry.

In late August, when the cicada begins to sing and the first thunder is heard, the Nambicuara return to undertake their planting activities. At a given signal, men with lighted bunches of dry grass set fire to dry trees and bushes all around the edges of the field. The rest of the people are concentrated at the river's edge at the bottom of the slope, and as animals, such as rats, lizards, and snakes, flee toward the water they kill them. [222] After the fires have died down the people go through the field collecting grubs, insects, and whatever else that is edible.

Among the stumps and unburnt logs the Nambicuara hoe up hills about 3 feet in diameter into which they stick 6 or 7 pieces of last season's manioc stems, each about 10 inches long. These hills are made about 5 or 6 feet apart. Formerly they used a digging stick (*kadikádsu*) but today the metal hoe (*isakúlusu*) is used. Bitter manioc (*walídnsu*) is their most important crop.

After the rains have begun and the manioc is several inches high, they begin to plant maize (*kayátsu*) of which the Nambicuara have several varieties. Maize is planted between the manioc hills by making a hole in the ground with a digging stick into which 2 seeds are dropped. As the holes are about 6 inches deep, the seeds are not covered. Whether this is to protect the seeds from birds is not clear.

When the maize has grown tall enough to provide shade they plant beans (*kwá'su*), sweetpotatoes (*wísu*), and tobacco (*ātsu*). The bean which the Nambicuara grow looks like a large red kidney bean and has a tough skin. Beans are planted one seed to a shallow hole and covered. Sweetpotatoes are planted by placing cuttings in shallow trenches near logs and stumps. When
249 planting tobacco a man places a handful of seeds on a leaf, climbs onto a high stump, and blows the fine seeds so that they scatter over the field. They weed the field only once when the maize is
248 about a foot or two in height. Cotton is planted in the field but urucú bushes and gourds are planted near the houses. After the planting is finished and the field is growing well the people leave on their continuous rounds of hunting, fishing, and collecting.

[p. 91 (A)]

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take
[264] out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot.
[442] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more
[251] than one with a small family even though the man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which
[231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry
[264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

252 The Nambicuara method of processing manioc in comparison with that of the Camayurá is simple and crude. The following describes the method used today: Marciano's wife dug up a burden basket full of manioc from a field belonging to the Protestant Mission. She sat under a tree [177] and peeled the tubers with an old butcher knife (formerly a piece of bamboo was used). She washed the peeled tubers and placed them in a calabash. She then took a grater made from a piece of kerosene box about 2 feet long and 6 inches wide to which an 18-inch strip of perforated tin was nailed. She placed one end of the grater in a larger copper basin (belonging to the mission) while the other end rested on the edge, and while steadying the grater with one hand she grated the tuber with the other. The tubers did not stand in water nor were they dipped in water during the process of grating.

After the tubers were grated she dipped out a calabash full of mash and began pressing it with her hands and pouring the juice into another calabash. After she had drained off as much juice as possible she picked up a handful of mash (*wiénere*) and rolled it and squeezed it until no more juice could be expelled. This ball she placed in another calabash and continued making balls until the calabash was full. She then patted down the balls to form a round loaf about 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick, which she set out on the bare ground to dry in the sun. [251] After several days in the sun these loaves get hard and dry and form the storable product (*kinokányere*) from which the edible cake *hi'ínire* (also called *walídnsu*) is baked. The juice (*eyáuse*) which was left in the calabash she poured into a slight depression in the ground, and after the liquid had drained off she collected the thin film of starch flour (*akaínisu*) along with some sand, rolled it into a ball, and placed it in hot ashes to bake. [415] The lack of pottery vessels prevents the Nambicuara from saving and boiling the juice. They know, however, that the juice is valuable, and when they have cooking vessels they boil it to form a thick porridge.

When the Nambicuara wish to prepare a greater quantity of pulp they use a piece of bast for a press. This is a piece of embira bark about 3 feet long and 8 inches wide called *sáru*. A woman rolls a ball of pulp in the strip of bark and twists the bark until the pulp is dry. The balls are then

853 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and
252 the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination.
[862] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has
[304] his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present
[553] at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her
[202] female relatives. The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the
● [251] camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

[p. 103(B)]

[Fig. 18]

241 They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

242 As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[252] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata,
242 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after
[245] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca),
[225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

244 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, clucking their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[325] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paresi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantaçú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier
[159] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was
[158]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the present for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaza. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
214 [Lupinus cascavellia] used in fishing.
278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).
262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.
--Guaiatú: white maize.
--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated,
252 is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater
[145]

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.
[Fig. 17]
262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.
--Katununú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[628] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was
[251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.
415 Mortars (nutêzê) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

• • • •

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assused by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnosu, al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[261] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (eʔeru, al, eʔtʔende, bl, ʔola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (koraiʔsu, al, kutʔnde, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (katāterisu, al, nagāde, bl, taliʔme, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookesu, al, lōkʔninde, bl), or uaguassu (aradikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, al, tagese,
[252] bl, taāki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

595
601 sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
262] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term oridnaikitiu, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

1. She wears no decoration or ornament;

[107] 2. She does not touch food, neither to harvest it, to gather it, to prepare it nor to cook it;

3. She speaks to no one and no one says a word to her;

4. She avoids groups and when curiosity draws her toward our circle, she attends the distribution and exchange of gifts from a distance and in silence. If someone gives her or her husband a present (for example some beads), it is immediately given to the baby;

5. Every day she receives her food from her mother (a18), who gives it to her without speaking, and occupies herself with certain cares of the baby such as delousing it;

6. She does not bathe in the river, but washes herself with the water which she herself goes to draw in a gourd;

7. She goes away with her husband, sometimes for whole days, and, upon departure, follows him at a distance without saying a word; on these occasions, she takes the baby along.

A21 behaves similarly:

1. He does not go with the masculine group when they go hunting or gardening;

2. He rarely goes away, and then with his wife. The rest of the time he spends stretched out without taking part in any creative activity; they say he is ill (inkaltu);

3. In the degree to which he and his wife perform the most [143] indispensable activities, there is no division of labor between them. Either one buries the baby's excrement, or places in the coals the manioc received by a22 and a18 which constitutes their sole nourishment. Both are extremely thin, and appear very weak; their hair has not been cut or washed for a long time.

Toward June 20, 1938, this behavior was modified. For three consecutive days A21 and a22 disappeared for the whole day, doubtless to hunt, for, after several fruitless trips, they return (June 23 at 15 o'clock) with the following small game:

a. An irara (Mustela sp.);

b. Three bats;

c. Two lizards and their eggs.

The irara and the bats have already been put over the flame to burn off the hair. a22 begins immediately--and for the first time--to clean and crush a small quantity of manioc and she quickly puts a cake under the coals. At the same time she puts the broken lizard eggs there, and [108] takes them out barely cooked; she divides

846 252 them between herself and the baby. For the first time, she exchanges some words with her neighbors while laughing.

846 252 224 In the meantime, A21 has cleaned the irara. He gives the stomach, the large intestine, the small intestine to a2 (wife's sister); she, aided by her daughter a5, cleans the intestines, puts them on to cook and begins to eat them with a5 and a3.

A21 cuts the tail of the irara, cooks it rapidly, and eats it with his wife and baby.

The three bats have been given to a2 (wife's sister) and a1 (sister), who divides her lot with her son A16 and her son-in-law A15. a22 cooks the lizards and the organs (liver, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys of the irara). She gives the whole thing to her husband, who gives a piece of liver to the baby and divides the rest with his wife.

All of these operations are carried out very rapidly in a sort of hurry, and are finished at the end of a half-hour. At 30 minutes past 15 o'clock, a22 lights a different fire from the one that each household uses, and places the irara there. She then goes to take her first bath in the river, and brings back some water in a gourd to wash the baby. Toward 16:15 the cooked irara is taken from the fire by A21. At this moment everyone has returned to camp and has taken his habitual place. A21 and a22, seated near the new fire, occupy a central position. A21 cuts the irara into five pieces and divides it among the members of the family, as was said previously. (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 74 f.

From that time on, A21 and a22 take up normal activity and are no longer distinguished from their companions.

846 Thus the period of abstinence is characterized by relative isolation of the couple in question, which is at the same time under a certain number of taboos (social contacts, baths, preparation of food, dress, eating of certain foods). It ends at the moment when the child takes its first meal not consisting solely of milk (in this [224 case the lizard eggs and the irara liver. This meal is part of a hunting 842] feast offered to the group by the parents who up to now were under the taboo. However, the atmosphere in which these operations are carried out merits attention. No solemnity surrounds them, and the parties concerned perform them with the same routine and nonchalance which characterizes daily activities. It is not a question then of a ceremony with the psychological implications which this term carries, but of a collection of acts which must be done, and are done, with a minimum of attention accorded to their exceptional character.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catinal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood planks. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Siriono*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Orenoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following [482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a 858] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect 222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae. 226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them [252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length. 262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten 223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger 222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near [314] enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it 313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally [177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take [264] out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot. [442] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more than one with a small family even though the [251] man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which [231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry [264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

226 Xingú, the Nambicuara timbó fishing appears very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in
[252] leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked. Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nambicuara also claim that they fish at night with
[177] torches along the river banks. This method may have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

241 The principal food crops grown by the Nambicuara are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrowroot, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton, tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and native names of these plants are listed in Appendix 1.[1] In more recent times they are known to produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The dependence upon food crops in relation to game, fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gage. The statements of missionaries, however, appear to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide a year-round food supply and may actually play a minor role as compared with dependence upon noncultivated resources.

Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria" forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most of their hunting and collecting. The Wakítisu band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we have said, lives in a single house while thus occupied. In the past the field (*haítsu*) was cleared with a stone ax (*etúnsu*) and a wooden
[177] club (*hukwénisu*). Today steel axes and machetes are used, but the method of planting is still the same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the statement that in the past when a new field had to be cleared the people had to work during most of the wet season in order to fell the trees, a task which they now perform in May and June.

Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten down with the wooden club. The Nambicuara
241 had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near
313 the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small trees part way through, then selected a number of large trees as kingpins. When these large trees were felled they knocked down the smaller trees below them. This was continued until they had a circular clearing of the required size on the slope.
241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

[1] [Cat. 116, pp. 124-126.—Ass.] [p. 90 (B)]

252 The Nambicuara method of processing manioc in comparison with that of the Camayurá is simple and crude. The following describes the method used today: Marciano's wife dug up a burden basket full of manioc from a field belonging to the Protestant Mission. She sat under a tree [177] and peeled the tubers with an old butcher knife (formerly a piece of bamboo was used). She washed the peeled tubers and placed them in a calabash. She then took a grater made from a piece of kerosene box about 2 feet long and 6 inches wide to which an 18-inch strip of perforated tin was nailed. She placed one end of the grater in a larger copper basin (belonging to the mission) while the other end rested on the edge, and while steadying the grater with one hand she grated the tuber with the other. The tubers did not stand in water nor were they dipped in water during the process of grating.

After the tubers were grated she dipped out a calabash full of mash and began pressing it with her hands and pouring the juice into another calabash. After she had drained off as much juice as possible she picked up a handful of mash (*wiénere*) and rolled it and squeezed it until no more juice could be expelled. This ball she placed in another calabash and continued making balls until the calabash was full. She then patted down the balls to form a round loaf about 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick, which she set out on the bare [251] ground to dry in the sun. After several days in the sun these loaves get hard and dry and form the storable product (*kinokányere*) from which the edible cake *hi'ínire* (also called *walídnou*) is baked. The juice (*eyáuse*) which was left in the calabash she poured into a slight depression in the ground, and after the liquid had drained off she collected the thin film of starch flour (*akaínisu*) along with some sand, rolled it into a ball, and placed it in [415] hot ashes to bake. The lack of pottery vessels prevents the Nambicuara from saving and boiling the juice. They know, however, that the juice is valuable, and when they have cooking vessels they boil it to form a thick porridge.

When the Nambicuara wish to prepare a greater quantity of pulp they use a piece of bast for a press. This is a piece of embira bark about 3 feet long and 8 inches wide called *sáru*. A woman rolls a ball of pulp in the strip of bark and twists the bark until the pulp is dry. The balls are then

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *kinokányere* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet *mengú* of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry ball in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*haikánakídutsu*). [262] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These [252] garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*waínrhu*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

[p. 92(N)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick kicks into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

411 (1) The *hángosu*, an arrow which is used for
[223 224] shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lashing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *salátiru*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dánkiru*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptiru*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrowhead was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buritī palms and from cotton. The tucum palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *katátiru*, provides not
[306] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers,
[252] and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buritī twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

[p. 94 (A)]

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed
[304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks
[551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Waklitisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitánzhu are
[845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate
[848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent development.
[845] Crippled or malformed babies are not
[847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years
853 old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her
854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of firewood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kacro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kacro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave
853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out
252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

[p. 103 (A)]

853 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and
252 the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kacro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination. [862] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has
[304] his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present [553] at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her female relatives. The chief then calls all members [202] of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the [251] camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

[p. 103 (8)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí. 131 114

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxiniti and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tabura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Konárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition. 101 [184]

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atsíri and the Amúésa of the Gran Pajonal. 142 301 [304] 241 276 513

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature. 252 381 [411]

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 6 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices. 412 [301 554] 411 [147] 534

7: Roquette-Pinto--22D E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 88. Mortar of the
Serra do Norte Indians

The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids (giraus) to dry manioc scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented cocoanuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis.

The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

[Fig. 18]

241 They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

242 As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[252] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata, 242 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after [243] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca), [225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

264 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, clucking their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

[278] 262 They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in 252 grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of a fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[263 274] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked

1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush [242] (uidniarê) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niarê, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

7:Roquette-Pinto--283 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

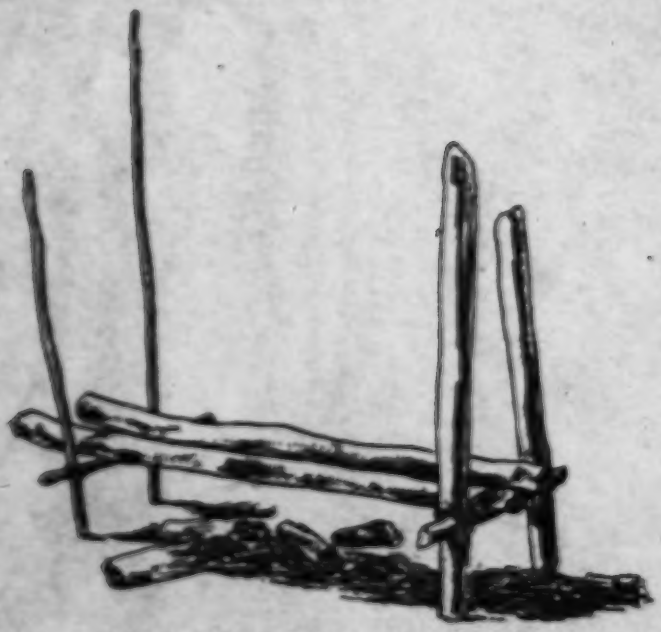


Fig. 25. Barbecue of the Tagnani and Tawite.

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[225] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paressi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantacú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier
[15] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was
[178]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaza. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
[Lapinus cascavella] used in fishing.

278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [278: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).

262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--Guaiatê: white maize.

--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated, is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater

252 [415]

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suyá, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--Katumuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[628] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was

[251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415 Mortars (mutêne) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the [223] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[252] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[201] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to 197 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be- 177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parananinga River, who use helmets of the same material.

178 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob- 171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

/216 cont./

224 278 911 [309] The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain animals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys. Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediately.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[362] [263] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanê do not even take this precaution.

279 911 726 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanê, are very lightly attached to their shafts.

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which
assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara
live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners
on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other.
The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While
the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with
bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the
women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children
across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55]
everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain,
fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the
end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots
which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnosu,
al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of
small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the fam-
ily fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for
the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the
pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another
by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[261] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often
we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size
snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only
hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use
to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extra-
ordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti
palm (ezeru, al, eitende, bl, gola, c), two fat poisonous spiders
(koraisu, al, kutende, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these
animals (kataterisu, al, nagade, bl, talime, c), a bat, some small
nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookesu, al, lokaninde, bl), or
uaguassu (aradikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, al, tagere,
[252] bl, taaki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a
calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone,
the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this re-
past is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to
satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

7: Roquette-Pinto--30 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful
[278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green
[757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit
[296] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçá!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what
855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared
855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[13]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes: the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocoau prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[225] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Parecsi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantaçú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house: it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

241 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier
[15] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was
[18]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaza. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandrú.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[177] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. (Fig. 30)

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

271 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
184 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of <u>embira</u> around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

512 [514] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nutshells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelter. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the sure of wood for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[253] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnoom, al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile lands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[24] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
• [262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (e?ztu, al, c?z?nde, bl, ?ola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (kuraltu, al, kt??nde, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (kat?terisu, al, nagãle, bl, tailtue, c), a bar, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookoom, al, kh?ninde, bl), or anguanu (arodikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedaln, al tagere,
[253] bl, tadld, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

595
601 sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
263] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridnaikititu, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
152 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nɛ̃iuɥeɲɛ́ghee̅ nɛ̃ɥuɥeeguedne (b1)

Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[2]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[229] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehēna ɥɛ̃tte ɥɛ̃kɛrage, "the woman caresses the baby," or ɥɛ̃ɲuɥɛ̃tte ɥɛ̃kɛrage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[2] [a-From the children--Analyst]

622 and oxen for carrying could pass. The provisions of manioc proved to be insufficient and one morning the little band found itself without anything to eat. Our own attempts to kill some animal were in vain, and the worst [88] bad humor began to reign, the chief of the group being obviously held responsible for an affair which we, he and I, had contrived. In place of undertaking a hunting or collecting expedition, each one decided to go to sleep in the shade of shelters, and they left the chief alone to find the solution to the problem. He disappeared, accompanied by one of his wives (his first wife a2, [522 416] contrary to usual procedure; but a3 and a4 shared the general irritation) and toward evening both were seen reappearing, their heavy baskets filled with grasshoppers which they had spent the entire day [522] catching. Although grasshopper pie is not a particularly esteemed dish, everyone ate with good appetite and found his good humor again. They took up the journey again the next morning.

But other things than these exceptional relief measures are expected of the chief. He must sing and dance willingly and well, and be capable of animating the collective life. He must organize the work in the most reasonable way in order to eliminate useless fatigue and effort. Thus on the eve of a departure, B1 recites for us his order of march:

30. mādokige mādohaidhudne hajtehādige nānjehnile
pietnonānahara jānehara kanahani'ndeere hinkanaha
iinaamnje akeena iināmnje ihikero ihikero. (b1)
When it is hot, one is tired, one is hungry, the children walk badly; when one marches at dawn, one marches well, at dawn, one should march, change routes, march; on the way! on the way!

He must also win over his companions by numerous gifts. According to B1, who gives in willingly to the servitude of power, generosity plays a fundamental role in determining the degree of popularity which the new chief will enjoy, and the companions indulge in all sorts of speculations:

31. uilikā ahēni ajnire tunun2entutnuilikā agnhahare
tunurjani (b-1)
The chief is leaving; the one who will come will give me a great deal. --"Chief! Be generous! Give to me!"

The presents thus anticipated consist of food or objects which the chief will have made himself with the assistance of his polygamous wives, or that he will have procured by good exchanges with neighboring bands, or which might come from war booty. Often, it seems,

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dũrige petnatũrina ẽdnadure lukuĩndige ndakuĩndige monãnkiadukuĩndige denõ dũrige monãure lĩttige amonotlĩttige toyodũrige uitẽndige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
[224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
281 mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714 bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loukuĩndige inkara uĩrige lotatãirige ikuitãdige uĩrige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atãsu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atãsu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted
171 with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

776
171

and Nimuendaju, "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. Also, the atāsu in question in the preceding paragraph, curiously evoke the yurupari, or ananga, ancient Tupi genies of the bush against which they defend themselves with a flaming torch which thus plays the same role as the magic javelin (cf. Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 61). Finally, the atāsu itself often appears in the form of the jaguar; and in the eastern groups at least, it plays the role of the Messenger of Death which the central, southern, and northern groups give over to the jaguar. There is thus in the vocabulary, a close connection between the stars, the jaguar and the atāsu, already noted by Claude d'Abbeville (cited by Métraux, l. c., p. 49) among the Tupinamba: these identified the jaguar with the stars. Like the "celestial" jaguar (Montoya), the "man-eating" (Nimuendaju), the jaguar of the Nambikwara presents a remarkable ambivalence: it is sacred, and at the same time, they kill it. Finally, comparative linguistics confirms the connection. The term which means jaguar in dialect a1, inaāru is associated with the name of the jaguar among the central and southern Tupi: yaouare (Emerillon, Coudreau); saoruhu (Guajajara, Nimuendaju); jaoarohu (Tapirapé, Kissenberth).

[101] COMMUNICATION WITH A SUPERNATURAL WORLD: SHAMANISM.

757

It is considered possible to receive visions of far-distant things and revelations of future happenings. These supernatural communications are usually produced upon the occasion of tempests and storms. They are sudden and unforeseen. Every adult male is apt to receive them, for in this case too, the women (except, it seems, the oldest) are excluded from the spiritual life:

42. iaṣidādni dénō tamūmatatjani nahoe ejāni ekuājeni kanahādau ṇatli aikuaaṇatli'kentete (b1)
Invisible to women the men see it [the thunder]: "Far away I see, close by I see, tomorrow it will arrive, very near it will arrive."
(It is a question here of a warning vision of messengers come from another tribe).

American Indians. As example of the first aspect we shall mention: the 157
public and "scientific" preparation of the curare; the development of certain therapeutics such as the treatment of ophthalmia by instillation; the flexibility of the sexual division of labor; sexual life in general; the atmosphere of the rites of abstinence; the rational attitude as regards alimentary taboos. Several remarks on this point will make clear the indigenous psychology. The white worms (anadhu, a1) which are frequently found 157
in the nuts of the bacaiuva palm have been indicated as being inedible. Sub- 262
sequently we verified that they were eaten in secret by the children. Thus a8 finds them while cracking nuts and gives them to her little sister a9; and furtively she too eats a worm. Her action is noticed by a3 and a4 who cover her with sarcasm. However one day when food is scarce, A1 eats a plate of worms which his young wife a4 has gathered for him, and sadly remarks that, due to lack of meat, he is reduced to this poor fare. The same observation is made about the hawk. Above we showed what constitutes the metaphysical basis of the alimentary taboo concerning the jaguar. However, the current interpretation is entirely different:

66. ujatededn[illegible] qili[illegible]e (bl).

I don't eat any of it, it smells bad!

In the face of new situations, the Indians generally react without 157
mysticism. Thus, A1 before the problem of writing: (1) on the other hand, 177

1. P. 40 f. and p. 59.

the Nambikwara show total indifference toward photography, even when they have understood its purpose. We have never found [126] Indians who tolerated the participation of the camera in the slightest details of their intimate life with such complete indifference.

However, the passage to irrational positions is made with the same 157
brusqueness which characterizes the two attitudes, almost simultaneous, of an infant hilarity before the still unusual sight of an inflated balloon which burns, and of an appeal to evil magic when a second balloon succeeded in rising. (1) Never does the tender indulgence with which the men surround

157
562

1. P. 97.

their companions (2) allow one to suspect the actual metaphysical curse

2. P. 56 f.

with which the women are burdened in the Nambikwara culture, excluded under pain of death from collective ceremonies, deaf and blind to the voice

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 and to meet groups too shy to venture forth on the outer fringe. The native band and my own group set out together on a journey supposed to be short; but, because of the animals I had taken, the chief had decided that the usual route through a dense forest could not be used. He led us through the open country, lost his way several times, and we did not reach our destination on the scheduled day. Supplies were exhausted and no game was in sight. The not unfamiliar prospect of a foodless day fell gloomily upon the natives. But, this time, it was the chief's responsibility. The whole project was his own, as well as the attempt to find an easier route. So, instead of trying to discover food, the hungry natives simply lay down in the shadow of the brush and waited for their leader to take them out of this most unpleasant situation. He did not wait or discuss; but, taking the incident as a matter of course, he simply left the camp accompanied by one of his wives. At the camp, the day was spent sleeping, gossiping and complaining. There was no lunch or dinner. But, late at dusk, the chief and his wife reappeared, both heavily laden with baskets filled to the [262] brim. They had hunted grasshoppers the entire day, and, although the expression "to eat grasshoppers" has approximately the same meaning in Nambikuara as the French *manger de la vache enragée*,[1] this food was enthusiastically received, shared and consumed, amidst restored good humor. The following morning, everybody armed himself or herself with a leafless twig and went grasshopper-hunting.

622 595 I have several times referred to the chief's wives. Polygamy, which is practically the chief's privilege, brings him a moral and sentimental reward for his heavy duties together with the practical means of fulfilling them. In the Nambikuara band, apart from rare exceptions, only the chief and the sorcerer (when these functions are divided between two individuals) may have several wives. The chief's polygamy, however, presents special features. It does not constitute a plural marriage but rather a monogamous marriage to which relations of a different nature are added. I have already mentioned the fact that cross-cousin marriage is the usual pattern among the Nambikuara. Another type of marriage also exists, between a man and a woman belonging to the generation following his own, either a wife's "daughter" (true or classificatory) or a sister's niece. Both forms are not uncommon in South America and, together or separately, they have been re-

[1] Closest English equivalent: "to have a rough time of it, to go through the mill."

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes
262 reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.[2]

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Uti-
[131 133] arity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this
132 period the grass withers, the livestock of the white
221 men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, par-
[224] ticularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[805] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combará beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season
805 (*wakiaru*) is divided into periods depending upon
221 the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadôdoneu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ye'awadjitsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *âhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *cavôru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *dzugadîtsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
621 has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

[1] [i.e. a fish poison — A] [p. 87 (A)] [2] [See cat. 86, pp. 124-126. — Analyst]

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Parecsi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[142 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
458 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
[344] enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *kinakányere* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet *mengú* of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry ball in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*hoikánakídutsu*). [262] [252] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*waínrhu*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

[p. 92(N)]

221 subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A
[262 favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes
252] with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

824 As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the
[262] buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers
[283] from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and
[262] multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked.
[501] (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only
[766] men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

372 The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

412 The material equipment of the Eastern Nam-
415 bicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

137
624

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Shenbiaowen name
Batata		Ipomoea batatas	Chuanlongshu
Tabaco para gente de India	Tobacco for aborigines		Yanhuo
Tabaco para India matta	Tobacco for wood fire		Yanhuo
Tabaco para pangim	Tobacco for pangim		Yanhuo
Tomate		Lycopersicum lycopersicum	Fanqiezi

PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON

278

Tabaco		Nicotiana tabacum	Yanhuo

PLANTS USED OF VARIOUS DIFFERENT USES

137
624

Linho			Yanhuo
Batata			Yanhuo

MINERAL PLANTS

[265]

Pimenta			Lanjiaojiao

ANIMALS KEPT FOR FOOD*

136
262
825

Asno	Tuch	Equus hemionus	Lüzhou
Animale	Ovec	Ovis aries	Yang
Bugio		Macaca mulatta	Hou
Cabrito	Pussey	Capra hircus	Yangzi
Camaleão	Kinin	Varanus salvator	Kuilong
Cachorro	Cayrhem	Canis familiaris	Quan
Cavallo	Cuall	Equus caballus	Ma
Cobra	Kobra	Naja naja	Yanjing
Coelho		Lepus sinensis	Tuzi
Cabra		Capra hircus	Yangzi
Agoutinha		Felis pardalis delicatus	Lanmaozhuo
Lontra	Otter	Lutra perspicillata	Shuigoulong
Macaco grego	Monkey	Cebus apella	Hou
Onça parda	Brown panther	Felis concolor	Lanmaozhuo
Onça pintada	Jaguar	Felis onca	Lanmaozhuo
Ostra		Ostrea gigantea	Mudanmu
Porco		Cervulus porcinulus	Zhuzai
Porco do matto			Tiaozhu
Preguiça		Bradypus tridactylus	Aihou
Rato de algodão		Sciurotamys pyrrhinognathus	Huoshu
Rapé-pinsáo		Mus rattus	Tianshu
Tamanduá-bandeira		Myrmecophaga jubata	Dahou
Tamanduá-mirim		Cyclopes didactylus	Xiaohou
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	Tolypeutes tricinctus	Huanqiu
Tatú-canastra		Priodontes gigas	Huaiyou
Tatú-mansão			Baoqiu
Tatú-fan			Aiyou
Tatú-11-cinto			Aiqiu
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yaolu
Veado campeiro (b)	do.		Yaolu
Veado mateiro		Mazama rufa	Kuailu

* Other may be substituted as the case.

[p.125]

136
262
825

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY—PUBLICATION NO. 15

OTHER ANIMAL FOODS COLLECTED

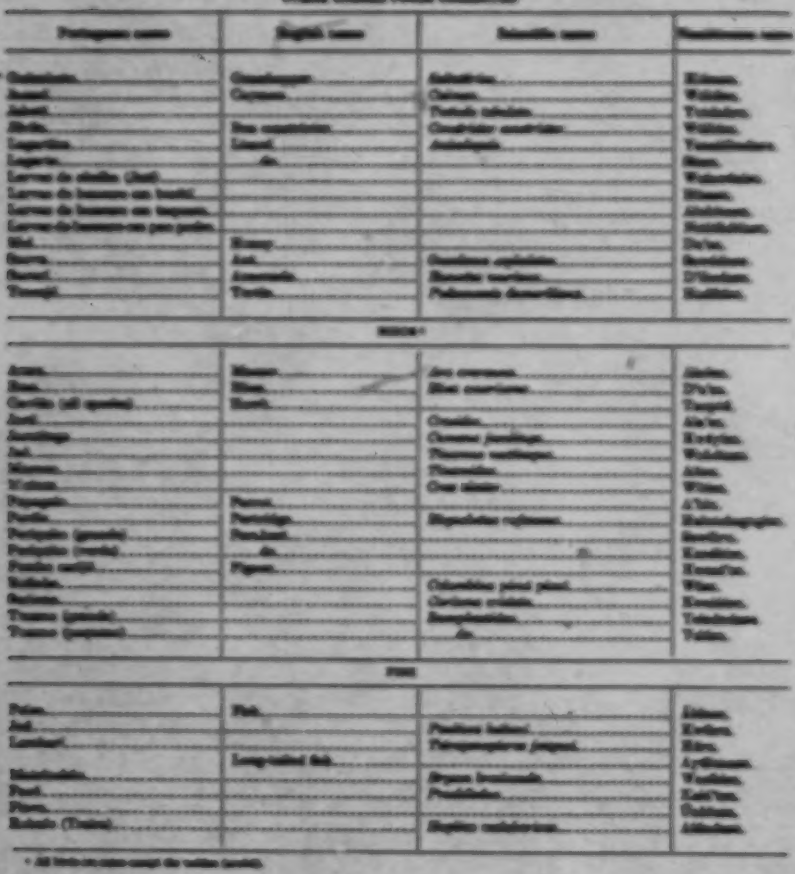
Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	do.		[illegible]
[illegible]			[illegible]
[illegible]			[illegible]
[illegible]			[illegible]
[illegible]			[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

BIRDS*

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	do.		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		do.	[illegible]

FISH

[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
	Long-tailed fish		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]			[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]



* All birds are eaten except the vulture (urubu).

[p. 126]

T: Roquette-Pinto--5 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

165 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 145 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

● 262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[192] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their [514] intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred 164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar pierrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[513]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots [513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Caruni (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come through the door; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented cocoanuts, pods of the jacobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [2124] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis.

The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

[Fig. 18]

[241] They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

[242] As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[250] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata,
242 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after
[243] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca), [225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

264 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, cluc[illegible] their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

[272] They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like 262 young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in 252 grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of the fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[262 271] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked

1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush [262] (uidniaré) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niaré, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] 226 They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige, perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

272 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[262 274 194] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (Polyporus sp.) which the others disregard.

[274] It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [271] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [272] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [269] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anuncçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 265 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 255 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[13]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brazil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[325] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paresi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantaçú.

244 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 [115] We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was

[328]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaze. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
624 [Lupinus cascavella] used in fishing.
278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).
262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--Guaiatú: white maize.

--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated,
252 is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater
[415]

> 1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--Katunuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[624] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was
[251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415 Mortars (nutêzê) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

?Roquette-Pinto--STA E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

A. Arezi mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

/216 cont./

224 The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain ani-
278 mals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys.
411 Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediate-
[223] ly.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[262] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be
[252] eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanè do not even take this precaution.

278 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their
411 principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess
726 only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanè, are very lightly attached to their shafts.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catinal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood planks. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumaru bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Siriono*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

[276] It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

[273] Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [277] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [251] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and [274] putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

● 263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungá!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

274 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[13]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and [264] along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot.

[442] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more than one with a small family even though the [251] man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which [231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry [264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

224 to me not to say anything. Later that day he
264 returned to the spot, built a fire, roasted the snake, and ate it by himself.

224 Caymans are hunted by first finding their hide-outs under logs or overhanging banks. When one is found under an overhanging bank the hunters peel a number of slender poles and begin to thrust them down through the bank to force the cayman out. Men are stationed above and below the spot, and as the cayman comes out he is shot. When he hides under logs the hunters feel for him with their feet. The hunters are so nimble that few of them get bitten. The large rodent, paca, is also hunted in this way, for it hides in holes under overhanging banks.

The large water snake, anaconda, is hunted in pools where it lies in wait for game. When the hunters have trailed an anaconda to a water hole they keep shooting arrows into the water until they strike it. The first strike then indicates where the snake is, and they continue shooting until the snake weakens and can be pulled out. Sometimes the snake grabs a hunter by the arm, but the others are there to assist if anyone gets into difficulties.

Small anteaters are dug out of holes but the larger kind which does not go into holes is hunted by two men armed with clubs. The men chase it, one on each side, and as the anteater turns on one he strikes it on the nose with his club and then jumps into a tree. The other hunter then strikes it. This continues until the anteater dies.

Monkeys are chased from tree to tree until they tire and come down to hide in a hole in the ground. Dogs can then overtake the monkey or he can be shot or dug out of the hole. Deer usually do not fall when shot, but the hunter chases the wounded deer until he can shoot more arrows into it, especially into the legs.

[278 184] Although the Western Nambicuara are said to use arrows poisoned with curare, the Wakitisu say they do not use curare but that they know how to prepare it and that they formerly used it in raids. As arrows do not penetrate bone, the hunter tries to shoot at an angle so that the arrow will enter the chest cavity, or he will aim between the neck and the shoulder bone.

223 The Nambicuara hunt and eat all birds except the urubú. Large rheas are not hunted because it is difficult to approach them on the open sa-

412 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes,
415 knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along
●[264] the way. Whenever they kill some animal or catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel
412 axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the
177 Wakiltisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes, two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano
[439] died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatiru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo
[306] knife (*alkúkwirikatu*); a hardwood drill (*Makatu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*dáligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'énatu*), used as sandpaper; and a
415 comb (*ka'dlatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *Ádkisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

7:Roquette-Pinto--1 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 124 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups: Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauitê]. Among the Uaintaçu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians 302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

● [264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A and B.

1 [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]

1 [Nambicuara sub-groups -- Analyst]

145 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their 145 digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[194] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the [514] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their 164 intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar piorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots [513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

[Fig. 18]

241 They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

262 As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[252] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata,
262 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after
[325] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca),
[325] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

264 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, clucking their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[825] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paressi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantaçú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier [115] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was [825]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaze. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige,
266 perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

372 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[262 274 184] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (Polyphorus sp.) which the others disregard.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

●[272] They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like 262 young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in 252 grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of the fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[262 824] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked

1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush [262] (uidniarê) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niarê, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

7:Roquette-Pinto--58A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 63. Fire sticks protected against the rain.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc
● 273 or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

[272] They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like
262 young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when
252 still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of the fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[262 824] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked

1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

[262] From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush (uidniarê) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niarê, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige,
266 perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

372 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[262 [illegible] 184] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (Polyphorus sp.) which the others disregard.

It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Ormocarpus dirichlae*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazinitî and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatia to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabeçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, braceleta, leg ornaments and head collars made from the fruit of the mbacúba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atziri and the Amúsas of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 26 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [296] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[113]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

7:Roquette-Pinto--30B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17.
(ca. 1912)

276
415

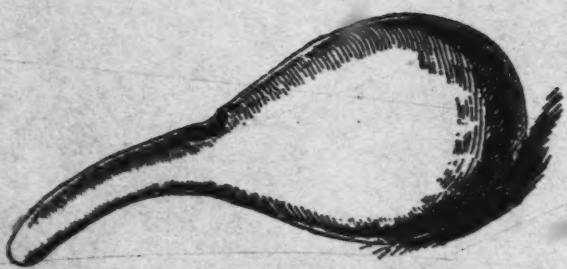


Fig. 28. Tobacco gourd.

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandzú.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[[77]] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. [Fig. 30]

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

291 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
184 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of embira around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

[238]

●276

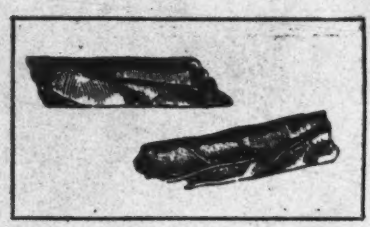


Fig. 30. Etú--Serra do Norte Indian cigarettes.

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 202] place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nãnde (bl). To analyze it, we should first say a few words con-
cerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparacão do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

278
[415]

p. 239 and Fig. 34), but seems not to know their usage nor the nature of their content.

usually tied in bundles of two or three or more, and thus all the Indians possess a provision of poison from which they rarely become separated. We were not able to find out anything concerning the preparation of these drugs, but it seems that different varieties exist, used either by men or women. Notably, the poisons whose small doses are contained in the feather quills would be [96] according to an informant, women's poisons, and also much more to be feared. The "tube poisons" (as compared with the arrow poison which is only employed for hunting, and never for war) play an important role in inter-individual relationships. They are the usual instrument for amorous or commercial vengeance. To define these poisons, there are special terms according to dialects. Thus the arrow poison has a special name: inãru (a1); dãdnesu (a2); tiĩre, nãnde (b1); ãĩrare (b2); iriŋã (c). But all of the arrow poisons and tube poisons are called by a more general term, belonging to dialect b1, but which is understood and used by all the groups: nãnde, which one might be wrongly tempted to translate as poison. It must be noted, however, from now on that in the case of tube poisons, the term nãnde means the tube and its contents simultaneously.

789 However besides these "true" poisons which we shall call scientific, there are other substances whose supposed action is of a purely magical character. Certain tubes contain, not a powder meant to be mixed with food, but fragments of resin of the tree called "barrigudo" or [824] "barrigudeira" in Portuguese (Bombax ventriculosa) and sahãrudĩtaãru (a1/2), irĩdare (b1), jakĩŋa (c) in Nambikwara. These fragments are used for certain "magic projections" which are carried out in the following way: a fragment of resin is placed between the lower edge of the palm of the left hand, held horizontally, and the tip of the index of the right hand held vertically (position called iuuehãre [a1]). By exercising strong pressure of the finger on the edge of the other hand, the index trips and throws the small projectile as far as several meters (asataãkedjuzu [a1], adãmdige [b1], ndãmdige [b2]). It is believed that the person reached by a fragment thrown in this way will become like the trunk of the barrigudo tree, narrow at the base and at the top and bloated in the center. He will fall ill, his stomach will begin to inflate, and finally he will die. This method of throwing is also often used for teasing, especially children, and to bombard an adversary with small fruit, with pieces of dirt,

787 These visions are attributed to the thunder which sends them to men under its semi-personal form amõ.

771 Thus the Nambikwara conceive of three types of supernatural
756 forces: first the power which is abstract, but placed in objects or substances, the nãnde; next the spirits acting in the form of supernatural or seminatural animals, atãsu or jaguar. Finally the thunder, with which under certain conditions, it is possible to entertain personal relations. Each individual can, in a certain measure, establish contact with these forces, however it is the shamans who have the specialized function of intermediary between the human group and the supernatural world. The information which we shall give on this point will be very summary, for it was impossible to obtain from our informants a coherent treatment of the question of shamanism. None of the groups encountered had a shaman with the exception of a single one (group c) where the powers of the chief and the sorcerer were found [102] concentrated in a single individual (C20). Our best informant, B1, chief of the allied group, was categorical concerning the fact that C20 combined the two qualities of ŋelikabala (chief, c) and of ndãre (thunder, c) although he was only ŋilikãde, temporal chief. The sorcerer would then be simultaneously the man who identifies himself with thunder, and who communicates with it in the personal form called amõ. Likewise, in the eastern groups (a1 restricted and enlarged, and a2), it was not possible to uncover the presence of a sorcerer or of an individual with such powers. This fact could be interpreted in three different ways: that the sorcerers were held apart; or that they dissimulated their nature; that the institution of the sorcerer is, in fact, absent in certain groups; or that, in these same groups, the functions of the sorcerer are exercised by the chief, and that, in inverse fashion to what is produced in group c, it is the spiritual functions which are in second place with regard to the temporal. It is this hypothesis which we consider the most reasonable. In group a1; A1 makes the arrow-poison and treats sick persons by suction, functions which in group c come within the province of C20 considered as shaman, rather than chief of the group.

756 Whatever the fact may be, and as we have just said, it is the sorcerer who makes the poisons, and it is he who proceeds to the magical treatment of the sick, clearly different from the positive
278 therapeutics likewise practiced. The Nambikwara are familiar with
757 quite a large number of medicinal plants and treat certain illnesses with their help. Thus they care for purulent ophthalmia by an

278 757 injection of pao preto (ikátu nl̥ʂerám, a1), put in the eye with the aid of a funnel of leaves from whose lower extremity the liquid falls drop by drop. But other maladies, considered the result of 755 756 poisoning (or of a charm; in both cases: nánde) are exclusively within the domain of the sorcerer. He makes the "arrows of thunder" (ndaórede, b1) in all points similar to those used for hunting except that their dimensions are much more restricted. The treatment consists of three operations: throwing the arrows around the sick person to carry away the spirits; sucking the body to force out the cause of the illness; this cause is thrown far away when it has been captured:

43. ãdige underãdige kadiri̯énka úngeraige tenúndige (b1)
throw, throw far away the little thorns sucked with the mouth, throw away [the evil]. (1)

1. The informant made it known that by "little thorns" he meant to designate the "arrows of thunder" which are only several centimeters in length. One notes the same assimilation in other regions of South America. [71] Thus, the informant of Karsten in the Chaco (R. Karsten, "Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco," Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cites as the cause of the malady and the way of combatting it, an "arrow" or "splinter").

[103] Afterwards the sick person is usually cured and can take up his work again:

44. enéndige deéndige enénə déi̯dnige (b1)
To be sick is finished [one can] continue.

756 However, the sorcerer can establish much closer relationships with the supernatural powers. During our stay in his group, C20 disappeared, or more exactly did not return to camp at the usual hour. The other men, having gone hunting, had not seen him the whole day. Night fell and toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, the most profound consternation reigned in the camp and particularly around the fire of the man who had disappeared, whose two wives and child held themselves embraced while mourning in advance the death of their husband and father. At this moment we decided to look around, accompanied by a few Indians. We had only to walk 200 meters to discover C20, crouched on the ground and shivering in the darkness. He was completely naked, that is, divested of his

He was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[301] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (amõ), [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananáz River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarundé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
[578] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

756 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of
●278 naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

* * * * * * *

622 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman,
756 plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations.
796 The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp. 177 648 797 [726]

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighboring group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (ajdotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later. 278 578

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability. 157 648

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North 157

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types ot arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

224 to me not to say anything. Later that day he
264 returned to the spot, built a fire, roasted the snake, and ate it by himself.

224 Caymans are hunted by first finding their hide-outs under logs or overhanging banks. When one is found under an overhanging bank the hunters peel a number of slender poles and begin to thrust them down through the bank to force the cayman out. Men are stationed above and below the spot, and as the cayman comes out he is shot. When he hides under logs the hunters feel for him with their feet. The hunters are so nimble that few of them get bitten. The large rodent, paca, is also hunted in this way, for it hides in holes under overhanging banks.

The large water snake, anaconda, is hunted in pools where it lies in wait for game. When the hunters have trailed an anaconda to a water hole they keep shooting arrows into the water until they strike it. The first strike then indicates where the snake is, and they continue shooting until the snake weakens and can be pulled out. Sometimes the snake grabs a hunter by the arm, but the others are there to assist if anyone gets into difficulties.

Small anteaters are dug out of holes but the larger kind which does not go into holes is hunted by two men armed with clubs. The men chase it, one on each side, and as the anteater turns on one he strikes it on the nose with his club and then jumps into a tree. The other hunter then strikes it. This continues until the anteater dies.

Monkeys are chased from tree to tree until they tire and come down to hide in a hole in the ground. Dogs can then overtake the monkey or he can be shot or dug out of the hole. Deer usually do not fall when shot, but the hunter chases the wounded deer until he can shoot more arrows into it, especially into the legs.

[278
184] Although the Western Nambicuara are said to use arrows poisoned with curare, the Wakítisu say they do not use curare but that they know how to prepare it and that they formerly used it in raids. As arrows do not penetrate bone, the hunter tries to shoot at an angle so that the arrow will enter the chest cavity, or he will aim between the neck and the shoulder bone.

223 The Nambicuara hunt and eat all birds except the urubú. Large rheas are not hunted because it is difficult to approach them on the open sa-

baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Wakĺtisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitánrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who is to become the husband of a girl just out of seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE—Continued

137
824

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Sitva		*Syagrus speciosa*	Dugndúgatsu.
Taquara para ponta de flecha	Bamboo for arrowheads		Kayêasu.
Taquara para flauta secreta	Bamboo for sacred flute		Ka'd'inensu.
Taquara para panpipe	Bamboo for panpipe		Wasingatsu.
Tucum		*Astrocaryum tucuma*	Haló'tsu.

PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON

278

Timbó		*Paullinia pinnata*	Kúuntu.

PLANTS USED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC WAYS

137
824

Lixeira			Kalínasu.
Embira			Sa'hlu.

MAGICAL PLANTS

[789]

Paratudo			Inháukôdãosu.

ANIMALS HUNTED FOR FOOD[1]

136
262
825

Anta	Tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	Alúnsu.
Ariranha	Otter	*Pteronura brasiliensis*	Díwisu.
Bugio		*Alouatta ursina*	Ihru.
Caitetú	Peccary	*Tayassu pecari*	Y'ákisu.
Camondongo	Mouse	*Mus musculus*	Sduhlu.
Capivara	Capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	O'nsu.
Coatí	Coati	*Nasua narica*	Kaisu.
Cotia	Rodent	*Dasyprocta aguti*	Dúhru.
Cuatá		*Ateles ater*	Hósadasu.
Cuxio		*Ateles paniscus*	Kalínsu.
Jaguatirica		*Felis pardalis chibiguazu*	Ianaráwidnsu.
Lontra	Otter	*Lutra paranensis*	Kwantnáisu.
Macaco-prego	Monkey	*Cebus apella*	Hótsu.
Onça parda	Brown panther	*Felis concolor*	Ianaránenensu.
Onça pintada	Jaguar	*Felis onca*	Ianarátasu.
Ouriço		*Coendou prehensilis*	Holoótasu.
Paca		*Cuniculus paca*	Úlutsu.
Porco do mato			Yákadesu.
Preguiça		*Bradypus tridactylus*	Aláisu.
Rato de chapadão		*Scapteromys gnambiquarae*	Nótasu.
Saguí-piranga		*Midas rosalia*	Takísu.
Tamanduá-bandeira		*Myrmecophaga jubata*	Díklisu.
Tamanduá-mirim		*Cyclopes didactylus*	Wáinsu.
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	*Tolypeutes tricinctus*	Núunsu.
Tatú-canastra		*Priodontes giganteus*	Wahrúru.
Tatú-cascudo			Sunaisu.
Tatú-liso			A'hru.
Tatú-15-quilos			A'látasu.
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yetáhru.
Veado campeiro (b)	do		Whídisu.
Veado mateiro		*Mojama rufa*	Kuáklisu.

[1] Other rats yet unidentified are also eaten.

[p.125]

164 These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[757] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet [278] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113]

1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [296] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[113]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

241 [Plates p. 254]

[249] Yet a wild form of manioc has been found (Manihot utilissimo, Pohl); if not the very species we use, at least one of the same genus. But maize?

Where on the surface of the earth does maize exist in a wild state except for the tunicated Zea mais which is sometimes considered to be the ancestor of the modern species?

What unveiling of mysteries, if this question were to be answered!

Some Tagnani who were watching the herdsman João Lucas weed a small plot in Três Buritis began to laugh at him, indicating that it would be better to root up the weeds; the hoe severed the stems but left in the roots, and the plants would grow up again. When the Nambicuara weed, they pull out everything that is not useful. Their plots are always clean.

Their tobacco is the Nicotiana that grows wild in their mountains; it may not properly be said that urucu and cotton are cultivated: they are planted and utilized. Some large beans of various kinds de-
278 241 serve mention. [250] They are to be found in the Indians' baskets along with many other plants; but we never saw an Indian eating them or making any use of them. Pending further research, I am of the opinion that they are saved for medicinal undertakings carried out in secret by old men and women. The same may be said of the castor oil plant (Ricinus communis), which is definitely adventitious.

[Fig. 39]

415 The spools of cotton fiber that await spinning and the seeds saved for future use are kept out of the weather, dust and rain in bags made of straw or pacova leaves.

[Fig. 40]

759 It seemed to us that medicine was not exercised by any special segment of society. They all take part in the treatment of certain diseases; in serious cases, an experienced elder takes over.

752 Wounds are dressed with straw fibers [coated] with certain resins (jatobá). Burns are treated with cold water. Fractures and dislocations are reduced haphazardly.

4/1 4) Chaco; 5) Eastern Brazilian.]

171 Nambicuara bows must be placed in the second group on account of their cross-section, which is indeed quite similar to that of Mundurucu bows. Their twine is coiled in the manner of Meyer's Perutypus group.

[Plates p. 248]

[271] [Fig. 58] Meyer classifies Brazilian arrows into seven groups, now insufficient because other types have since been found, but which nevertheless cover the principal characteristics of our arrows. His classification is based on the feathering of the shaft. [1) Eastern Brazilian or Tupian-Ge; 2) Guiana; 3) Xingu; 4) Arara; 5) Maue; 6) Peruvian with fibers; 7) Peruvian with resin, where Nambicuara arrows belong.] This last group is further divided in two: a northern division covering the Amazon Valley, and a southern division covering the Chaco region. The feathers are slit lengthwise, their stem scraped until only the outer layer remains; [272] they are tied spirally to the shaft by means of twine and black resin.

[Fig. 55]

4/1 Our collection includes war, hunting and fishing arrows. It must be noted, however, that these distinctions are not always maintained; when necessary, the Indians use all three types interchangeably.

Aniêçú: The tip is of red wood, cylindrical, smooth; used to hunt monkeys.

[Fig. 56]

Uaeliçú: The tip is sharp, made of taquaruçu bamboo (Merostachys sp.); used in war and to hunt large game--capybara, tapir, jaguar. . . . .

Aieuinçú: The tip is smooth, with a barb at the end.

[Fig. 57]

4/1 [273] Anikirikatçú: A unique type, armed with a series of
278 barbs secured with twine and pitch. It is coated with a black substance which the Indians believe to be poisonous; for this reason, they protect the tip with a bamboo sheath. It is a war weapon. The "poison" of Nambicuara arrows is harmless... (1)

1. [Alvaro Osorio de Almeida notes here that he carried out an

411
278

experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

411 Aieracú: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[207] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong [209] imbé lianas (Philodendron imbe, Mart.).

[Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

[324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a Bauhinia. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . . .

381 The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatai (Hymenea stigonocarpa [324] or H. stilbocarpa), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of dukutaarú, which means "wax."

[Fig. 62]

7:Roquette-Pinto--56A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

411
273

Fig. 60. Poisoned arrow (anukiritatçũ) with protective sheath.

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
824 [Lupinus cascavella] used in fishing.
278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).
262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.
--Guaiatú: white maize.
--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated,
252 [115] is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.
[Fig. 17]
262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.
--Katunuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[824] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was
[251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.
415 Mortars (nutêzê) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[17]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[283 236] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [855] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children).

[283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 924 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

/211/

114
278 Numerous travelers and physiologists have concerned themselves with curare without succeeding in exactly determining its nature and its method of preparation. For some curare is purely vegetable; for others it appears to be composed largely of animal materials. Without analyzing here all the literature on this subject, it will be enough to recall that most former authors and travelers of the past century name diverse species of Strychnos as the principal base of curare; many other plants belonging to various families have also been mentioned as possibly entering in this poison. The partisans of an animal or mixed origin for curare, practically all travelers, assert that the venoms of snakes, batrachians, and arachnids, and fish and insect extracts, etc... play an essential role in its preparation. Despite numerous opinions to the contrary the presence at least of certain venoms in some curares (1) is indisputable.

[113]

1. Vellard and Assis, "Études immunologiques sur le curare /Immunological Studies on Curare/," Annales de l'Institut Pasteur. Paris, LII, 102, 1934.

Often these controversies on the composition of curare have lost sight of one essential fact. Curare is not a set substance and does not correspond to one single formula. There is not one but a number of curares, more or less complex, peculiar to each region, each tribe, and in many cases to each preparer.

Besides it is the general but false practice to call every paralyzing arrow poison of South America curare. The application of this term should be limited, in accordance with its classical physiological definition, to any poison suppressing the passage of excitations of the nerve to the muscle while preserving direct excitability of the muscle and that of the motor nerve.

/211 cont./

114 True curares are becoming difficult to find. Many of the
278 modern products brought back as curares or existing under this name in /212/ trade are paralyzing poisons of variable toxicity but with a weak or no curarizing effect. The curarizing effect itself does not interest the Indian; he is only looking for a halting poison producing rapid paralysis with loosening of muscular tonus, no matter by what mechanism, for his arrows. Often also the good faith of travelers has been betrayed and the Indians, anxious about their secret, have given them false recipes or poisons different from true curare. Lastly, some curares are hard to preserve, making it impossible to ascertain their properties upon the return of expeditions.

These causes, so diverse, have always left doubt about the exact composition and method of preparation of curare.

I. Curare of the Ñambikwara /Nambicuara/

During my last trip to the central plateau of the Mato Grosso with my colleague Lévi-Strauss, I was present at the preparation of a very simple but active curare by the Ñambikwara and accompanied these Indians on the search for the necessary plants.

Curare had not been mentioned as existing among the Ñambikwara. The Rondon Commission had certainly observed the existence of an arrow poison among them, but later investigations carried out on arrows sent to Rio de Janeiro had given negative results (Alvaro Ozorio de Almeida and Roquette Pinto). The cause of this failure can only be attributed to the material used in the experiments, which was too old; the arrows keep their activity only a few weeks.

278 The composition of curare is the same for all the
184 Ñambikwara, but its method of preparation varies from group to group. It must be emphasized that the preparation of this poison is surrounded with more mystery as one goes toward the

/212 cont./

278 184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 126 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] [117] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[114] [162] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

/213 cont./
278 126 [114] [162]
last Çabanè-Tagnani survivors, again showed me the complete preparation of curare. All the information gathered in the various Ñambikwara groups visited agrees with what I was able to observe.

In possession of these facts I prepared several times a certain quantity of curare identical to that of the Ñambikwara. The action of these different samples was tested in the field in order to be used in comparison with later experiments upon the return of the mission; thus any possibility of error due to a possible alteration of these products was eliminated.

A year has gone by since this time, and the various solutions brought back have kept their activity; they made it possible to examine rigorously their curarizing properties.

Preparation of Curare

278 824 Plant. Ñambikwara curare is prepared with only one plant, a Strychnos which grows in the sandy brushwood of the central plateau of the Mato Grosso. Although not rare this species is not abundant anywhere.

It is a bush two meters high (Pl. III, A), with a rather strong stem and downward-hanging branches, more or less sarmentous and sometimes changing into tendrils at the ends; I never saw a really twining example of this species. The branches have a reddish bark, /214/ without thorns, which is covered, as is the stem, with white concretions. The leaves are elongated and small or medium in size. The species is very polymorphous. No specimen bore flowers or fruit.

The Strychnos group is one of the most difficult to study. Many species rarely flower, and in the absence of flowers it is often impossible to identify them.

In certain features the species of the Ñambikwara is comparable to St. medeola. It exists in the plant collection of the Rondon Commission, but also without flowers and undetermined.

/214 cont./

278 824 Only the bark of the roots impregnated with a reddish, gummy juice is used in the preparation of curare. The plants which grow in sandy places are considered to be richer in poison; they are recognized by the bright red color and moisture exuding from incisions made in the bark. Roots from clayey earth are dry and considered incapable of giving an active product.

The Ñambikwara of the Juruena consider it essential to gather the roots in the morning at dawn before the sun gets too hot, and they only use fresh bark. The Çabanè use dried, stored bark by preference.

Çabanè Curare

278 The preparation of Çabanè curare may be taken as typical. It comprises three main operations: draining of the bark in portions with fresh water; rapid boiling to rid the product of some of its impurities; slow concentration at low heat.

[412] Immediately after their harvest the roots are washed and then scraped with a splinter of bamboo or a piece of iron to detach the bark. Small, very fine shavings are thereby obtained which are dried and kept in baskets or gourds.

[413] Draining of the bark. The bark is placed in a small, elongated basket (kọnọsimatá) of bamboo lamellae reinforced by large leaves (kọnọkọnọsi) and hung by two vertical supports over an earthen dish. Over the bark they pour 200 to 250 cubic centimeters of cold water; a blood-red liquid filters off slowly. The filtering takes 15 to 20 minutes; when it is almost over fresh water is again poured over the bark. This operation is repeated six to eight times until the bark is exhausted (Pl. IV, A-B).

[412] Boiling on a brisk fire. After each operation the liquid obtained is poured into a receptacle placed directly over a strong fire; it is constantly /215/ stirred with a wooden spatula and does not take long to boil in large bubbles. When it

/215 cont./

278 threatens to overflow it is removed from the fire for a second and then put back to boil. A thick, reddish scum forms which [412] holds the largest impurities; it is removed as it appears with a straw from a palm tree (Pl. V, A). After five to ten minutes on an average the boiling diminishes; the liquid turns brown and begins to thicken. It is then taken from the fire and [415] poured with the aid of a funnel (kǫ̈li) made from a rolled leaf into a new receptacle to be concentrated (Pl. IV, C).

[415] [172] Concentration. The concentration is done in a receptacle (here, a tin can from the mission) suspended 40 or 50 centimeters above a small fire, into which successive portions of liquid are added as they are prepared. The concentration takes two to three hours. According to its degree /of concentration/ they obtain a thick blackish-brown liquid, reddish when looked through, ready to be applied to the arrows with a straw, or a black paste which becomes very hard on cooling and can be kept for a long time. Before being used this paste must be softened at low heat.

The Çabanè recommend that one not touch the curare with the fingers nor even breathe the steam from it during the boiling. This hypothetical toxicity of the steam had already been noted by former travelers; it was even asserted that these emanations were so dangerous that the Indians had the curare prepared by old women who almost always succumbed to it. One can see (Pl. V, A) that the Çabanè sorcerer is not afraid of it.

Curare does not enter healthy skin, and the Ñambikwara of the Juruena press the water-soaked bark between their hands, taking the sole precaution of washing immediately afterward. The steam that I voluntarily inhaled never caused me the least sickness.

[192] The Çabanè call curare and the plant which produces it iríwa, and the still unconcentrated liquid from soaking iriwiya. The Tagnani name the plant and the curare naⁿdé.

/215 cont./

278 Curare of the Ñambikwara of the Rio Juruena

The technique of the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena is more primitive.

They use only bark which has just been gathered. The draining off of the bark is done only once and with warm water: the bark /216/ is put on the fire in a rather large amount of cold water, and the operation is ended when the temperature reaches 37° to 40° /centigrade/. It is filtered quickly by squeezing the bark with the hands to extract all the liquid from it. Then comes rapid boiling over a high fire and skimming. After several minutes of a rolling boil the fire is lowered and the liquid kept at a temperature a little below boiling until it has a pasty consistency.

[415] [237] The curare is kept in paste form in bamboo tubes or changed into a very hard mass by the addition of meliponine beeswax.

This method exposes the curare to strong heat for at least two hours. The Çabanè method reduces this time to ten minutes, the other operations being carried out at low heat. Both produce curares with about the same activity.

[192] [411] The Rio Juruena Ñambikwara call curare and the plant a'utĭsú or a'ukisú; the roots ta'ãdisú; the poisoned arrow aurũ kiritkatsú, and its protective bamboo sheath aşirikatsú.

Utilization of Curare

278 411 The Ñambikwara are not familiar with the blowgun. They use curare to poison large arrows with long, notched points, capped with a protective bamboo sheath. The points of the Tamandé curare arrows are shorter and more slender than those of the other Ñambikwara. They are usually placed in twos, threes, and fours under a single protective sheath.

According to the Indians an arrow's activeness does not last more than three or four months. The curare in paste form is kept for a longer time (close to a year). Hard curare can be kept for years.

/216 cont./

224 The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain ani-
278 mals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys.
411 Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediate-
[203] ly.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[262] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be
[263] eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanè do not even take this precaution.

278 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their
411 principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess
726 only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanè, are very lightly attached to their shafts.

/217 cont./

Properties of Nambikwara Curare

●278 The toxicity of Nambikwara curare is high. Among mammals and birds it provokes an initial sensation of unlocalized irritation accompanied by cramps; the animals are restless and scratch themselves sometimes on one part of the body and sometimes on another. Then tremors appear, at first localized in certain groups of muscles, and then becoming general; in some cases they appear in the form of sudden, intermittent muscular jerks; at a more advanced stage certain muscles begin to fibrillate. Finally paralysis appears; the animal presents a progressive asthenia; it becomes immobile, avoids all movement; soon its paws give way, it sinks down, and the paralysis becomes complete.

The swallowing muscles and those of the larynx are reached very early in the dog; its voice becomes faint, its tongue hangs out of its mouth, saliva is no longer swallowed. The tendinuous reflexes disappear first, followed by the ocular reflexes. At the beginning breathing is accelerated, panting; the respiratory movements slow down very rapidly, diminishing in extent; periods of apnea appear, varying for dogs from ten to 50 seconds, and coming closer and closer together. After breathing definitely stops the heart continues to beat for several more minutes. Autopsy has revealed only ordinary lesions of suffocation and a greater or less extended yellow coloration of the muscles at the points of injection.

Claude Bernard's experiment, using a frog, one foot of which was isolated from the general circulatory system by a ligature cutting off the sciatic /nerve/ shows that after an injection of curare into the dorsal lymphatic sack /218/ the mobility of the isolated foot and retention of nerve excitability are preserved.

The curarizing action has been studied in a more precise fashion with solutions brought back with the help of ordinary

/218 cont./

278 inductive apparatus and with the usual equipment for the study of chronaxie at the laboratory of M. Miguel Ozorio de Almeida at the Institute Oswaldo Cruz of Rio de Janiero.

It is known that the South American pseudo-frogs are curarized with difficulty and in an incomplete fashion; toads in contrast the Bufo marinus among others, constitute choice reagents.

After 15 minutes the Bufo marinus (30 to 40 gr.) present perfect curarization, with doses from 0.01 to 0.05 cc. of liquid curare injected into the ventral lymphatic sack: the gastrocnemii no longer react to excitation of the sciatic /nerve/ by the discharge of condensers of five microfarads, nor even to that of a six-volt battery, while keeping their direct excitability.

Lizards are very sensitive; 0.001 to 0.01 cc. curarize Anolis or Tropidurus of average size.

An intramuscular injection of 0.2 cc. paralyzes a hen in two minutes and kills it in 15 to 20 minutes; 0.05 cc. produces a paralysis which only disappears after four or five hours.

Mammals are particularly sensitive to this curare.

A dog of eight kg., having had the end of an arrow point (45 mm.) in his thigh muscles for 15 minutes, immediately after being wounded had tremors localized at first in his forequarters, then they extended to his dorsal muscles. Three minutes later the animal fell; paralysis was complete after 12 minutes; pupillary reflexes disappeared in 15 minutes, the time when the arrow point was extracted; the definite stoppage of respiration occurred in 41 minutes, and the heart stopped three minutes later.

A ten-kg. dog who had received an intramuscular injection of 0.25 cc. of solution in its thigh displayed immediate restlessness and generalized irritation; in three minutes tremors began in the forequarters. The animal staggered (4"), then fell paws outspread (5"). Paralysis of the voice in six minutes and

N 278 /218 cont./ panting respiration; eight minutes, repeated muscular jerks in the forequarters; nine minutes, total paralysis, disappearance of the pupillary and corneal reflexes, tongue hanging out of the mouth; ten minutes, the first periods of apnea; 13 minutes, definite cessation of breathing; 15 minutes, heart stops.

There is no point in further stressing here the physiological action of the arrow poison of the Ñambikwara. These few observations suffice to /219/ show that we are dealing with a genuine curare and not with a simple paralyzing poison. Compared with a former curare, in a jar labeled "Indios tapuios du haut Rio Negro /Tapuio Indians of the upper Rio Negro/" Ñambikwara curare has shown itself considerably more active. It distinguishes itself from the classic curare of the Ticuana by the muscular tremors which it produces at the beginning of the poisoning among all the mammals studied.

II. Curare of the Pareci

P 278 P [192] The Pareci Indians, not very numerous and very civilized today, were acquainted with curare. They give it, with almost the same accentuation, the same name as the Çabanê: iriwâ.

P [124] [126] I was not able to obtain any as the Pareci no longer prepare it; the information on it was given to me by some middle-aged Pareci, who had spent their youth in some villages which were still independent at this time where the men used this poison.

The chief ingredient was the Strychnos used by the Ñambikwara, but accompanied by other plants which my informants did not know or did not want to bother gathering. One of the botanists from the Rondon Commission, Hoehne, cities six species of different, not completely identified plants, which were pointed out to them by a Pareci Indian as entering into the composition of their arrow poison. But this poison did not keep and could not be studied.

/220 cont./

278 171 [177] The Tamandé Ñambikwara, of the upper course of the Roosevelt River, assured me that curare had come to them from other Indians living farther to the north, in the region of the Gy Paraná /Gi-Paraná River/; it was not possible to make them specify what kind of Indians these were.

The Cabixiano /Cabishi?/ of the Rio Mequem, to the northeast of Ñambikwara territory, also use curare. According to a civilized Indian of this group encountered at the post of Baron de Melgaço, their product with a complex vegetable base is prepared secretly and only by a few old men; it is a hard curare in a jar. It is used for hunting, even of tapirs, and for war.

The Pareci, along with the Ñambikwara, represent the extreme southern point of the spread of curare, the use of which as one goes toward the Amazon becomes more and more frequent and its preparation surrounded with more mystery.

278 137 All the curares are not as simple as the Ñambikwara curare, but all appear to have as their principal base a species of Strychnos which varies according to the region. Certain Strychnos such as St. toxifera Benth., Str. lethalis Barb. Rod., and especially St. crevauxhiana Baill, are particularly toxic; others like St. pseudo-quina are very low in poisonous elements.

278 Besides the Strychnos, active elements of curare, of numerous other plants generally poisonous but with very diverse properties, and of animal substances such as venoms, often enter into the composition of this poison. Their addition answers different ends.

Sometimes these are resins or gums whose sole utility is to harden the product and to assure its preservation.

Sometimes they are toxic substances destined to reinforce or to complete the action of the Strychnos.

/221/ In other cases other substances without any actual effect but with magical properties are added to curare. Their nature is infinitely variable.

/221 cont./

●278 In many cases also the complexity of the curare seems to have no other end than to mask the real active elements and to assure the monopoly of its preparation by a few individuals.

We have thus led to divide curares into:

simple curares, with a base solely of Strychnos.

composite curares, in which diverse vegetable or animal elements are added to the Strychnos with the end: a) of hardening the product, b) of reinforcing its physiological action, c) with magical aims, and d) to conceal its real composition.

The Ñambikwara curare represents the most simple type.

Beyond its ethnographic aspect the knowledge of the exact composition of this curare interests physiologists; it will make it henceforth easy to prepare a very active curare with a constant action for research laboratories.

115
278
[291]
[516]

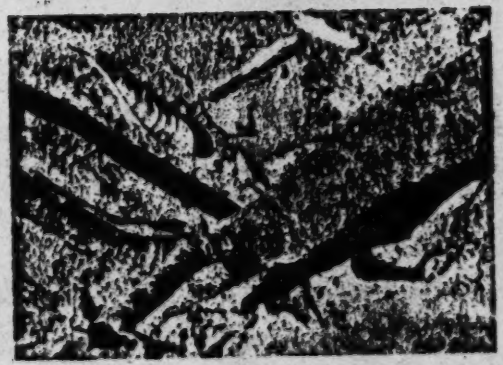
Plate III

[482]
[291]
[302]
[516]

A

B

C



D

/See captions on next page./

8:Vellard--15a D,E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Plate III

●278 Preparation of curare by the Nhambikwara Indians
(right bank of the Juruena)

A. Stalk of Strychnos sp., the root of which is used to prepare curare.

[115] B. The Nhambikwara Julio digging up a root of iriwa (Strychnos sp.)

C. The Nhambikwara Julio carries back some roots of Strychnos sp.

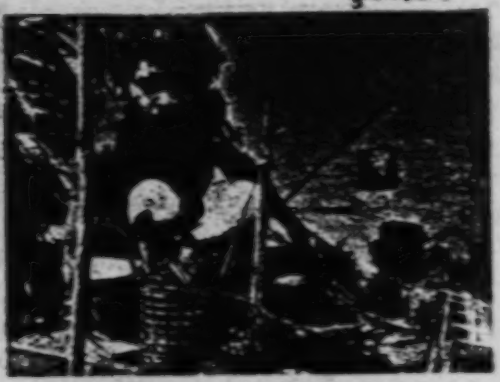
D. Root of Strychnos sp.

8:Vellard--16 D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Çahanè

Plate IV

278
142
415
302
516



A

B

278
415
516

C

Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A-B. Draining of the bark with cold water.

C. After boiling the liquid is tramferred into another receptacle where it will be concentrated at low heat.

Plate V

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page./

8:Vellard--17 D.E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

8:Vellard--17a D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate V

278 Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A. The curare is skimmed during the boiling.

[412] B. Testing of the degree of concentration of the product with the aid of a straw.

[415 824] C. Funnel made of a leaf rolled into a horn and the leaf used to make it.

[415 323] D. A pot of grey clay, badly baked, used to prepare and keep curare (Nhambikwara of the Cabixi River).

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dũrige uetnatũrina ẽdnadure lukuĩndige ndakuĩndige monãnkiadukuĩndige denõ dũrige monãure lĩttige amonotlĩttige tonodũrige uitẽndige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
[224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
281] mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714 bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loukuĩndige inkõra uĩrige lotõtãirige ikuitãdige uĩrige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atãsu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atãsu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted
171 with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 526 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [84] a1 whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the *"Arawak"* type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buritĭ palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buritĭ so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buritĭ palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buritĭ fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buritĭ fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small piuva tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with lixeiro leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The siriva bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but [184] the black wood surrounding the center is used. The siriva bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

● [283] The bowstring (*kalunwinisu*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with urucú (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*alukwirikatu*), which appears to be cane (*Gadua* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a piuva foreshaft (*ihdikatsutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with sipó vine for about [237] 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akinéntsu*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the [284] butt end of the shaft. The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving [237] motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold [284] the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

[p. 93(2)]

411 (1) The *hányesu*, an arrow which is used for [223 224] shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lashing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *saldítsu*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dúnkisu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptisu*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrowhead was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

● 283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *hatdtsu*, provides not [306] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers, [252] and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buriti twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

283 on one half while holding the other, thus stripping the fine fiber from the body of the leaf. She then turns the leaf over and strips the other half. Later she picks off whatever bits of green skin that adheres to the fibers and twirls one end between her fingers to keep the fibers together. From each leaf, therefore, she gets a pale green whip of fiber which forms the raw material for cordage making. A number of these whips are wrapped in embira, the bundle being known as *dáidjusu*, and stored away for future use.

When a man wishes to make cordage he begins to add these whips to existing bits of twine or cord. I never saw a man making a completely new cord. The end of an old piece of cordage is unraveled and three whips are joined to it at intervals of several inches and rolled together on the thigh, the motion being toward the body. This stroke rolls up the fibers into three tight strands. On the downward stroke the three separate strands are "laid up" or rolled together to form the cord. Three new whips are added and the process is repeated until the cord is of the desired length. If the man wishes to make finer cord he separates each whip into a number of parts.

The making of cordage from buriti (*Mauritia vinifera*), *yélasu*, as has been mentioned, is man's work. The man finds a young buriti palm and from the top of it cuts down the shoot which encloses the three leafstalks. This growing part is a tapered rod about 5 feet long and triangular in shape. When twisted this rod cracks open revealing countless fine strands covered with a green skin, each strand having a hard embryonic leaf stem running through the center. First the man peels off the green outer skin and then pulls out the embryonic leaf stem. What he has left is a hank of lemon-colored, soft, grasslike ribbons the length of the original rod and about one-half of an inch in width. These ribbons he coils and places in a pot and boils for about 20 minutes so that the starchy material is loosened. In former times the hank was placed in the hot sand under the fire and sprinkled with water. When the coil is cool enough to handle the man opens it out and begins to rub it between his hands just as does a woman washing a strip of cloth, periodically dipping it into the warm water. As he rubs, the hank gets quite sticky as the starchy material

283 breaks down. After one-half hour the starchy material is washed out and the ribbons begin to separate into fine strands of fiber. The hank is then shaken out and hung up to dry. When of good quality, that is, when the rod is of the right age, the fibers dry out a pale cream color. While the man is occupied at this task the girls make temporary necklaces from the green outer skin and the boys use the thin central stems as arrows for their small bows. These dried-out hanks are [301] a favorite decoration of the Nambicuara when painted with horizontal bands of urucú. They can then be suspended from the neck and allowed to hang down the back, or pieces are attached to the arm bands, leg bands, and in front to the belt.

Cotton twine is used for making arrows, stringing beads, weaving arm bands and the narrow shoulder straps which women use for carrying young children. From the cotton bush (*kúndzu*) the woman picks the bolls (*kúnkisu*) to make cotton twine (*kúnálisu*). As the making of buriti twine is a man's task, so the making of cotton twine is purely a woman's task. After picking the seeds from the bolls she spreads the cotton into flat disks and then into circles. Next she breaks the circles and joins them to form a long rope about an inch in diameter. This rope she winds around her arm, twists the end of it with her fingers, and fastens it to the top of a spindle (*wanikisu*). With a twirl of her fingers she sets it spinning and lets it drop, plucking out the cotton as it is spun. Later she unties the string and fastens it near the whorl and then by spinning the spindle on the ground the twine is wrapped around it. This process is repeated until the cotton rope is used up.

286 The men do the weaving on a true but very makeshift loom. Two forked sticks, roughly a yard long, are thrust into the ground about 2 feet apart and at an angle. One cross bar rests in the forks while another is fastened on near the ground. The warp is wound around these cross bars. The heddle, shuttle, and sword are used in [177] weaving the narrow material. It seems very likely that this type of loom was taken over from the Arawakan Paressí.

The bast strap or band (*sa'am*) is made from embira and is used for pressing manioc pulp, for carrying children or baskets, and, when cut into strips, is used for tying up bundles.

[p. 95 (A)]

342 provided with a fairly large doorway; it could easily hold some twenty people. The other had the shape of a triangular prism, with one of its [lateral] faces to the ground. It was more carefully constructed, and measured nine meters in length, three and a half in width and two and a half in height. One of its ends was closed; on the side, hidden by the leaves which hung from the roof, there was a small door. The other end was fully open. The hut was oriented in an east-west direction, the closed end facing the east. Thus in the afternoon the rays of the sun entered the house for a few hours.

Two forked stakes, one at each end of the building, supported the ridgepole. [222] Several beams designed to hold the huge covering leaves of the babassu palm ran from the ridgepole to the ground.

The palms which were laid on one side of the roof were folded at the top over the ridgepole onto the other side; in order to hold
[283 824] them in this position, two rods ran the length of the house, tied to the inner beams with knots of embira (1) cord.

1. A bast fiber yielded by one of the embira trees. (Ed.)

Tagnani and Tawite villages also consist of two huts. Each, with its entrance oriented in an east-west direction, is evenly circular at ground level and conical in shape. From the apex of the cone a pole rises a few spans above the roof; it is always forked at the tip, as shown in the photograph. The doorways are set on opposite sides of the building, facing each other.

We still do not know how the Nambicuara trace the circle which delimits the hut; it must be a freehand line, for that is how they draw this figure on their gourds. In the middle of the house they set up four stakes forked at the tip and a centrl support. [Fig. 16]

The forked stakes form an overhead rectangle of wood, from which flexible poles run down into the ground along the circle which delimits the house. These poles are secured and connected by horizontal rods which complete the framework of the hut. The covering consists of bacaba palm leaves arranged in layers. As seen from within the hut, the first layer consists of plaited leaflets fastened to the [223] woodwork. [Plate p. 226]

[276]

[262
824]

[283
825]

[237]

[301]

[531]

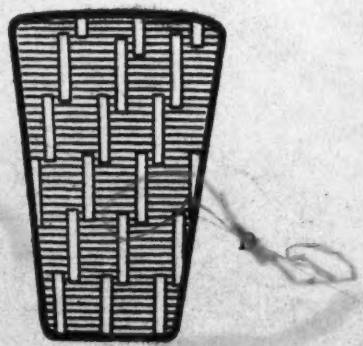
B

952

A

C

12417



A. Arezi mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[283 286] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [255] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children). The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round [283] potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 824 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

7:Roquette-Pinto--58B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

783

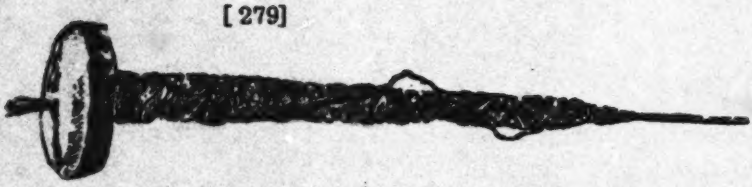


Fig. 84. Gdaretatú--Serra do Norte spindle.

411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small piuva tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with lixeiro leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The siriva bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but the black wood surrounding the center is used. [284] The siriva bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

[283] The bowstring (*halunwíniru*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with urucú (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*alukwírikatu*), which appears to be cane (*Gadua* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a piuva foreshaft (*ilɔ́ikatsutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with sipó vine for about [237] 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akinéntsu*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the butt end of the shaft. [284] The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving [237] motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with [284] waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

7:Roquette-Pinto--53A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

411
284

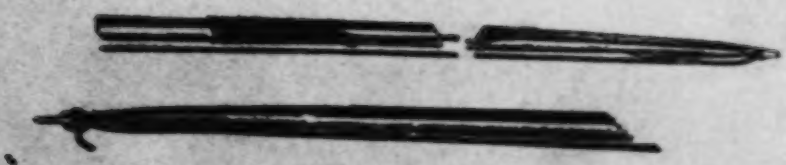


Fig. 54. Serra do Norte bow and its cross section.

7/Roquette-Pinto--SRB E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 86. Outline of an jalaçu, straw cape of the Serra do Norte Indians.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[482
411
415]

[231
342
415
285]

[231
222
482
855]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Arawak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

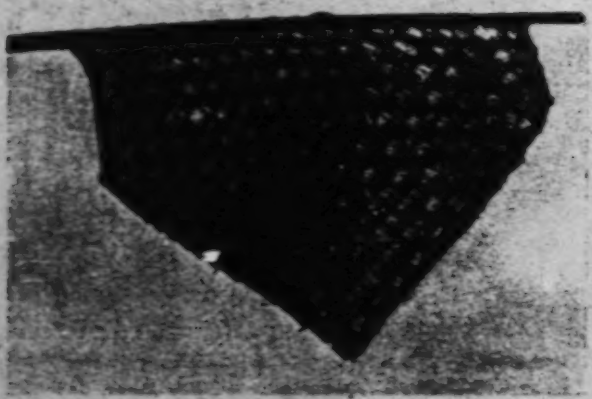
Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

000

e os lobulos das orelhas. Atraves dos orificios feitos no nariz passam pequenos podaços de madeira—*waitsé*; dos lobulos das orelhas fazem pender brincos feitos de pequenas contas de côco. Uzam braceletes, pulseiras e perneiras tecidas com *tucúm*; e ao redor do pescoço, um collar de contas da Mbacába (*Oenocarpus bacaba, Mart.*). Vivem da caça; mas tambem plantam milho, cará (*Dioscorea*), batata (*convolvulus*), mandioca e fujão. Fumam uma folha mui semelhante ao tabaco brasileiro.

Os indios que iam ao posto dormiam sobre o chão. Este fato tem uma grande importancia, que será aumentada ainda mais, si os linguistas puderem aproximar seu idioma dos falados pelas tribus do grupo Gê. Certamente é preciso maior indagação para que se possa concluir alguma coisa; mas devemos ainda notar que não foram encontradas redes de dormir nas cabanas dos Nhambiquára, onde, em diferentes ocasiões, foi possivel examinar todo o mobiliario dessas habitações. E si forem confirmadas as opiniões de R. Schuller sobre a naturezа do grupo



[285
372
824]

FIG. 1.—ABANO DE FOLHA DE BACÚBA.

[Bacaba leaf fire-fan]

linguistico Gê, passarão os Nhambiquára a fazer parte da familia Aruak, onde já se encontram os seus vizinhos Paresis.

Na colleção etnografica recebida pelo Museu, enviada pelo Coronel Rondon, acham-se como subsistencias alimentares amostras de milho, feijões e de uma conserva de mandioca muito semelhante ao "Kétiké" dos Paresí. Existem tambem na colleção algumas amostras de breu indijena. E'massa negra que amolece e funde a temperatura muito baixa, adquirindo intenso brilho, e dos prendendo cheiro resinoso; parece que é uma mistura da resina do Oanani (*Symphonia globulifera*), e cêra. O principal emprego dessa massa é a fixação dos cordões que ligam a ponta á haste das flechas.

Os artefactos dos Nhambiquára têm um certo valor. Para a confecção dos abanos usam as folhas de bacába (Fig. 1), sendo os folíolos trançados em grupos de 4, dois

7:Roquette-Pinto--47B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 260]

516
H15
285

Juina River Indians

Juina River Indian

301 [280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the [824] seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . . .

[825 237] Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa) palms. [824]

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

291 The ialaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

301 [281] The stem of the unetizũ (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

285 Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (aticũ).

[282: page of figures]

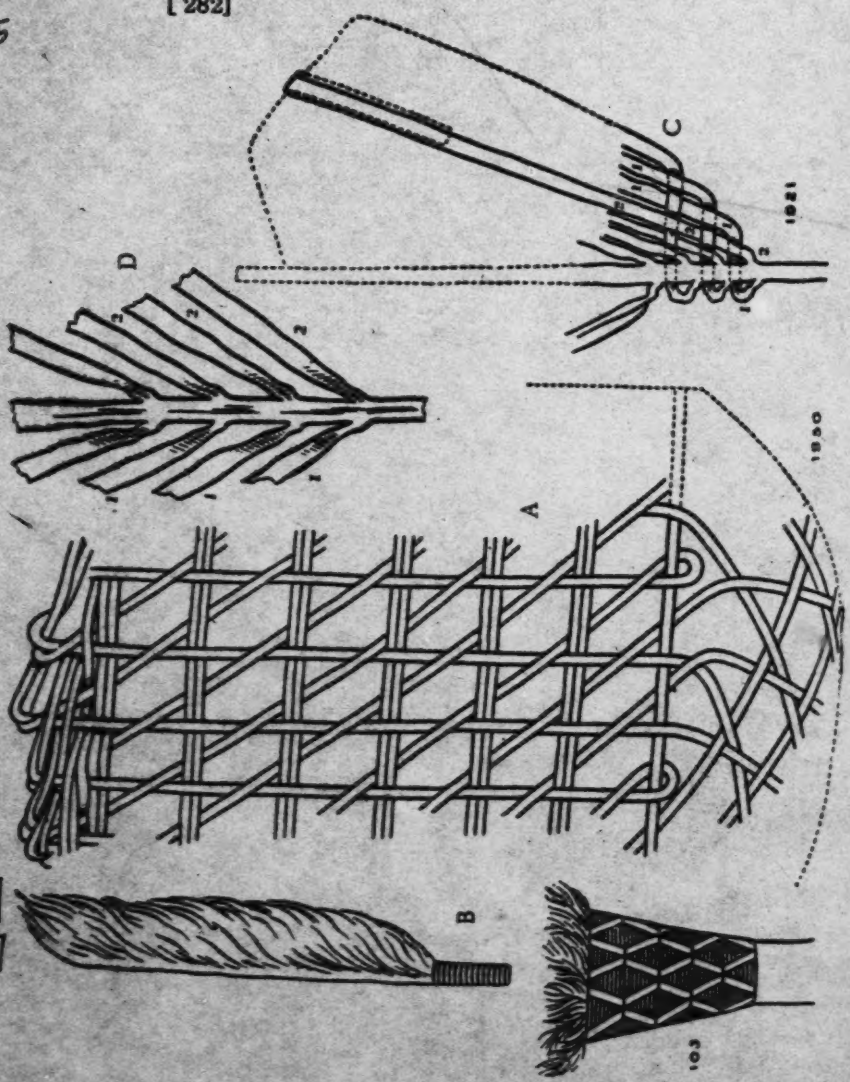
[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

[293] . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

534 A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçũ) seems [171] to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajoz tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. . . . (70, p.]



[301]
[531]

A. Pattern of basketry made with the flexible stem of a Desmoncus.
B. Details of nose plume.
C and D. Weaving pattern of palm leaf fan.

7:Roquette-Pinto--60C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

177
285
292

Fig. 68. Imitation of a straw hat made by a Juruena River Indian.

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the
[285] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[253] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[301] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to
197 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be-
177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parataninga River, who use helmets of the same material.

174 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob-
171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilication [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

789 Poison is thus nãnde par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a curare reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory [121 174] and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of curare, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the strychnos.

Besides the notion of nãnde we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the atãsu (al). Atãsu signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: atãsu, "it is the animal." Atãsu also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, atãsu is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the atãsu if one does not defend oneself 789 411 in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick [épieu] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form [286 531] and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated with black and white bark weaving (javelin: hĩdosu [al], kẽũẽre

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the *"Arawak"* type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342
306
286
291

[415]

[411]

PLATE 37.—Nambicuara and upper Guaporé Indians. *Top:* Pimenta Bueno hut. *Center, left: Nambicuara* family shelter. *Center, right: Nambicuara* man weaving an armband. *Bottom, left: Nambicuara* family. *Bottom, right:* Woman drilling a mother of pearl earring. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except *bottom, left,* by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Oronoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Ara[illegible]k, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

283 breaks down. After one-half hour the starchy material is washed out and the ribbons begin to separate into fine strands of fiber. The hank is then shaken out and hung up to dry. When of good quality, that is, when the rod is of the right age, the fibers dry out a pale cream color. While the man is occupied at this task the girls make temporary necklaces from the green outer skin and the boys use the thin central stems as arrows for their small bows. These dried-out hanks are [301] a favorite decoration of the Nambicuara when painted with horizontal bands of urucú. They can then be suspended from the neck and allowed to hang down the back, or pieces are attached to the arm bands, leg bands, and in front to the belt.

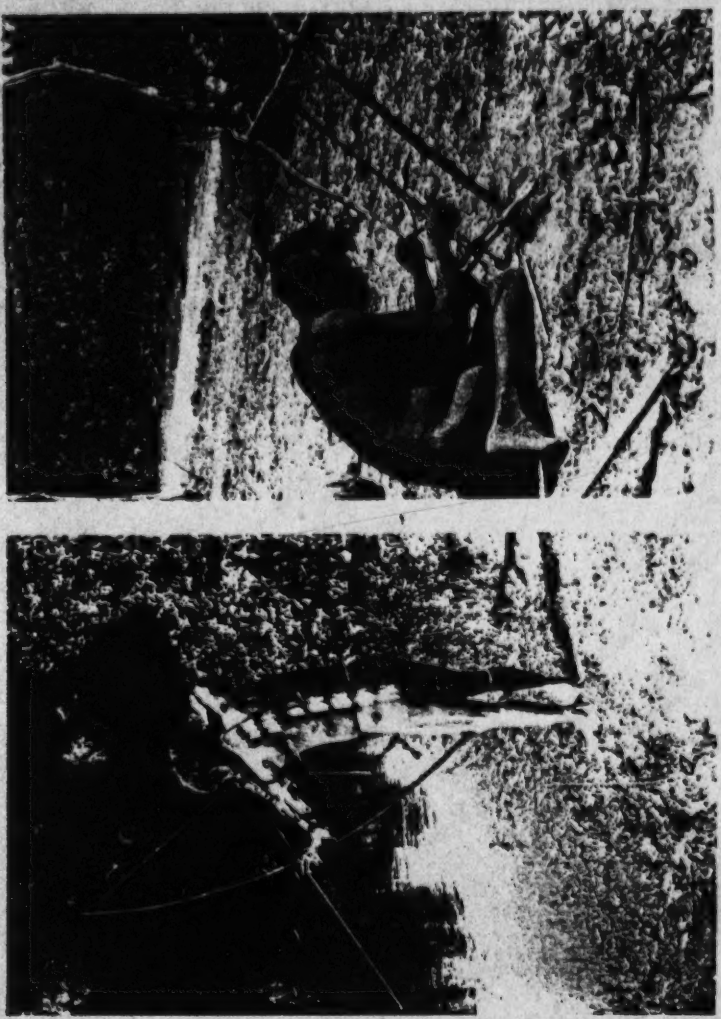
Cotton twine is used for making arrows, stringing beads, weaving arm bands and the narrow shoulder straps which women use for carrying young children. From the cotton bush (*kúndsu*) the woman picks the bolls (*kúnkisu*) to make cotton twine (*kúnálisu*). As the making of buriti twine is a man's task, so the making of cotton twine is purely a woman's task. After picking the seeds from the bolls she spreads the cotton into flat disks and then into circles. Next she breaks the circles and joins them to form a long rope about an inch in diameter. This rope she winds around her arm, twists the end of it with her fingers, and fastens it to the top of a spindle (*wonikisu*). With a twirl of her fingers she sets it spinning and lets it drop, plucking out the cotton as it is spun. Later she unties the string and fastens it near the whorl and then by spinning the spindle on the ground the twine is wrapped around it. This process is repeated until the cotton rope is used up.

286 The men do the weaving on a true but very makeshift loom. Two forked sticks, roughly a yard long, are thrust into the ground about 2 feet apart and at an angle. One cross bar rests in the forks while another is fastened on near the ground. The warp is wound around these cross bars. The heddle, shuttle, and sword are used in [177] weaving the narrow material. It seems very likely that this type of loom was taken over from the Arawakan Paressí.

The bast strap or band (*sa'am*) is made from embira and is used for pressing manioc pulp, for carrying children or baskets, and, when cut into strips, is used for tying up bundles.

[p. 95 (A)]

411
142
291
226
286
301



[p. 136 (H)]

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[17]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[283 236] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [155] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children).

[283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 824 Kaneçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ... (28) p. 308.]

[133] dividing line of waters which separates the basin of the Paraguay, a tributary of the La Plata River, and the sources of the Arinos River, itself a tributary of the Amazon.

In its general aspect, the region is a sort of vast undulating plateau, falling slowly in the direction of the basin of the Amazon, with the highest points in the center and in the south (about 800 meters) and the lowest (about 350 meters) toward the north and west. Nevertheless, the traveler leaving from the south is greeted by an impressive spectacle when, after having traveled through 1,200 kilometers of high desolate land, he reaches the northwest border of the plateau, compared to the lowlands the difference in altitude is small, 100 meters at the most, but the rise is abrupt. Behind him, he leaves an interminable and sterile brush, while immediately at his feet begins, with the valley of the Gi-Parana, the no less interminable Amazon forest. This remarkable geographic frontier is also the western limit of Nambikwara territories.

Farther to the center and to the north, the aspect is different; running waters have worn ditches across the plateau which become larger in the direction of the Amazon basin. These depressions bring about differences in altitude up to 150 meters. One notices them especially in the region which extends from the Roosevelt River to the Dore de Outubro River, and they give this region a falsely mountainous aspect from which the fallacious expression "Serra do Norte" probably originates.

[134] [132] Geological constitution conspires with climatic conditions to [5] give the plateau its desolate physiognomy. The sand, product of the decomposition of the sandstone, provides a sterile soil, and the irregular distribution of rain explains the prairie-like aspect, so characteristic of the whole region. Except for a little rain—very rare—which falls sometimes in July or August, the "chuvas de caju," one might say that the period from April to September is completely arid. On the contrary, precipitation is violent and almost daily from October to March. There are storms when the rain lasts sometimes one, two or even three consecutive days. During the rainy season the temperature rises 42 to 44 degrees[1] during the day, cooler at night, with a sudden and brief shower at dawn. But abrupt variations of temperature rather characterize the dry season, probably because of intense nocturnal radiation. It is not rare, at this season, to go from a daytime maximum of 40 degrees to a nocturnal minimum of 8 or 10 degrees. The Indians, who live completely nude, sleep on the ground, and know nothing of the use of coverings either of cloth or fur, suffer cruelly from this circumstance.

[291] [313]

[1] [i.e. degrees Centigrade.— Rivalpt]

[2] In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of

[8]
[2]
[3]

2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara [5] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the [10] Paresi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaihoakorê, "those who sleep on the ground."

[2] The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which [2] occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate [4] gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the grated pulp in the ground.

[2] At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

648 37. tamaiʼn ãjtue munãjtjere munãjtjenãitiore njaniʼ (bl)
609 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
201 In one case which we witnessed, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tõhé tõhé kãhé kãhé muniniʼti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take—commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

L: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate IV]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 18). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

4151
361
342
291

411
341
445
231

484
445
231

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
48
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contents of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

[End Plate VI]

291
302
301
516

[607]

Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]

The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342 [361] shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season, villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepikiriwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass.

352 513 The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paressí* nicknamed them *Uaikoakôre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

[291] 301 Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of buruty straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and and toucan feathers, or of fur with [714] feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes And dots hanging down from the nape of the neck.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
714
534
301
291
302

[516]

PLATE 38.—Nambicuara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the nose flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Panpipes. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except *center, left,* by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 1]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342
306
286
291

[415]

[411]

PLATE 37.—Nambicuara and upper Conparé Indians. *Top:* Pimenta Bueno hut. *Center, left:* Nambicuara family shelter. *Center, right:* Nambicuara man weaving an armband. *Bottom, left:* Nambicuara family. *Bottom, right:* Woman drilling a mother of pearl earring. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except bottom, *left*, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Oronoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakítisu band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakítisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Wakítisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

291 Around the waist both men and women wear a buritî cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a lenth of buritî fiber from the front of the belt.

302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 13) 1/A

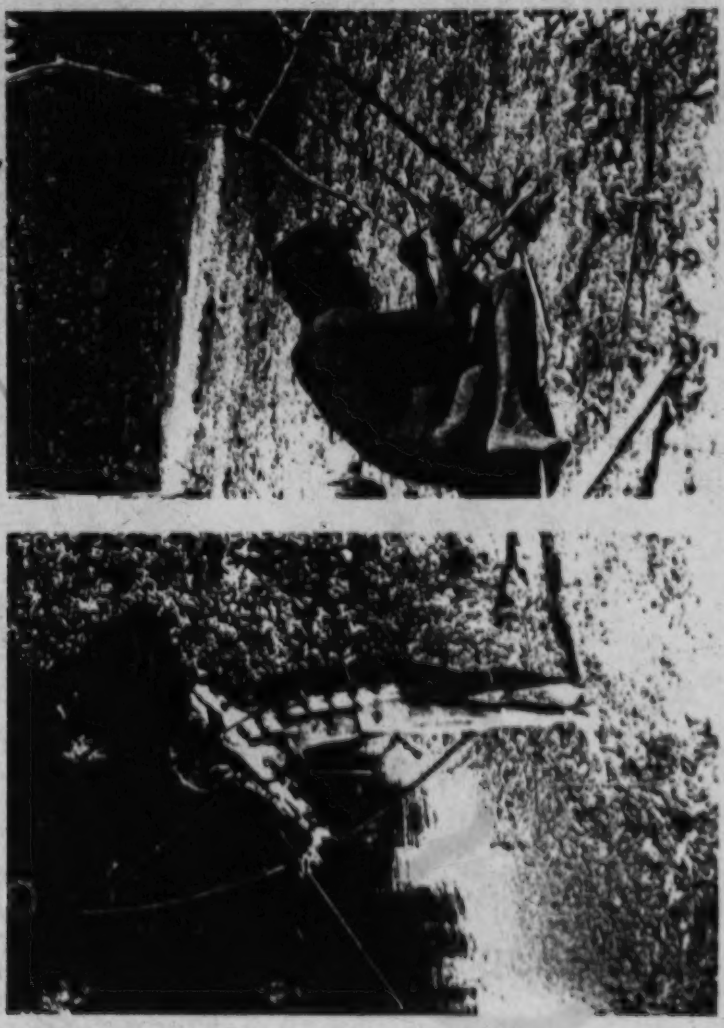
619 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar
621 to the band territory. The Waklítisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*waklisu*) in their territory. The Elótasu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*toku*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitánhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tantu*. The Chiwáisu are bee people from the word *waisu*, bee. The Hégndisu are buritî fruit (*héeru*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as
773 it is told among the Waklítisu band, can be summarized as follows:

Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *pahsindurukatsu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *oklikáitlisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *oklikáitlisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the piuva bow and taught them how

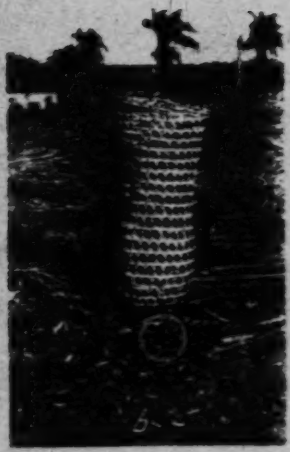
1/A [Cat. 116, p. 123.—Analyst] [p. 96 (A)]

411
142
●291
226
286
301



[p. 136 (H)]

372
316
415
142



881
301
302
291
142

[p. 136 (I)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
291
301

[177]

PLATE 6.—Nambicuara physical types.—a and b, Julie, with nose feather lip plug, and bustle fiber tassels on arms. c and d, Julie's wives and child.

[p.136(K)]

7: Roquette-Pinto--13A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[190]

142
516
854
291

Tagnani mother and daughter

Tagnani mother and son

Tagnani Indian

Serra do Norte Indians

7: Roquette-Pinto--138 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[198]

142
516
●291
301

Tagnani Nambicuara Indians

Nambicuara Indian

Tagnani girls

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

7-Roquette-Pinto--28A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[230]

516
291

Nambicuara at Três Buritis

[258]

Nambicuara children

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandrê.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[[178]] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. [Fig. 30]

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

291 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
104 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of embira around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
184 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

291 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[293] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl, [304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[512] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all arest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 58A]

[314] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialaçu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, [515] after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[284] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

7:Roquette-Pinto--35A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 242]

142
516
291
301

Uaintaçu Indians
Post at Campos Novos

Serra do Norte Indian

Cocozu couple

Anunze Nambicuara (Nuleke's father)

3.Roquette-Pinto--438 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 254]

M2
322
291
341
516

Amunze women.

Tawite camp at Tres Buritis.

[280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the seeds of a Cyperacea (tanielkerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . .

Oradaikrusê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa) palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

The jalaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

[281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admired the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River ; . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

. . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-tratiçú) seems to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajos tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. ...(70, p.]

7 Roquette-Pinto--59B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

291
287

[281]

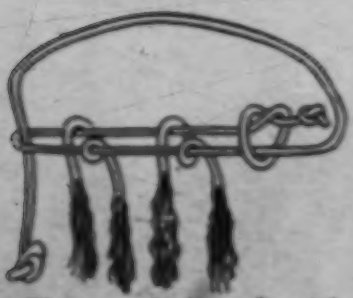


Fig. 60. Outline of an ialaçu, straw cape of the Serra do Norte Indians.

Plate III

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page./

721 collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its
[683] members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as
[537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ŝednãẽ ṷõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ṷalaṷriŝenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not.
[242 Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods
535] of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[757]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622 is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he
756 exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The
759 arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

[147]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

ORNAMENTATION

301 The Eastern Nambicuara also make a wide
306 assortment of ornaments from tucum nuts, shell, teeth, and bamboo. From the shell of the tucum nut they make black washers which are strung for necklaces or ear ornaments. The irregular-shaped washers are first ground down to an almost paper-like thinness on a piece of sandstone. They are then strung tightly on a string and the maker begins to rub them against a stone in order to make them circular. He continues rubbing until the washers are no more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, for the smaller the washer the more highly the necklace is valued, so this process takes many weeks.

301 The ear-lobes of both men and women are per-
304 forated so that tucum shell washers, beads on a string, and triangular pieces of shell can be suspended from them.

The septum of the nose and the upper lips of men are perforated. Through the hole in the septum they force a slender piece of bamboo about 2 inches in length. These adornments give a peculiar expression to the face, particularly when the man is speaking. Julio was especially proud of these ornaments and claimed that white men were just like women because they did not wear them. On special occasions a blue macaw feather about 10 inches long with a bunch of red feathers near the lower end is worn in the nose. Only shamans wear a hat made from jaguar skin.

301 The most popular necklace is made from tucum washers and is worn by men, women, and children. Short lengths of bamboo, monkey teeth, jaguar teeth and claws are also used for making necklaces for men. If very long, any necklace can be worn over one shoulder and under the arm. A special type of necklace for men is made by suspending black muscovy feathers from a string alternating with lengths of bamboo. Generally the feathers also alternate, some being long and some short. A rare but highly valued necklace is made from the shiny black horns of a large beetle.

Arm bands about an inch in width made of woven cotton are worn above the biceps by both men and women. From these, men suspend tassels of buriti fiber. This fiber is also worn around the wrists and ankles. Wrist bands are also made for women from the tail of the armadillo.

[p. 950(5)]

7:Roquette-Pinto--60C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

177
215
282

Fig. 68. Imitation of a straw hat made by a Juruena River Indian.

[280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . .

Oradaikrusê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa) palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

The jalaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

[281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282. page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

. . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hair-tsaçú) seems to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajos tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. . . . (70, p.]

It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungú!"

One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
181
291
301

2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
[513] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
[101] Paresi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaihnakorê, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of the later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the 'grated' pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

648 37. tamai'n ajtne munajtjere munajtjenaitiore njani' (bl)
609 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
201 In one case which we witnessed, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tôhé tôhé kâhé kâhé muninîti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take—commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

He was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[30] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (amã), [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananáz River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarundé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
[574] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

756 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of
279 naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

• • • • • •

622 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman,
756 plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations.
796 The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

[End Plate III]

231
302
301
142

301
304
302
192

1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-6 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
452
231]

[515
607
301]

[524
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 78). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contexts of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

[End Plate VI]

291
302
●301
516

[607]

Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]

The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
304
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342 shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season,
[361] villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepkiriwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass.

352 The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on
513 bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paresi* nicknamed them *Uaikoakóre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

[291] Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of
● 301 burity straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and and toucan feathers, or of fur with
[714] feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes And dots hanging down from the nape of the neck.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. 302 [386]

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 354

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Aruwak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark. 323 [314]

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. 412 [372] [373]

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

E Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
714
534
301
291
302

[SN]

PLATE 36.—Nambicuara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the nose flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Pangipan. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except center, *left*, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 1]

283 breaks down. After one-half hour the starchy material is washed out and the ribbons begin to separate into fine strands of fiber. The hank is then shaken out and hung up to dry. When of good quality, that is, when the rod is of the right age, the fibers dry out a pale cream color. While the man is occupied at this task the girls make temporary necklaces from the green outer skin and the boys use the thin central stems as arrows for their small bows. These dried-out hanks are [301] a favorite decoration of the Nambicuara when painted with horizontal bands of urucú. They can then be suspended from the neck and allowed to hang down the back, or pieces are attached to the arm bands, leg bands, and in front to the belt.

Cotton twine is used for making arrows, stringing beads, weaving arm bands and the narrow shoulder straps which women use for carrying young children. From the cotton bush (*kúndou*) the woman picks the bolls (*kúnkisu*) to make cotton twine (*kúnalisu*). As the making of buriti twine is a man's task, so the making of cotton twine is purely a woman's task. After picking the seeds from the bolls she spreads the cotton into flat disks and then into circles. Next she breaks the circles and joins them to form a long rope about an inch in diameter. This rope she winds around her arm, twists the end of it with her fingers, and fastens it to the top of a spindle (*wanikisu*). With a twirl of her fingers she sets it spinning and lets it drop, plucking out the cotton as it is spun. Later she unties the string and fastens it near the whorl and then by spinning the spindle on the ground the twine is wrapped around it. This process is repeated until the cotton rope is used up.

286 The men do the weaving on a true but very makeshift loom. Two forked sticks, roughly a yard long, are thrust into the ground about 2 feet apart and at an angle. One cross bar rests in the forks while another is fastened on near the ground. The warp is wound around these cross bars. The heddle, shuttle, and sword are used in [177] weaving the narrow material. It seems very likely that this type of loom was taken over from the Arawakan Paressí.

The bast strap or band (*sa'am*) is made from embira and is used for pressing manioc pulp, for carrying children or baskets, and, when cut into strips, is used for tying up bundles.

[p. 95 (N)]

ORNAMENTATION

301 The Eastern Nambicuara also make a wide
306 assortment of ornaments from tucum nuts, shell, teeth, and bamboo. From the shell of the tucum nut they make black washers which are strung for necklaces or ear ornaments. The irregular-shaped washers are first ground down to an almost paper-like thinness on a piece of sandstone. They are then strung tightly on a string and the maker begins to rub them against a stone in order to make them circular. He continues rubbing until the washers are no more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, for the smaller the washer the more highly the necklace is valued, as this process takes many weeks.

301 The ear lobes of both men and women are per-
304 forated so that tucum shell washers, beads on a string, and triangular pieces of shell can be suspended from them.

The septum of the nose and the upper lips of men are perforated. Through the hole in the septum they force a slender piece of bamboo about 2 inches in length. These adornments give a peculiar expression to the face, particularly when the man is speaking. Julio was especially proud of these ornaments and claimed that white men were just like women because they did not wear them. On special occasions a blue macaw feather about 10 inches long with a bunch of red feathers near the lower end is worn in the nose. Only shamans wear a hat made from jaguar skin.

[292] [156]

301 The most popular necklace is made from tucum washers and is worn by men, women, and children. Short lengths of bamboo, monkey teeth, jaguar teeth and claws are also used for making necklaces for men. If very long, any necklace can be worn over one shoulder and under the arm. A special type of necklace for men is made by suspending black mutum feathers from a string alternating with lengths of bamboo. Generally the feathers also alternate, some being long and some short. A rare but highly valued necklace is made from the shiny black fleurs of a large beetle.

Arm bands about an inch in width made of woven cotton are worn above the biceps by both men and women. From these, men suspend tassels of buriti fiber. This fiber is also worn around the wrists and ankles. Wrist bands are also made for women from the tail of the armadillo.

[p.95(B)]

6: Oberg E-5 (1969) 1953 SP17 Hambleuara SP17

411
142
291
226
286
301

[p. 136 (H)]

372
316
415
482

881
301
302
291
142

[illegible]

[p. 136 (I)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1945) 1953 SP17 Humblemann SP17

142
291
301

[197]

[p.136(K)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí. 131 114

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákoré and Ouihanieré to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacurió-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juiba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition. 101 [184]

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacaiba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atsíri and the Amúésa of the Gran Pajonal. 142 301 [304] 241 276 513

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kôtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native breu or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature. 252 381 [411]

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices. 412 [301 554] 411 [147] 534

?: Roquette-Pinto--2A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Nambicuara Indian

Uaicoinjda--Indian of the Juina River

Serra do Norte Indian

Nambicuara Indian

7: Roquette-Pinto--138 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[198]

142
516
291
301

Tagnani Nambicuara Indians

Nambicuara Indian

Tagnani girls

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

?Roquette-Pinto--31A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambiquara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301

Fig. 38. Cotton arm band.

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
189 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocoma to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [238], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

297 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[298] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

342 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

● 301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl, [304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

?:Roquette-Pinto--SIB E-4, 5 (no date)1908 SP1? Nambicuara SP1?
(ca. 1912)

301

Fig. 33. Serra do Norte Indian wearing the enadjú or jabuar hide helmet.

?Roquette-Pinto--34 E-4,5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

304 Only the men have pierced upper lips and nasal septa; the women, never.

Children still at the breast did not have their lip or septum perforated; but those whose first milk molars had appeared already had both areas pierced. Hence I believe that this operation is not performed until boys have reached the age of two.

●301 Not until they are five or seven do they begin to insert through the lip and nose perforations some thin and distinctive plugs nearly always made of reed stems.

Their use is widespread in the Serra do Norte; I have seldom seen Indian men without those plugs.

[Fig. 35]

The lip plug rests between the median upper incisors and protrudes aggressively upward; the septum plug is thicker and shorter. Both are cut to the appropriate size by means of fire.

[341] If the plugs fall out, the wearer immediately retrieves them and sets them back in the perforations; on those few occasions when [the Indians] removed them to show us how they were fastened, they promptly replaced them as if ashamed to be deprived of their ornaments.

As a rule they wear both simultaneously. Some Indians prefer to the modest nose plug another adorned with a macaw or curassow feather.

[584] Contrary to what used to be thought, these ornaments do not seem to constitute marks of distinction or signs of hierarchy.

We saw youths of eighteen adorned with such plumes; none of the Indians accorded them the least importance.

When they wear these feathers, they forego the lip plug.

Their predilection for black beads is remarkable; they make them from the shells of small palm nuts to form multi-looped necklaces, and when we offered them an assortment of glass beads they chose the black ones at first. Yet they ended up choosing all of them... They are insatiable.

Nevertheless, their ornaments are predominantly black in color. Black bracelets; rings made with black palm nuts which they used to wear as ear pendants and which they carry now on their fingers to

7/Roquette-Pinto--644 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

301

Fig. 39. Irunguinindé--necklace made with the seeds of a Sapotacea (Lucuma sp.).

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A]

[238] The Uaintacu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

301 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialacu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, [515] after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[239] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

7:Roquette-Pinto--35A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 242]

142
516
291
301

Uaintaçu Indians
Post at Campos Novos

Serra do Norte Indian

Cocozu couple

Anunze Nambicuara (Nuleke's father)

7:Roquette-Pinto--35B E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301

Fig. 35. Necklaces of nacre discs and monkey teeth.

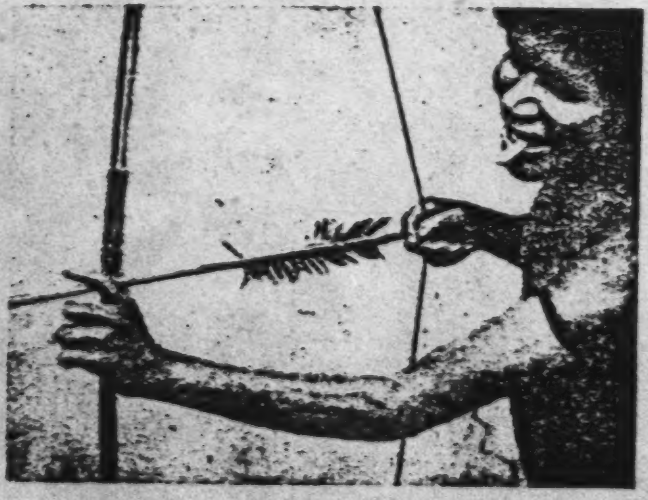
7; Roquette-Pinto--38B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 248]

302
316

Cocozu Nambicuara

411
301



Nambicuara Indian stringing his bow.

7:Roquette-Pinto--41B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301

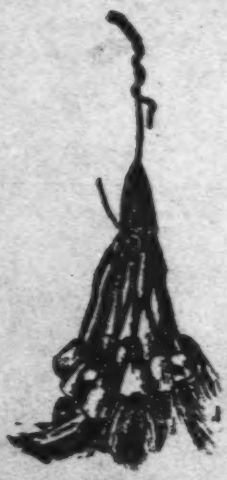


Fig. 42. Pendant of tucan feathers.

7:Roquette-Pinto--42 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

113 Brasil [Materials for the Study of Brazilian Indian Psychology]." Arquivos Brasileiros de Psiquiatria, Neurologia e Medicina Legal (Rio de Janeiro, 1917).

237 301 Featherwork is scarce and in fact insignificant. One of the illustrations in this book [p. (60B)] shows an interesting feather diadem patterned after an object of similar type but of admirable craftsmanship which the Indians purloined from their neighbors to the west and which is also to be found in the [National] Museum. (2) [Fig. 42]

2. Semicircular straw head ornaments are to be found mainly in the state of Amazonas as well as among the Huari of the Guaporé River, who resemble the Nambicuara in their primitive axes, their circular houses, etc. (Cf. Nordenskjöld, "The Ethnography of South America Seen from Mojos in Bolivia." [Engl.]).

The use of cotton has given an extraordinary boost to the development of featherwork among the Tupian Indians, as I demonstrated with the gorgeous ornaments made by the Urubu Indians (Gurupi River). The Nambicuara are familiar with cotton, but have not even developed featherwork based on plaiting or netting; this seems to attest to a tradition poor in such textile techniques. The Guayaki, who are Tupian Indians of rudimentary culture, according to Vellard, have neither featherwork nor agriculture. (R. L.)

535 We were able to observe two types of dances: a war dance which we recorded in a film shown at the National Library [of Rio de Janeiro] on March 15, 1913, and in which Indians of the Cocozu,

7-Roquette-Pinto--43B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 254]

142
302
291
301
516

Anunze women.

Tawite camp at Tres Buritis.

7:Roquette-Pinto--44A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301

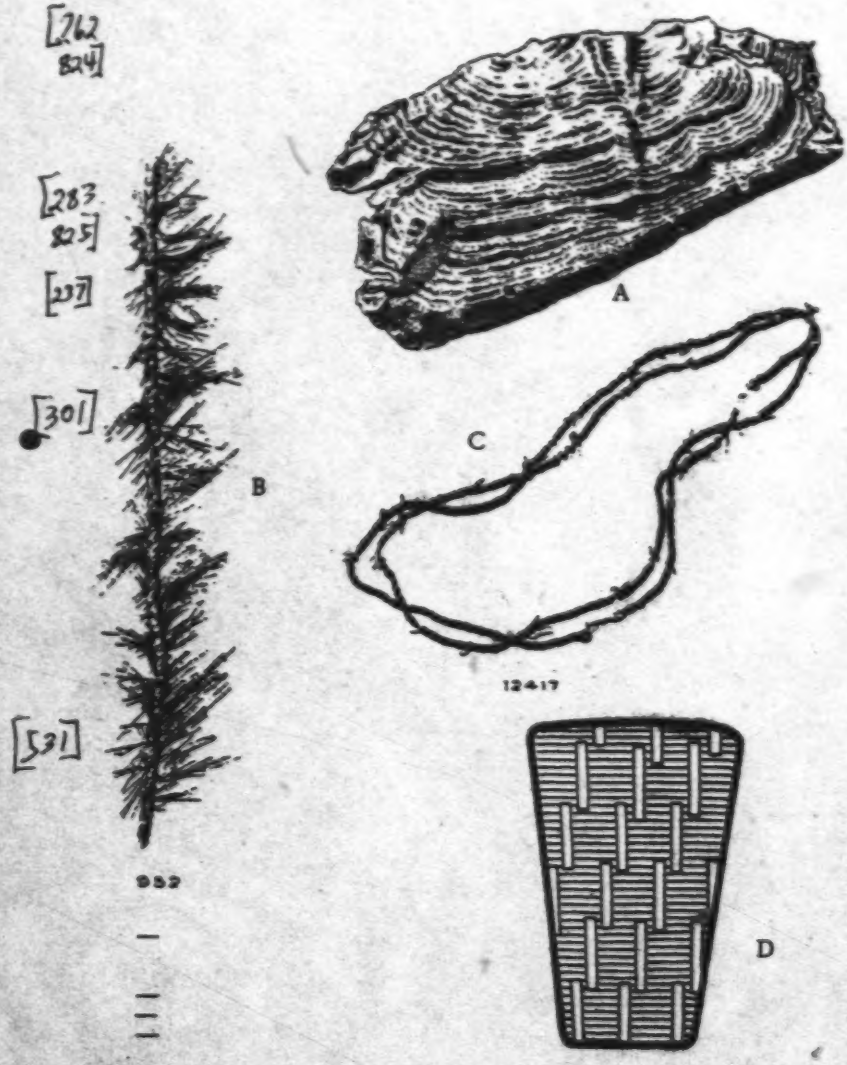
Fig. 44 — Shell necklace.

7:Roquette-Pinto--46A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301

Fig. 45. Dodezê--Necklace with limbs of coleopters.

7:Roquette-Pinto--57A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)



A. Arezi mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

301 [280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the [529] seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . . .

Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of [525 237] the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa) [524] palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

291 The ialaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

301 [281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

285 Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

[293] . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

534 A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçú) seems [171] to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

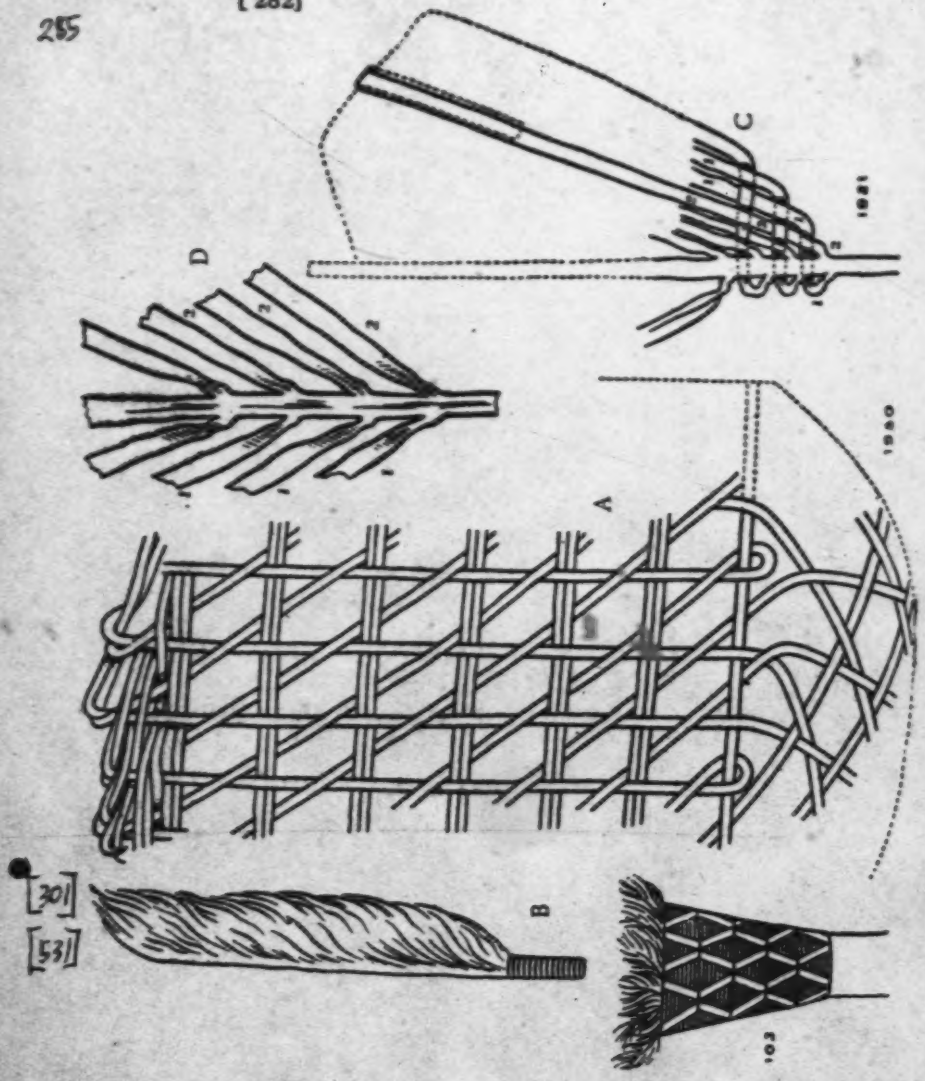
The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajoz tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. . . .(70, p.]

7:Roquette-Pinto--59A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301
237

Fig. 65. Oradaikruzê--Serra do Norte bracelet.

255



A. Pattern of basketry made with the flexible stem of a Desmoncus.
B. Details of nose plume.
C and D. Weaving pattern of palm leaf fan.

7:Roquette-Pinto--60B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301

Serra do Norte diadem --Serra do Norte feather ornament.

174

but smooth-edged axes, is more akin to the proto-Neolithic or transitional period. The present trend is to recognize in the New World Paleolithic industries . . . but no formal overlapping periods as in Europe. (R. L.)

A later footnote by Heloisa Alberto-Torres which is not reproduced here contains the following statement: ". . . an interesting ethnographic relationship is [established by] the absolute identity of Australian and Nambicuara axes . . ." (Ed.)

At first observation, the Nambicuara might seem to be an old and backward branch of the Paresi tribe.

[308] What we know of the physical anthropology, ethnography and linguistics of both groups, however, invalidates this supposition.

177 Yet their culture bears unmistakable signs of Paresi influence.
[342] The first is the beehive-shaped house, formerly built by the Paresi. This is an import among the Nambicuara; the original house of the Serra do Norte Indians is the screen of leaves and branches, similar to the kijême of the Botocudo (Windschirm of the German ethnologists) and reminiscent of the North American wigwam.

[Fig., p. 61A]

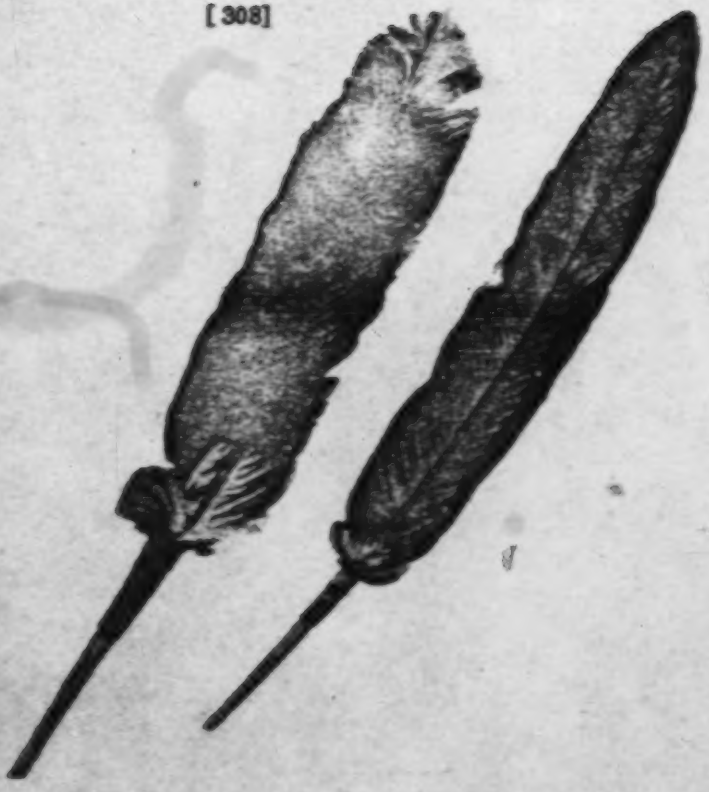
[309] And if they did not borrow the large "round house" from the Paresi, they adopted it from Bolivian Indians.

[310] Another instance of alien influence is the nose plume, which the Paresi do not wear now but which formerly, according to Antonio
177 Pires, they could not do without; and also the nose flute, which
534 [the Nambicuara] play unskilfully, as though it were a little-known instrument of yet unfathomed secrets.

The double flute seems to have been brought from the north. It must be an import from the Maue and Munducuru, with whom the Serra do Norte Indians have had serious clashes as already mentioned above.

7:Roquette-Pinto--61A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301



Nose ornament.

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the
[288] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[289] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

●[290] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to
197 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be-
177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parataninga River, who use helmets of the same material.

174 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob-
171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Bororudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page./

-8:Vellard--17 D.E-6 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate III]

231
302
301
142

301
304
302
142

1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[432
411]
415

[231
342
415]
285

[231
222]
482
855

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
48
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

[End Plate VII]

291
302
301
516

[607]

Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]

The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Arawak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
714
534
301
291
302

[516]

PLATE 36.—Nambicuara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the nose flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Panpipes. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except *center, left,* by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 1]

291 Around the waist both men and women wear a buritĭ cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a lenth of buritĭ fiber from the front of the belt.

●302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 13) 1/1

619 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar
621 to the band territory. The Waklĭtisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*waklisu*) in their territory. The Elótasu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*toku*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitánhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tantu*. The Chiwáisu are bee people from the word *waisu*, bee. The Hégndisu are buritĭ fruit (*héeru*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as
773 it is told among the Waklĭtisu band, can be summarized as follows:

Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *yahsinduruksisu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *oklihdítlisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *oklihdítlisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the piuva bow and taught them how

1/1 [Cat. 116, p. 123.—Analysis] [p. 96 (A)]

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

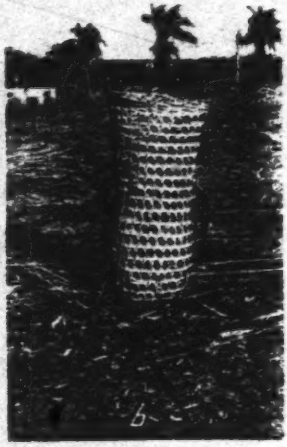
881 841 278 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Waklítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitánrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

582 585 There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who 584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of 585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (A)]

372
316
415
482



881
301
302
291
142

PLATE 8.—Nambicuara [illegible].—a, Cassada making fire. b, Nambicuara basket. c and d, Nambicuara girl with necklaces and painted designs in preparation for puberty ceremony. (By courtesy of Rev. L. Buckman.)

[p. 136 (I)]

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 124 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups:[1] Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauité]. Among the Uaintacu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians 302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A[2] and B.

[2] [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]

[1] [Nambicuara sub-groups— Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--2A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[176]

142
301
302
304

Nambicuara Indian

Uaidnirida--Indian of the Juina River

Serra do Norte Indian

Nambicuara Indian

164 These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[757] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet [278] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113]

1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

302
751

Indians are as well protected against the actinic action of the sun as if they were wearing the thick clothing of the Sahara tribes. Because they are nude, however, the air circulates freely around their body, reducing the heat and hastening the evaporation of perspiration.

"If exposed to sunlight, in accordance with the property described above, urucu absorbs only slightly the heat of the sun, reflecting the red rays and also the heat rays. For this reason the white man or one with slight pigmentation, when smeared with urucu, does not perspire excessively as does the Negro under the same circumstances.

"In view of the properties ascribed to urucu by our experiments, and of the widespread usage of this dye among the Indians of tropical America, we believe that it should be considered not as merely ornamental but as an effective means of protection against tropical light and heat."

164 [184] The manifestations and evolution of the disease lead us to believe that it is a dermatomycosis. The habitat of the pathogenic fungus is probably to be found in the soil. This would explain why the personnel of the Line, who have lived among the Nambicuara for years, have not yet contracted the disease. This also applies to the Paressi, [513] who are now in contact with the diseased Indians. Both groups, unlike the Nambicuara, make use of hammocks and never sleep on the ground.

To this day, no microscopic examination of the scales has been made, and I am not responsible for this failure. In 1912 the Indians [123] would not allow us to collect the necessary materials; they were still suspicious.

7: Roquette-Pinto--8A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[184]

164
142
302

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

Skin disease of the Serra do Norte Indians (unretouched photograph)

Nambicuara Indian

Tawite Nambicuara

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
184 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

291 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[843] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

● 302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutaú in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl, [304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A]

[184] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialaçu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not [515] draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[384] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

302 Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads,
[43] they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)

The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

●302

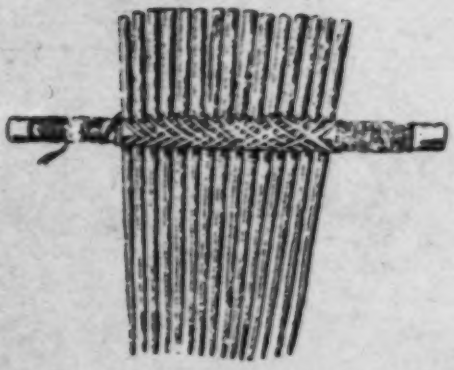


Fig. 38. Halatzũ. Serra do Norte comb.

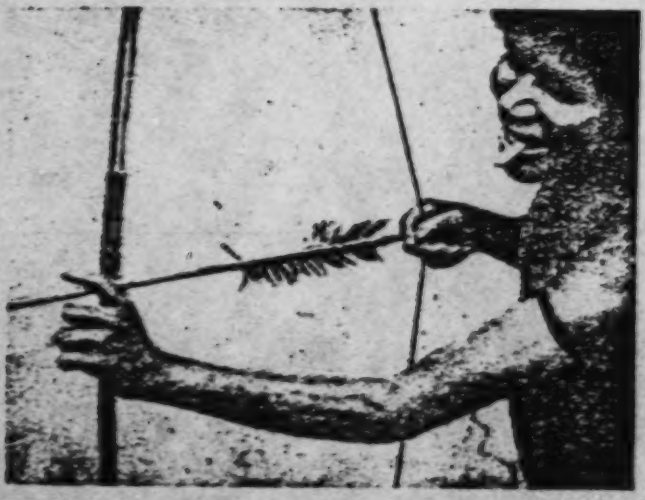
7:Roquette-Pinto--38B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 248]

302
316

Cocozu Nambicuara

411
301



Nambicuara Indian stringing his bow.

7-Roquette-Pinto--43B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 254]

142
302
291
301
516

Anunze women.

Tawite camp at Tres Buritis.

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

883 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

Plate III

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page../

8:Vellard--16 D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate IV

278
142
415
302
516

A

B

278
415
516

C

Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A-B. Draining of the bark with cold water.

C. After boiling the liquid is transferred into another receptacle where it will be concentrated at low heat.

8:Vellard--17 D,E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Sabanè

Plate V

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page./

585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

831

1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, id., IX, 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc.cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [553 the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal ● 304] septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. uetnoãdige iochãdige uilikade uelikãdelikinere nukeaiore judotige iurosenie nikama iurojotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

* * * * *

[End Plate III]

231
302
301
142

301
304
302
142

1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

ORNAMENTATION

301 The Eastern Nambicuara also make a wide
306 assortment of ornaments from tucum nuts, shell, teeth, and bamboo. From the shell of the tucum nut they make black washers which are strung for necklaces or ear ornaments. The irregular-shaped washers are first ground down to an almost paper-like thinness on a piece of sandstone. They are then strung tightly on a string and the maker begins to rub them against a stone in order to make them circular. He continues rubbing until the washers are no more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, for the smaller the washer the more highly the necklace is valued, as this process takes many weeks.

301 The ear lobes of both men and women are per-
● 304 forated so that tucum shell washers, beads on a string, and triangular pieces of shell can be suspended from them.

The septum of the nose and the upper lips of men are perforated. Through the hole in the septum they force a slender piece of bamboo about 2 inches in length. These adornments give a peculiar expression to the face, particularly when the man is speaking. Julio was especially proud of these ornaments and claimed that white men were just like women because they did not wear them. On special occasions a blue macaw feather about 10 inches long with a bunch of red feathers near the lower end is worn in the nose. Only shamans wear a hat made from jaguar skin.

[292 E 756]

301 The most popular necklace is made from tucum washers and is worn by men, women, and children. Short lengths of bamboo, monkey teeth, jaguar teeth and claws are also used for making necklaces for men. If very long, any necklace can be worn over one shoulder and under the arm. A special type of necklace for men is made by suspending black mutúm feathers from a string alternating with lengths of bamboo. Generally the feathers also alternate, some being long and some short. A rare but highly valued necklace is made from the shiny black horns of a large beetle.

Arm bands about an inch in width made of woven cotton are worn above the biceps by both men and women. From these, men suspend tassels of buritĺ fiber. This fiber is also worn around the wrists and ankles. Wrist bands are also made for women from the tail of the armadillo.

[p. 95(B)]

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed [304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks [551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Waklítisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitánrhu are [845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate [848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent development. [845] Crippled or malformed babies are not [847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years 853 old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her 854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of firewood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave 853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out 252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

[p. 103 (a)]

853 252 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination. [862] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced [304] with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present at the ceremony. [553] The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her female relatives. [202] The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the camp until the moon is full. [251] While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mucúba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amuésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

7: Roquette-Pinto--2A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[176]

142
301
302
304

Nambicuara Indian

Uaidnirida--Indian of the Juina River

Serra do Norte Indian

Nambicuara Indian

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
184 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

291 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[243] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl, [304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

304 Only the men have pierced upper lips and nasal septa; the women, never.

Children still at the breast did not have their lip or septum perforated; but those whose first milk molars had appeared already had both areas pierced. Hence I believe that this operation is not performed until boys have reached the age of two.

301 Not until they are five or seven do they begin to insert through the lip and nose perforations some thin and distinctive plugs nearly always made of reed stems.

Their use is widespread in the Serra do Norte; I have seldom seen Indian men without those plugs.

[Fig. 35]

The lip plug rests between the median upper incisors and protrudes aggressively upward; the septum plug is thicker and shorter. Both are cut to the appropriate size by means of fire.

[241] If the plugs fall out, the wearer immediately retrieves them and sets them back in the perforations; on those few occasions when [the Indians] removed them to show us how they were fastened, they promptly replaced them as if ashamed to be deprived of their ornaments.

As a rule they wear both simultaneously. Some Indians prefer to the modest nose plug another adorned with a macaw or curassow feather.

[304] Contrary to what used to be thought, these ornaments do not seem to constitute marks of distinction or signs of hierarchy.

We saw youths of eighteen adorned with such plumes; none of the Indians accorded them the least importance.

When they wear these feathers, they forego the lip plug.

Their predilection for black beads is remarkable; they make them from the shells of small palm nuts to form multi-looped necklaces, and when we offered them an assortment of glass beads they chose the black ones at first. Yet they ended up choosing all of them... They are insatiable.

Nevertheless, their ornaments are predominantly black in color. Black bracelets; rings made with black palm nuts which they used to wear as ear pendants and which they carry now on their fingers to

513
[516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nut-
[306] [515] shells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants,
521 silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes
[262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats,
824 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly
[855] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood
512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight,
313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying
482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342
306
286
291

[415]

[411]

PLATE 27.—Nambicuara and upper Caingang Indians. *Top:* Pimenta Bueno Ind. *Center, left:* Nambicuara family shelter. *Center, right:* Nambicuara man weaving an armband. *Bottom, left:* Nambicuara family. *Bottom, right:* Woman drilling a mother of pearl earring. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except bottom, *left*, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

412 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes,
415 knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along
[264] the way. Whenever they kill some animal or catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel
412 axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the Waklitisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes,
177 two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a
[439] few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatíru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo
[306] knife (*alkúkwirikatu*); a hardwood drill (*hiskatu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*dáligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'ênatu*), used as sandpaper; and a
415 comb (*ha'álatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *kúkisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

[p. 93(A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

411 (1) The *hányesu*, an arrow which is used for
[223 shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lash-
224] ing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or
piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point
of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *saláitsu*, or fish arrow, is made by
lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches
long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need
not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes
substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dánkisu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for
shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft,
the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about
an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptisu*, or big game arrow, has a broad
split bamboo point about 12 inches in length
which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo
point is slightly grooved along the center, the
foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be
lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point.
Formerly curare poison was smeared along the
groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one
or both sides. In former times, this arrow-
head was poisoned with curare. It was attached
loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an
animal it became detached from the shaft. This
arrow was used against big game like the jaguar,
tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when
shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and
forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull
the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the
hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum
and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum
palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *hatáisu*, provides not
[306] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for
making the black, round, flat necklace washers,
[252] and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes
in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a
little stronger than buriti twine is used for bow-
strings, for stringing beads, and for many other
purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he
sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the
young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter
for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The
woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it
double in the middle so that the woody fiber
breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

[p. 94 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ORNAMENTATION

301 The Eastern Nambicuara also make a wide
•306 assortment of ornaments from tucum nuts, shell, teeth, and bamboo. From the shell of the tucum nut they make black washers which are strung for necklaces or ear ornaments. The irregular-shaped washers are first ground down to an almost paper-like thinness on a piece of sandstone. They are then strung tightly on a string and the maker begins to rub them against a stone in order to make them circular. He continues rubbing until the washers are no more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, for the smaller the washer the more highly the necklace is valued, as this process takes many weeks.

301 The ear lobes of both men and women are per-
304 forated so that tucum shell washers, beads on a string, and triangular pieces of shell can be suspended from them.

The septum of the nose and the upper lips of men are perforated. Through the hole in the septum they force a slender piece of bamboo about 2 inches in length. These adornments give a peculiar expression to the face, particularly when the man is speaking. Julio was especially proud of these ornaments and claimed that white men were just like women because they did not wear them. On special occasions a blue macaw feather [292] about 10 inches long with a bunch of red feathers [156] near the lower end is worn in the nose. Only shamans wear a hat made from jaguar skin.

301 The most popular necklace is made from tucum washers and is worn by men, women, and children. Short lengths of bamboo, monkey teeth, jaguar teeth and claws are also used for making necklaces for men. If very long, any necklace can be worn over one shoulder and under the arm. A special type of necklace for men is made by suspending black mutúm feathers from a string alternating with lengths of bamboo. Generally the feathers also alternate, some being long and some short. A rare but highly valued necklace is made from the shiny black horns of a large beetle.

Arm bands about an inch in width made of woven cotton are worn above the biceps by both men and women. From these, men suspend tassels of buriti fiber. This fiber is also worn around the wrists and ankles. Wrist bands are also made for women from the tail of the armadillo.

[p. 95(B)]

132
134 The soil here is sandy and the rainfall insufficient
to support a forest. The vegetation consisted of
136 stunted piqui, mangabeira, fruta de lobo, lixeiro,
137 and other gnarled cerrado trees with the surface
sparcely covered with bunches of wiry grass and
other drought-resistant plants. During the whole
day we saw only four deer and two rheas, which
gives some idea of the poverty of the area. This
000 is public domain and apparently unwanted by
stockmen owing to its poor soil and lack of water.
By now we had left the telegraph line, which
crosses unbridged rivers, and were winding around
the headwaters of the streams. That night we
camped at Sucuruina where two palm-leaf-cov-
ered sheds, left by "tropeiros," provided some
shelter from the drizzling rain.

133 The following day the skies cleared and from the
137 tops of the folds in the plateau we obtained
magnificient views of the great plain. What few
● 312 trees could be seen were no more than 5 or 6 feet
high. A curious phenomena seen along the plateau
are the patches of forest of 5 to 10 acres in extent
which appear to grow straight out of the semi-
desert. Evidently ground water comes near the
surface in these spots, permitting the growth of a
genuine forest. Another interesting sight was the
birth of rivers. In the shallow valleys formed by
the folds, one could first see swampy ground, then
tall grass, then bushes, then short trees, and
finally the tall trees forming a "galeria" forest
which bordered a river winding its way northward
to form one of the headwaters of the Amazon
system.

At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Sacre River where
the trucks had to be ferried across on a raft.
As this operation took until dark we camped for
the night in some vacant buildings left by rubber
workers. Before leaving next morning we visited
the waterfall (Salto Bello) about 200 yards below
the ferry where the Sacre River tumbles over a
sheer drop of about 180 feet. Early in the after-
noon we reached the Papagaio River and after
ferrying the trucks across we were in Utiarity.
Both the Sacre and the Papagaio are deep clear
streams about 100 yards in width at the ferry
crossings. These headwater streams are evidently
fed by underground water, for their level does not
vary appreciably during the year.

000 Utiarity, which was to be our base camp for the
remainder of June and for July, is built on an

1 [on the Cerra dos Parecis.] [p. 83(8)]
- Analyst -

513 [516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting [306] on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nut- [515] shells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 824 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [858] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, ● 313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

The Waklĭtisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresí in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Waklĭtisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
854] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
222 her. As they move slowly along they collect fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
●313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has
[177] a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

226 Xingú, the Nambicuara timbó fishing appears very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in [252] leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked. Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nambicuara also claim that they fish at night with [177] torches along the river banks. This method may have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

241 The principal food crops grown by the Nambicuara are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrowroot, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton, tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and native names of these plants are listed in Appendix 1.[1] In more recent times they are known to produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The dependence upon food crops in relation to game, fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gage. The statements of missionaries, however, appear to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide a year-round food supply and may actually play a minor role as compared with dependence upon noncultivated resources.

Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria" forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most of their hunting and collecting. The Waklítisu band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we have said, lives in a single house while thus occupied. In the past the field (*haítsu*) was [177] cleared with a stone ax (*stúneu*) and a wooden club (*hukwéniu*). Today steel axes and machetes are used, but the method of planting is still the same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the statement that in the past when a new field had to be cleared the people had to work during most of the wet season in order to fell the trees, a task which they now perform in May and June.

Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten down with the wooden club. The Nambicuara 241 had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near • 313 the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small trees part way through, then selected a number of large trees as kingpins. When these large trees were felled they knocked down the smaller trees below them. This was continued until they had a circular clearing of the required size on the slope. 241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

[1] [Cat. 116, pp. 124-126.—Ed.] [p. 90 (B)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17Nambicuara SP17

com a dois. As cestas de carga têm grande capacidade e são feitas de taquára. Os seus laços são fixados no fundo e nas paredes laterаes, passando pelas axilas e pelas espaduas de la india portadora.

Os Nhambiquára fazem ceramica de uma pasta grosseira, negra e mal cozida, na qual se acha a arjila misturada á grande porção de cinzas (Fig. 2).

[323]

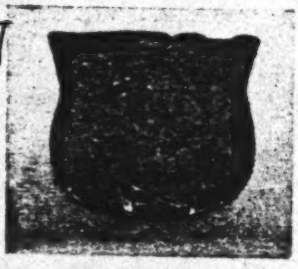


FIG. 2.—CERAMICA DOS NHAMBIQUÁRA.
[Nambicuara pottery]

Para derrubar as arvores do terreno destinado á cultura, uzam do machado de pedra (diabaze) fixado em um cabo de madeira, por meio de cordeis e breu (Fig. 3). O indio que consegue deitar abaixo certas arvores com este instrumento, recebe como premio uma bella pena de arara ou mutum (*Crax globulosa*), que se destina ao nariz. Esta especie de condecoração conferida por trabalho industrial é tanto, mais notavel quanto, em geral, taes distincções, entre os selvagens do Brazil, são reservadas ao merito guerreiro.

Os arcos geralmente muito grandes, muito fortes, de madeira vermelha, são muito bem alizados. A sua secção transversal é semi-cilindrica. Seu comprimento varia, nos que existem na coleção, entre 1 m. 80, e 2 m. 38. Para obter uma flexa de 50 c. entre a corda e o arco de 2 m. 38, em experiencia feita, precizámos uma força de tração correspondente á 60 k. verificados no dinamometro. A corda é de tucum (*Astrocarium tucum*), e tem um diametro de 2 mm.

[313 442]

FIG. 3.—MACHADO DE PEDRA (DIABAZE) PARA DERRUBAR ARVORES.
[Stone axe for felling trees]

As flechas destes indios têm aspétos diferentes e pódemser caracterizadas pela fórma das pontas, segundo 5 tipos (Fig. 4).

O primeiro tipo tem a ponta de madeira vermelha, inteiramente liza e cilindrica (Fig. 4, *e*); o segundo se caracteriza por um pequeno aculeo fixado á ponta, dando-lhe a fórma de harpão (Fig. 4, *b*); tem a ponta de taquára em fórma de punhal com cerca de 25 c. de comprimento, as flechas do terceiro tipo (Fig. 4, *af*); as do quarto tipo distinguem-se mui facilmente por ter a ponta achatada, e provida, lateralmente, de 11 pares de farpas. As mais curiosas das flechas dos Nhambiquára são as do quinto tipo (Fig. 4, *ai*). Sua ponta tem farpas fixadas por meio de fios de

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the *"Arawak"* type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

The Wakl'tisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresí in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakl'tisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
854] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
● [314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has
[177] a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Wakĺtisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitánrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who is to become the husband of a girl just out of seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (a)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

000 old Paressí Indian village site on the west bank of the Papagaio. It is a division point in the telegraph line, and besides the telegraph operator there is a section boss and a number of Paressí Indian linemen. As the Nambicuara take whatever wire they feel they need, the linemen are kept busy repairing the line. There are 12 houses in the settlement proper with the buildings of the Protestant Mission forming one end of the town and the buildings of the Jesuit Mission forming the other.

● [316]

The line boss, who is also the mayor of the town, gave Kaoro and me a two-room mud-and-wattle house as our quarters. Our meals we took with the two American missionary families. The Catholic Mission was under the charge of Father Roberto, a Frenchman, and Father João, an Austrian. In addition, there were three sisters in charge of a school. The priests had developed extensive fields of manioc and rice, irrigating the fields by diverting water from the river. They had also set up an electric-light plant, using water as a source of power. There are tremendous possibilities for power development, for Utiarity Falls, situated some half a mile distant, has a drop of about 240 feet. Unfortunately this power resource is located in a practically uninhabited, semiarid region.

797 484 The Rev. L. W. Buckman, who has been in the area since 1941, kindly consented to prepare a pack train, using the mission oxen and mules, to go in search of the nearest band of Nambicuara. On the third day after our arrival when our preparations were well along, however, a band of Nambicuara came to Utiarity. In fact they were able to get a ride on João Tapuya's trucks as he was returning from Burity, the end of the truck road. This was Julio's band of some 18 people known by the Nambicuara as the Waklítisu. Their purpose was to bring one of their men who had running syphilis sores to the Jesuit Mission for treatment. This changed our plans, for we now had one of the four Eastern Nambiucara bands in camp, which would give us plenty to do for the limited period of our visit. Also during the first 000 week, Father João returned from the Iranxe village, bringing five men, and offered to assist us in gathering whatever information we could get from them. This we found to be very difficult, as the Iranxe spoke no Portuguese and the mis-

372
316
415
482

881
301
302
291
142

PLATE 4.—Nambicuara scenes.—a, Cascade making fire. b, Nambicuara basket. c and d, Nambicuara girl with necklace and painted designs in preparation for puberty ceremony. (By courtesy of Rev. L. Buckman.)

[p. 136 (I)]

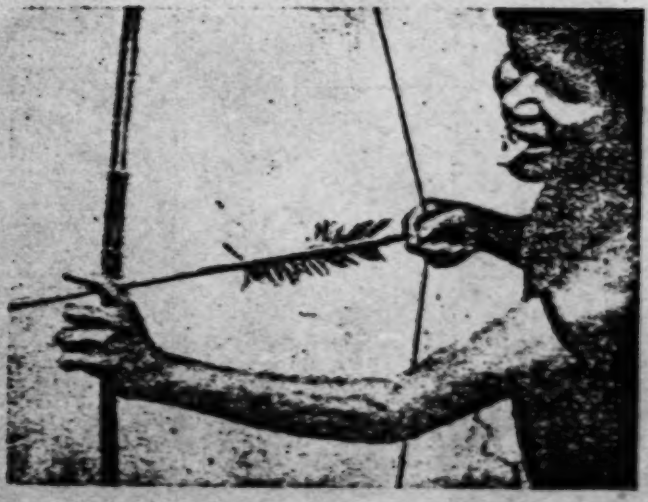
7:Roquette-Pinto--38B E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 248]

302
316

Cocozu Nambicuara

411
301



Nambicuara Indian stringing his bow.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

The telegraph line which runs from Cuiabá, the capital of Mato Grosso, to Porto Velho on the Madeira River has created a narrow corridor of the known through the vast unknown stretches of northwestern Mato Grosso. Along this line the Government has established telegraph stations manned by telegraph operators, many of whom are Paresí Indians. A makeshift road, over which trucks can travel, follows the line a few miles past Utiarity to Burity; beyond this the road is no more than a trail along which men ride on horseback and goods are transported by pack oxen. At Vilhena there is an army airfield.

Since 1912, when the line was completed, this corridor has been the highway of men who have sought rubber, diamonds, gold, and Indian souls. No permanent settlements of farmers or stockmen, as yet, occupy this vast hinterland. The rubber concessioner, usually a man from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, or Cuiabá with sufficient funds to buy a truck or two, lays claim to a stretch of "galeria" forest, builds a camp along the road, hires a number of tappers, and goes into business. Each underpaid tapper works an area of trees, bringing his rubber to camp on his back or more rarely on oxback. Food must be brought in from Cuiabá, and as supplies, at best, are precarious, any delay in truck transportation brings scurvy and starvation. Eventually the workers drift away, some it is said dying on the way, and the operation ceases. During the last war the United States Government, through the Rubber Reserve, enabled rubber operations to expand. Good camps were established and the road improved. Today, however, the camps and the road are deteriorating, leaving the field to the shoe-string operator with his second-hand truck. The operations of the gold and diamond miners are still more uncertain. In small groups they enter the area, their scanty supplies carried on oxen and mules. Men unfamiliar with the semiarid wastes easily miss the areas where fodder and water can be obtained, the pack animals die and the stranded men are left to find their way out the best they can. At Utiarity I met a miner who was waiting for food supplies from Cuiabá. He had four oxen and two

[p. 82(B)]

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

* * * * *

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Aruaak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Oronoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

The Wakítisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paressí in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakítisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
854] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
222 her. As they move slowly along they collect fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats,
226 wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae. When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

5 Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date) 1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

cos a dois. As cestas de carga têm grande capacidade e são feitas de taquára. Os seus laços são fixados no fundo e nas paredes lateraes, passando pelas axilas e pelas espaduas de la india portadora.

Os Nhambiquára fazem ceramica de uma pasta grosseira, negra e mal cozida, na qual se acha a arjila misturada á grande porção de cinzas (Fig. 2).

[323]

FIG. 2.—CERAMICA DOS NHAMBIQUÁRA.
[Nambicuara pottery]

Para derrubar as arvores do terreno destinado á cultura, uzam do machado de pedra (diabaze) fixado em um cabo de madeira, por meio de cordeis e breu (Fig. 3). O indio que consegue deitar abaixo certas arvores com este instrumento, recebe como premio uma bella pena de arara ou mutum (*Crax globulosa*), que se destina ao nariz. Esta especie de condecoração conferida por trabalho industrial é tanto, mais notavel quanto, em geral, taes distinçoes, entre os selvagens do Brazil, são reservadas ao merito guerreiro.

Os arcos geralmente muito grandes, muito fortes, de madeira vermelha, são muito bem alizados. A sua secção transversal é semi-cilindrica. Seu comprimento varia, nos que existem na coleção, entre 1 m. 80, e 2 m. 38. Para obter uma flexa de 50 c. entre a corda e o arco de 2 m. 38, em experiencia feita, precizámos uma força de tração correspondente á 60 k. verificados no dinamometro. A corda é de tucum (*Astrocarium tucum*), e tem um diametro de 2 mm.

[313
412]

FIG. 3.—MACHADO DE PEDRA (DIABAZE) PARA DERRUBAR ARVORES.
[stone axe for felling trees]

As flechas destes indios têm aspétos diferentes e pódemser caracterizadas pela fórma das pontas, segundo 5 tipos (Fig. 4).

O primeiro tipo tem a ponta de madeira vermelha, inteiramente liza e cilindrica (Fig. 4, *e*); o segundo se caracteriza por um pequeno aculeo fixado á ponta, dando-lhe a fórma de harpão (Fig. 4, *b*); tem a ponta de taquára em fórma de punhal com cerca de 25 c. de comprimento, as flechas do terceiro tipo (Fig. 4, *af*); as do quarto tipo distinguem-se mui facilmente por ter a ponta achatada, e provida, lateralmente, de 11 pares de farpas. As mais curiosas das flechas dos Nhambiquára são as do quinto tipo (Fig. 4, *cd*). Sua ponta tem farpas fixadas por meio de fios de

8:Vellard--17a D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate V

278 Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A. The curare is skimmed during the boiling.

[412] B. Testing of the degree of concentration of the product with the aid of a straw.

[415 824] C. Funnel made of a leaf rolled into a horn and the leaf used to make it.

[415 323] D. A pot of grey clay, badly baked, used to prepare and keep curare (Nhambikwara of the Cabixi River).

411
278

experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

411 Aieraçũ: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[227] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong [824] imbé liana (Philodendron imbe, Mart.).

[Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

● [324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a Bauhinia. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . . .

381 [824] The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatai (Hymenea stigonocarpa or H. stilbocarpa), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of dukutaarũ, which means "wax."

[Fig. 62]

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an
[768] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

352 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts,
[484] weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paressi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

593 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark
182 prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection
462 against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms
● [342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or
[415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as con-
831 cerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest
462 is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara
562 have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to
[517] signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
[83] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

857 iõndage ʔutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ʔutentere kuajkano (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[368] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ʔutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relations, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the first skeleton of the hut, are called indelẽaore; likewise, the
[534] double (kalõde) or triple (lutandione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtjane tãkanããtjane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[192] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

415
361
342
291

411
361
415
231

484
415
231

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[482
411
415]

[231
342
415
285]

[231
222
482
855]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catizal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood plants. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Sirionó*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342 [361] shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season, villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepikiriwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass.

352 513 The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paressí* nicknamed them *Uaikoakôre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

[291] 301 Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of buruty straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and and toucan feathers, or of fur with feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, [714] *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes And dots hanging down from the nape of the neck.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342
306
286
291

[415]

[411]

PLATE 37.—Nambicuara and upper Guaporé Indians. *Top:* Pimenta Bueno hut. *Center, left:* Nambicuara family shelter. *Center, right:* Nambicuara man weaving an armband. *Bottom, left:* Nambicuara family. *Bottom, right:* Woman drilling a mother of pearl earring. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except bottom, left, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Orenoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiśu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
[513] gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinedónkleru*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sihdentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*sictóutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

7:Roquette-Pinto--12A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

392
B16

At the house door —village on the Juina River

Cocozu hut — Juina River

Nambicuara village

341 The circular spot formed by the village grounds in the middle of the bush gradually acquires the appearance of a star, owing to the paths that lead out from its circumference.

[412 413] Access to the village grounds is free. There is no fence or hedge to prevent admittance to the plaza; no fortifications or other defensive features are to be found in the vicinity. (1)

> 1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná, on the other hand (like the Tupinambá of old and other [tribes]), obstructed the paths leading to their villages with spikes [estrepes] which had to be removed when they established relations with the Rondon Mission. (See Col. M. Rondon, Conferencias [Lectures], pp. 161-162.)

Nambicuara villages always consist of two houses, which are set face to face at opposite ends of the plaza.

[37] [220] The region consists of extensive forests, stretches of scrubland [cerrado], areas of nearly impenetrable bush [charravascal], and a few stretches of open prairie. The Indians prefer the scrubland as the site of their villages.

The forest is dangerous on account of snakes, wild beasts, and even timber which often crashes down on the hunters; the prairie is dangerous because it exposes the village to enemy attack and does not afford any protection against invaders. But the scrubland serves the purpose very well; it has few disadvantages and many advantages.

342 This the Nambicuara know well: their hut blends into the greyish hues of the surrounding vegetation; it is like a shrub among other shrubs; from a distance it can hardly be distinguished. Its shape, though well defined, merges into the vague forms of the bush.

Naturally, those whose eyes are accustomed to the dust-veiled mass of xerophytic upland vegetation can quickly spot the huts; the illusion cannot deceive an experienced eye. But the mimicry is nevertheless real.

171 [Map] Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld)
382

O Round or oval, of a temporary character.

Houses of a permanent character:

Roof and walls continuous (beehive-shaped house).

Roof and walls distinct.

Walls of stone or sun-dried brick.

10. Araucanians. Cf. Guevara.
20. Paresni. Cf. Max Schmidt.
28. Bacairi. Cf. K. von den Steinen.
31. Trio, Oyana. Cf. de Goeje.
33. Campa. Cf. Otto Nordenskjöld.
36. Ijca, [Evijico?], Cagaba. Cf. Bolinder.
47. Taupilang. Cf. Koch-Gruenberg.
61. Tribes to the northwest of the Amazon. Cf. Whiffen.
64. Huari. Cf. Nordenskjöld.
233. Indians of the Mapuera River. Cf. Coudreau.
234. Chipaya. Cf. Posnansky.
235. Indians of the Upper Guaporé. Cf. Felix de Lima.
277. Indians of the Machifero (Upper Amazon). Cf. Ortiguera.
278. Choquimayo Indians. Cf. Palomino.
2M. Wapishana, Taruma. Cf. Farabee.
SC. Nambicuara. Cf. Roquette-Pinto.
X3. Piaroa. Cf. Chaffanjon.

382 [221] The villages consist of fixed, permanent dwellings; in addition to these home shelters, the Nambicuara also use a type of temporary shelter which they erect rapidly wherever they may happen to be when night falls.

The permanent houses of the Juruena Valley differ but slightly from the dwellings of those Indians who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte.

The Cocozu village we visited on the Juina River consisted of two houses. The first was small, hemispherical, poorly built, and

7: Roquette-Pinto--21A E-4, 5 (no date) 1928 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 220]

Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld).

(Caption on p. 21.)

342 provided with a fairly large doorway; it could easily hold some twenty people. The other had the shape of a triangular prism, with one of its [lateral] faces to the ground. It was more carefully constructed, and measured nine meters in length, three and a half in width and two and a half in height. One of its ends was closed; on the side, hidden by the leaves which hung from the roof, there was a small door. The other end was fully open. The hut was oriented in an east-west direction, the closed end facing the east. Thus in the afternoon the rays of the sun entered the house for a few hours.

Two forked stakes, one at each end of the building, supported the ridgepole. [222] Several beams designed to hold the huge covering leaves of the babassu palm ran from the ridgepole to the ground.

The palms which were laid on one side of the roof were folded at the top over the ridgepole onto the other side; in order to hold them in this position, two rods ran the length of the house, tied to [283 827] the inner beams with knots of embira (1) cord.

1. A bast fiber yielded by one of the embira trees. (Ed.)

Tagnani and Tawite villages also consist of two huts. Each, with its entrance oriented in an east-west direction, is evenly circular at ground level and conical in shape. From the apex of the cone a pole rises a few spans above the roof; it is always forked at the tip, as shown in the photograph. The doorways are set on opposite sides of the building, facing each other.

We still do not know how the Nambicuara trace the circle which delimits the hut; it must be a freehand line, for that is how they draw this figure on their gourds. In the middle of the house they set up four stakes forked at the tip and a central support. [Fig. 16]

The forked stakes form an overhead rectangle of wood, from which flexible poles run down into the ground along the circle which delimits the house. These poles are secured and connected by horizontal rods which complete the framework of the hut. The covering consists of bacaba palm leaves arranged in layers. As seen from within the hut, the first layer consists of plaited leaflets fastened to the [223] woodwork. [Plate p. 226]

7: Roquette-Pinto--22A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

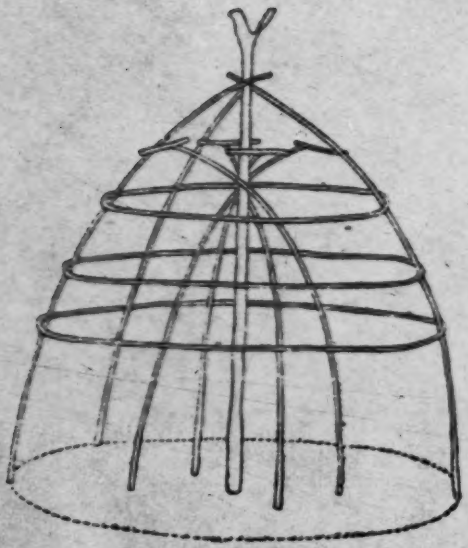


Fig. 16. Framework of a Serra do Norte Indian house.

7: Roquette-Pinto--22B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[226]

342.

Indian house--Festa da Bandeira (Carumi) River

516

Nambicuara village

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 354 [252] Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

412 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis. [222 262]

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

342 In order to erect one of these screens, which the muleteers call "little hunting huts" [maloquinhas de caça], and which are found scattered between the Juruena and Doze de Outubro rivers, the Indians begin by clearing the ground thoroughly. Then they plant two large leafy branches into the earth, one at each end of a straight line, and bend them at the top over a crosspiece held by two forked stakes sunk into the ground in front.

They complete the covering with straw or with grass rooted up for the occasion, the earth still clinging to its roots.

Inside--or rather beneath--the shelter, a small fire is lit.

Each screen covers an area of approximately two to four square meters. If the Indians are numerous, each family group erects its own shelter. The structure is actually a good representative of what German ethnologists call Windschrim [windscreen].

The Indians of the groups farther north (Tagnani, Tawite) do not build their temporary shelters in the same way.

As a general rule, their provisional dwelling is simpler: it consists of one or more leaves of the babassu or some other palm [225] which are stuck into the ground. This is not a windscreen, but a mere shade against sun or rain squalls.

361 These [latter] Indians, incidentally, live in a region of extensive forests and thick bush which affords adequate protection against the rain; whereas the others inhabit an area consisting largely of fields and scrubland. Another instance of the geographic environment conditioning human behavior.

[121] The Cocozu Nambicuara call their village sicú, while the Anunze call it chicê. These words have the general meaning of "dwelling place": they signify either "house" or "village."

We do not know with certainty how they build their permanent dwellings.

[342] The women alone take part in the building of a hunting shelter; they cut down the necessary branches, while the children help by gathering the grass and straw which serve to complete the roof.

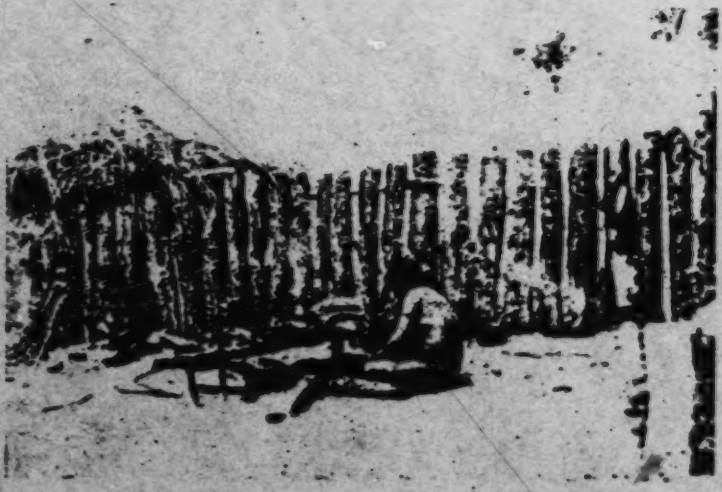
They change their dwelling place drequently. While following the trail that brought us to the Juina River village where we spent the night, we passed several former sites of the village.

7:Roquette-Pinto--25A E-4, 5 (no date)1930 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342

Hunting shelters--Juina River Indians

516



Serra do Norte Indians

174

but smooth-edged axes, is more akin to the proto-Neolithic or transitional period. The present trend is to recognize in the New World Paleolithic industries . . . but no formal overlapping periods as in Europe. (R. L.)

A later footnote by Heloisa Alberto-Torres which is not reproduced here contains the following statement: ". . . an interesting ethnographic relationship is [established by] the absolute identity of Australian and Nambicuara axes . . ." (Ed.)

At first observation, the Nambicuara might seem to be an old and backward branch of the Paressi tribe.

[308] What we know of the physical anthropology, ethnography and linguistics of both groups, however, invalidates this supposition.

177 Yet their culture bears unmistakable signs of Paressi influence.
[302] The first is the beehive-shaped house, formerly built by the Paressi. This is an import among the Nambicuara: the original house of the Serra do Norte Indians is the screen of leaves and branches, similar to the kijême of the Botocudo (Windschirm of the German ethnologists) and reminiscent of the North American wigwam.

[Fig., p. 61A]

[309] And if they did not borrow the large "round house" from the Paressi, they adopted it from Bolivian Indians.

[310] Another instance of alien influence is the nose plume, which the Paressi do not wear now but which formerly, according to Antonio
177 Pires, they could not do without; and also the nose flute, which
534 [the Nambicuara] play unskilfully, as though it were a little-known instrument of yet unfathomed secrets.

The double flute seems to have been brought from the north. It must be an import from the Maue and Munducuru, with whom the Serra do Norte Indians have had serious clashes as already mentioned above.

clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria" forest which lines its banks. Except during the planting and harvesting season the members of the band are on the move up and down the narrow confines of the territory. Within this hunting territory they have camping places rather than villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiéu*. Any place where the band or a family may stop overnight is known as *siénu*. At present the Waklítisu band has one house (*sínu*) at the place where it is farming. The entire band occupies the house, each family having its own fire around which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men gather around another fire. Julio informed me that their house is rectangular with stake walls and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some years ago when the band was larger he said they occupied a different place on which they built three houses. These houses were built by placing a series of saplings into the ground to form an oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole, the framework being covered with sapé or palm fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made in the same way. Houses of this type are from 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they build a small flute hut (*sinadéuklesu*) and, when the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sikdentsu*).

If the weather is cold while they are out hunting the band or the family may build a temporary brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a windbreak (*sicúfutsi*) is considered sufficient. On warm nights during the dry season the group camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places the same camp site will be used repeatedly. When the soil around the permanent camp site or village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some distance away and small huts are put up for the workers. As the distance increases the old camp site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site is established.

As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks, beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows, and tools used by men. When they move, these articles are placed in burden baskets which are carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
621 forest which lines its banks. Except during the planting and harvesting season the members of the band are on the move up and down the narrow confines of the territory. Within this hunting territory they have camping places rather than villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiésu*. Any place where the band or a family may stop overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
621 where it is farming. The entire band occupies the house, each family having its own fire around
[513] which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men gather around another fire. Julio informed me that their house is rectangular with stake walls and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some years ago when the band was larger he said they occupied a different place on which they built three houses. These houses were built by placing a series of saplings into the ground to form an oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole, the framework being covered with sapé or palm fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
[343 in the same way. Houses of this type are from
346] 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they build a small flute hut (*sinedónklesu*) and, when the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sikdentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting the band or the family may build a temporary brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a windbreak (*sioldutsi*) is considered sufficient. On warm nights during the dry season the group camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some distance away and small huts are put up for the workers. As the distance increases the old camp site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks, beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
415 furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342 [361] shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season, villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepikiriwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass.

352 513 The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paressi* nicknamed them *Uaikoakôre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

[291] 301 Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of buruty straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and and toucan feathers, or of fur with [714] feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes And dots hanging down from the nape of the neck.

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiésu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
[513] gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinedénkisu*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sihdentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*sistóutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis.

The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

341 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an [74] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

352 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, [84] weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paresi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc
354 scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come
[352] through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

412 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To
[222 one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled
262] and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis.

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an [768] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

362 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, [784] weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paresi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

7:Roquette-Pinto--288 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

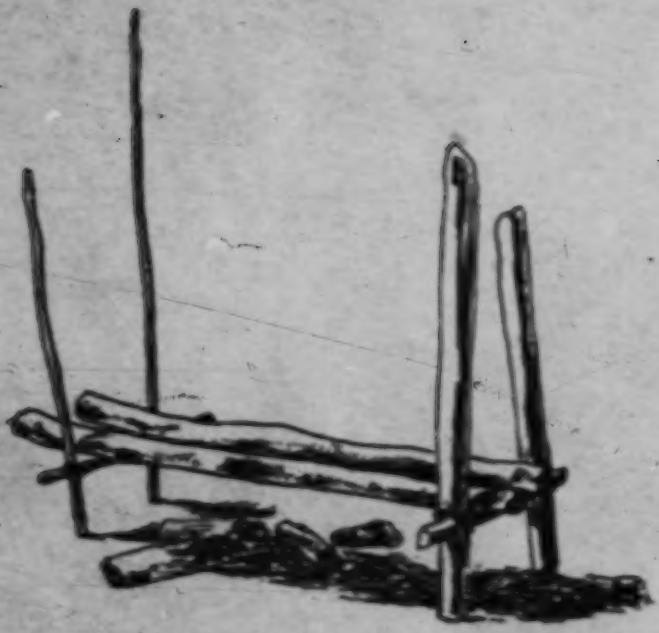


Fig. 28. Barbecue of the Tagnani and Tawite.

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc
354 scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come
[252] through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

● 356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

442 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To
[222 one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled
262] and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis.

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

591
621

[361]

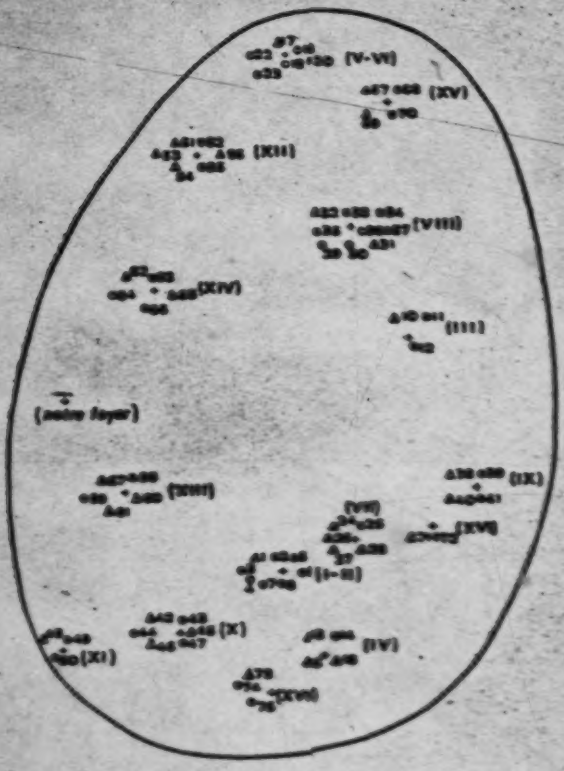


Fig. 14. --Distribution of Families in Temporary Residence.

fire, and the group of six personshas arrived late at the reunion, after an isolated trip. Fires 16 and 17, united at the winter camp (II), are completely isolated in camp (chart III); the same for fires 14 and 15 and for fires 3 and 10.

[24] (3) Since several families join around the same fire, it does not seem possible to deduce any rule of residence, which seems to confirm the impossibility of obtaining from the informants a clear answer to the question of whether the young couples establish themselves separately after marriage, or remain near the parents of the wife or the husband. In two cases, we see the daughters rejoin their parents fire: a12, abandoned by her husband, and a22 at the time of her widowhood. During the winter camp, the household of fire 4 resides with the parents of the husband; and household 6 with the wife's parents (fire 5 in the two cases). Likewise at this time, fire 2 is installed in the hut of the husband's "father." Finally, in two cases, one sees parents, unfit for the economic battle because of age or widowhood, installed at their daughter's fire, as A65 and a66, and

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342 shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season,
[361] villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepikiriwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass.

352 The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on
513 bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paressi* nicknamed them *Uaikoahöre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

[291] Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of
301 buruty straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and red toucan feathers, or of fur with
[714] feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves with such questions as the type of political organisation in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[1] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage system functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss. "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians." American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1943.

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes
262 reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Uti-
[131 133] arity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this
132 period the grass withers, the livestock of the white
221 men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, par-
[224] ticularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[805] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season
805 (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon
221 the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadédunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'awadjitsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *áhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *casúru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *dougadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
621 has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

[i.e. a fish poison — A] [p. 87 (A)] [See cat. 86, pp. 124-126. — Analyst]

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiésu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
[513] gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinedénklesu*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sihárntsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*siotóutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

7: Roquette-Pinto--19 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

101 The position of all groups known to be scattered through the Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is recorded on the ethnographic map of the region which goes with these notes.[1]

[218] The exact meaning of the names cited above cannot yet be given with certainty. In the light of existing data, however, their study leads to the following conclusions which cannot be far from the truth.

Cocozu: "Uncles"; thus called by the others, perhaps, because they are the most primitive members of the whole tribe.

[578] Anunzu: This is clearly a corruption of the term anungzú or anungçú, which means "woman's milk"—a disparaging epithet like so many others found throughout the Americas; it may mean "infants" (unweaned babies).

Uaintaçu: Apparently a corruption of nuntaçú, which means "alligator" [Port. jacaré] in the language of the Juina Nambicuara. The Uaintaçu group would thus be none other than the old Jacare tribe mentioned in the first chapter of this work.

Tagnani: They are obviously the Tamarari of the old geographic maps; they should be equated with the Tamarare or Camarare, who gave the river its name and who are mentioned in several ancient documents.

Tawite: This word signifies "child" or "son" [offspring], a common appellation among other tribes as well.

In order to avoid future confusion, I propose to retain the name "Nambicuara" in conjunction with the specific name peculiar to each group.

361 The villages of the Serra do Norte Indians are usually built on the crest of small hills, far from the watercourses. Some are more than one kilometer distant from the nearest river or stream.

It may be assumed that the choice of such sites has a twofold aim: the Indians suffer less from mosquitoes and they dominate the surrounding territory, which is an advantage to people leading as they did up to now a life of constant warfare.

The village is built on a large plaza, fifty meters in diameter; once cleaned of bush, which is rooted up [219] by hand, the ground
[539] is kept clear by the constant tread of feet. One night of dancing, with its endless beat along the same path, suffices to smooth out the village square.

1 [See map following foreign text, cat. 116 - Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--20 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

321 The circular spot formed by the village grounds in the middle of the bush gradually acquires the appearance of a star, owing to the paths that lead out from its circumference.

[312 +13] Access to the village grounds is free. There is no fence or hedge to prevent admittance to the plaza; no fortifications or other defensive features are to be found in the vicinity. (1)

> 1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná, on the other hand (like the Tupinamba of old and other [tribes]), obstructed the paths leading to their villages with spikes [estrepes] which had to be removed when they established relations with the Rondon Mission. (See Col. M. Rondon, Conferencias [Lectures], pp. 161-162.)

Nambicuara villages always consist of two houses, which are set face to face at opposite ends of the plaza.

[37] [220] The region consists of extensive forests, stretches of scrubland [cerrado], areas of nearly impenetrable bush [charravascal], and a few stretches of open prairie. The Indians prefer the scrubland as the site of their villages.

The forest is dangerous on account of snakes, wild beasts, and even timber which often crashes down on the hunters; the prairie is dangerous because it exposes the village to enemy attack and does not afford any protection against invaders. But the scrubland serves the purpose very well; it has few disadvantages and many advantages.

342 This the Nambicuara know well; their hut blends into the greyish hues of the surrounding vegetation; it is like a shrub among other shrubs; from a distance it can hardly be distinguished. Its shape, though well defined, merges into the vague forms of the bush.

Naturally, those whose eyes are accustomed to the dust-veiled mass of xerophytic upland vegetation can quickly spot the huts; the illusion cannot deceive an experienced eye. But the mimicry is nevertheless real.

7:Roquette-Pinto--24 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342 In order to erect one of these screens, which the muleteers call "little hunting huts" [maloquinhas de caça], and which are found scattered between the Juruena and Doze de Outubro rivers, the Indians begin by clearing the ground thoroughly. Then they plant two large leafy branches into the earth, one at each end of a straight line, and bend them at the top over a crosspiece held by two forked stakes sunk into the ground in front.

They complete the covering with straw or with grass rooted up for the occasion, the earth still clinging to its roots.

Inside--or rather beneath--the shelter, a small fire is lit.

Each screen covers an area of approximately two to four square meters. If the Indians are numerous, each family group erects its own shelter. The structure is actually a good representative of what German ethnologists call Windschrim [windscreen].

The Indians of the groups farther north (Tagnani, Tawite) do not build their temporary shelters in the same way.

As a general rule, their provisional dwelling is simpler: it consists of one or more leaves of the babassu or some other palm [225] which are stuck into the ground. This is not a windscreen, but a mere shade against sun or rain squalls.

361 These [latter] Indians, incidentally, live in a region of extensive forests and thick bush which affords adequate protection against the rain; whereas the others inhabit an area consisting largely of fields and scrubland. Another instance of the geographic environment conditioning human behavior.

[621] The Cocozu Nambicuara call their village siçú, while the Anunze call it chicê. These words have the general meaning of "dwelling place": they signify either "house" or "village."

We do not know with certainty how they build their permanent dwellings.

[343] The women alone take part in the building of a hunting shelter; they cut down the necessary branches, while the children help by gathering the grass and straw which serve to complete the roof.

They change their dwelling place frequently. While following the trail that brought us to the Juina River village where we spent the night, we passed several former sites of the village.

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an [748] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

352 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, [334] weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortar and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Parecí; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. 302 [386]

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 354

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Aramaté*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of rosewood bark. 323 [314]

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. 412 [372] [373]

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fiber from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick becomes into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small gourd and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the women carried

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Hambicuara SP17

372
316
415
482

881
301
302
291
142

[p. 136 (I)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913SP17 Nambicuara SP17

000

e os lobulos das orelhas. Através dos orificios feitos no nariz passam pequenos pedaços de madeira—*enfeites*; dos lobulos das orelhas fazem pender brincos feitos de pequenas conchas do oleo. Usam braceletes, pulseiras e pernoiras tecidos com fundas; e ao redor do pescoço, um colar de contas de Miuellia (*Oncomyzus bicolor*, *Mart.*). Vivem de caça; mas tambem plantam milho, cará (*Dioscorea*), batata (*convolvulus*), mandioca e feijão. Fazem uma farinha muito semelhante ao tapioca brasileira.

Os indios que iam ao posto dormiam sobre o chão. Este fato tem uma grande importancia, que será acentuada ainda mais, si os linguistas puderem aproximar os idiomas dos lobados pelas tribus do grupo Gê. Certamente é preciso maior indagação para que se possa concluir alguma coisa; mas devemos ainda notar que não foram encontradas redes de dormir nas cabanas dos Nhambiquára, onde, em diferentes ensaios, foi possivel examinar todo o mobiliario desses habitações. E si foram confirmados os epitetos de R. Schuller sobre a natureza do grupo

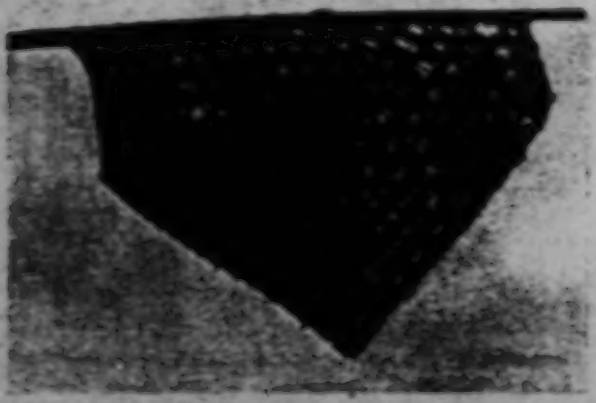


FIG. 1.—ADULTO DA TRIBU DO SERÍNA.

[Beckha, Jeaf Sire-fim]

[285
372
524]

linguistico Gê, passarão os Nhambiquára a fazer parte da familia Arauk, onde já se encontram os seus vizinhos Paressi.

Na colegão etnografica recebida pelo Museu, enviada pelo Coronel Rondon, acham-se varios exemplares ellucidativos encontrados nas tribus, bijóus e de uma cerimonia de mascaras muito semelhante ao "Khéhlé" dos Paressi. Existem tambem na colegão algumas amostras de leves bijóus. Fiamma negra que emolam o fundo a temperatura muito baixa, adquirindo intenso brilho, e dos pendentes claro redondo; parece que é uma mistura de resina do Cumaru (*Syphonia globulifera*), e oleo. O principal emprego desta massa é a fixação dos enfeites que ligam a ponta á haste das flechas.

Os artefactos dos Nhambiquára têm um certo valor. Para a confecção dos alargadores usam os lobulos do lombo (Fig. 1), sendo os foliculos tratados em grupos de 4, dois

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige,
266 perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

● 372 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[262 [illegible] 194] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (Polyphorus sp.) which the others disregard.

7:Roquette-Pinto--29A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

372

Fig. 28. Haitzũ--Firestick of the Serra do Norte Indians.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

279 829 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (hudulukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[203 256] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [855] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children). [283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 924 Kazeçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 30B.]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. 302 [386]

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 354

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Arumaã*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark. 323 [314]

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. 412 [372] [373]

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Utílkoikoríand Cutiahaniré to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guayeurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Utílkoikoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Utílkoikoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazimití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriá-iná, Tabóra-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the *Rio Verde*, the Julia, Caloçal and Jauruí. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of cocoon. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and head collars made from the fruit of the mucúcha. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, manihot, and bananas. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atsiri and the Amúdes of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kétchí of the Parecí, made from pounded manihot. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Cuminí and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malé-malé palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an *arara* or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 60 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malé-malé and *breu*. The upper disk has three orifices.

411
278

experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

411 Aieraçú: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[227] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong
[324] imbé liana (Philodendron imbe, Mart.).

[Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

[324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a Bauhinia. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . . .

381 The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatai (Hymenea stigonocarpa
[324] or H. stilbocarpa), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of duhutaarú, which means "wax."

[Fig. 62]

7:Roquette-Pinto--SSC E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
331

Fig. 62. Pot containing pitch.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Aruaak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A.]

[238] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialaçu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not [515] draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

● [516] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

291 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

275 520 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

586 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (hudulukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[283 286] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [555] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children).

[283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 524 Kamçá are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

for about seven
months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[22] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers,
rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or
wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger.
Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several
weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of
palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected
at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all
activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks and
221 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be
● 411 distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section
184 which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex
section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made
for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to
five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the item
is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 96.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small
game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb
is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[159] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for
magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees
(Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the
monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments),
feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp
piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments
of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of
wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills
are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[77] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission ex-
panded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes
serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the
objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to
carry water.

789 Poison is thus nãnde par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a curare reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much
[121 174] more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of curare, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the strychnos.

Besides the notion of nãnde we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the atãsu (a1). Atãsu signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: atãsu, "it is the animal." Atãsu also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, atãsu is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the atãsu if one does not defend oneself
789 in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick
411 [épieu] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form
[286 531] and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated with black and white bark weaving (javelin: hĩdosu [a1], keŝuŝere

789 [b1], makalé [c1]. This instrument is used in three circumstances:
411 in war; to conjure up (or to attract?) rain by manipulating it according to an approved ritual as if one were tracing signs in the air while brandishing it; finally to kill the atásu, by throwing it in the direction of the apparition, using as intermediary a tooth of the jaguar; the throwing stick is placed obliquely in the left hand, the point turned in the direction of the atásu, and the tooth, manipulated by the right hand, acts as a hook for projection. The atásu appears only at night. It may borrow the form of the jaguar or of other animals who are then filled with murderous intentions. When the atásu is caught in his terrestrial form at the point of the javelin, a great flow of blood is produced. The "supernatural" animal is never eaten. They abandon its body to the carrion.

789 In the second case, one is faced with a real theory of death.
761 The sick person who sees the atásu appear knows that he is condemned, and the animal actually carries him off on the spot or returns to get him a little later. The current version of the death of A21, drowned in a river in July 1938, was that the atásu carried him to the bottom of the waters. The atásu would live in the water. An informant described it as having "a large mouth and lots of collars."

789 The southern, central and northern groups bear witness to a
771 more elaborate religious thought. Among these peoples, the preceding
761 notions are crowned by a third, which does not appear as clearly in the eastern groups although it is probably present, that of the wind and thunder, hypostasized in the forms of a semi-personal power named amõ. (1) In these groups, this is substituted for the atásu in the theory

1. The Tupi origin of this term is evident. One can compare Montoya, "ama": cloud of waters; Nogueira, "ama": cloud; Coudreau (Bibliothèque Linguistique Americaine, XV, 1892), "amane (Oyampi): rain; Goncalves Diaz, "amana": (chuva) rain; Kissenberth (Baessler Archiv, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), "amana, aman, ama" (Tapirapé): rain; Nimuendaju (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI, 1914), "ama" (Lingua Géral): (chuva) rain.

of death, and it is possible to communicate with it through revelations and visions.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-6 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

415
361
342
291

411
361
415
231

434
415
231

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

L: Lévi-Strauss E-6 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate IV]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. 302 [386]

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 854

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Aramaé*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark. 323 [314]

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. 412 [372] [373]

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

411 string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom [726] used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

278 *Nambicuara* arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

411 Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

601 Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-[502] nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but [595] polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of avail-[838] able women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

622 The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342
306
286
291

[415]

[411]

PLATE 37.—Nambicuara and upper Guaporé Indians. *Top:* Pimenta Bueno hut. *Center, left:* Nambicuara family shelter. *Center, right:* Nambicuara man weaving an armband. *Bottom, left:* Nambicuara family. *Bottom, right:* Woman drilling a mother of pearl earring. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except bottom, *left*, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

412 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes,
415 knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along
[264] the way. Whenever they kill some animal or catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel
412 axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the Waklítisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes,
177 two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a
[439] few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatíru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo
[306] knife (*alkúkwirikatu*); a hardwood drill (*hískatu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*dáligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'énatu*), used as sandpaper; and a
415 comb (*ha'álatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *húkisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

[p. 93 (A)]

•411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small piuva tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with lixeiro leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The siriva bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but
[184] the black wood surrounding the center is used. The siriva bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

[283] The bowstring (*halunwínisu*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with urucú (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*alukwírikatu*), which appears to be cane (*Gadua* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a piuva foreshaft (*ihdikatsutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with sipó vine for about
[237] 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akinéntsu*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the
[284] butt end of the shaft. The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving
[237] motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold
[284] the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

[p. 93(B)]

411 (1) The *hányesu*, an arrow which is used for
[223 shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lash-
224] ing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or
piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point
of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *saláitsu*, or fish arrow, is made by
lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches
long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need
not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes
substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dúnkisu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for
shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft,
the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about
an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptisu*, or big game arrow, has a broad
split bamboo point about 12 inches in length
which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo
point is slightly grooved along the center, the
foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be
lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point.
Formerly curare poison was smeared along the
groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one
or both sides. In former times, this arrow-
head was poisoned with curare. It was attached
loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an
animal it became detached from the shaft. This
arrow was used against big game like the jaguar,
tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

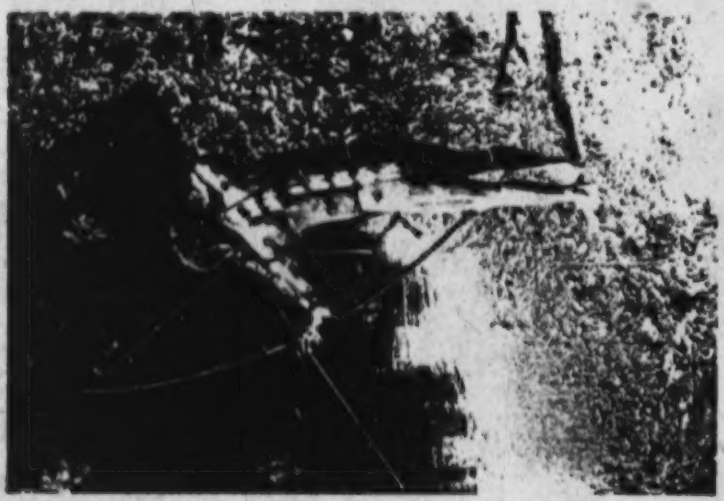
The bow is held in a vertical position when
shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and
forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull
the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the
hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum
and burití palms and from cotton. The tucum
palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *hatátsu*, provides not
[306] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for
making the black, round, flat necklace washers,
[252] and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes
in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a
little stronger than burití twine is used for bow-
strings, for stringing beads, and for many other
purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he
sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the
young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter
for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The
woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it
double in the middle so that the woody fiber
breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

[p. 94 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

411
H2
291
226
286
301



5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tucum e breu. Facto notavel: é protejida por um estojo, ou bainha, que é um tubo de taquára. No Brazil são conhecidas lanças envenenadas protejidas de um modo semelhante; mas não conheço um só exemplo de flecha deste modo revestida. A haste das flechas tem um profundo entalhe na baze e é adornada com penas de mutum, carã-carã, ou arara, mantidas por fios de tucum e breu ainda.

[411].

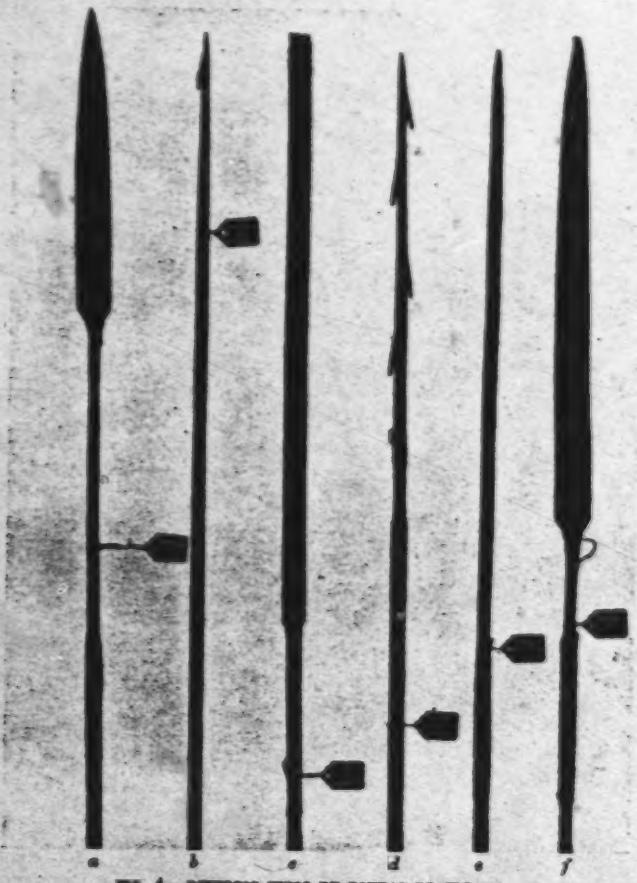


FIG. 4.—DIVERSOS TIPOS DE PONTAS DE FLECHA.
[several types of arrow points]

Dois unicos instrumentos de muzica tem a colecção. O primeiro é uma dupla flauta feita de tubos de taquára, com cerca de 17 c. de comprimento por 1 c. de diametro, ligados paralelamente por meio de fios, colocados proximos ás extremidades. O outro é constituido por dois discos concavos, de cabaça, de cerca de 8 c. de diametro, reunidos pelas bordas, por uma tira de "malá-malá" e breu. No disco

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákoré and Quihanieré to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazinitís and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacúba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atziri and the Amúdsa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

7: Roquette-Pinto--13C E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[206]

142
411
516

Indian of the Serra do Norte shooting an arrow for elevation.

000

[245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

Doves (Chamepelius talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atratus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

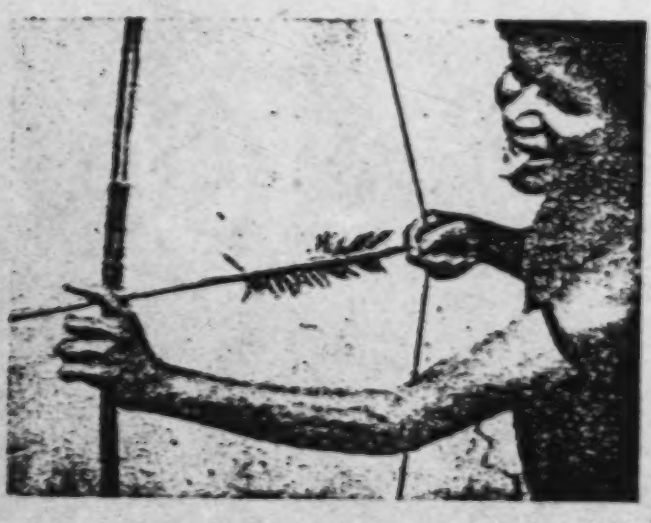
7: Roquette-Pinto--388 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 248]

302
316

Cocozu Nambicuara

411
301



Nambicuara Indian stringing his bow.

535 Anunze and Uintaçu tribes participated; and a festive dance in which we took part, executed in our honor at Três Buritis by the Tagnani and Tawite.

The war dance filmed in Campos Novos was later also [253] performed by the Tagnani in Três Buritis.

Armed with bows and arrows, the warriors form a line some 15 meters from a piece of wood which represents the enemy, singing in two-part time and marking the beat on the ground with their feet. [Fig. 25]

Two Indians leave the line, arrows ready and bows half strung, and walk as if cautiously hiding among shrubs in the bush. After a wide detour they come near the "enemy" and hurl their weapons at him.

This is the signal to attack; the singing ceases and a rain of arrows falls on the "unfortunate victim"...

411 Then they advance upon him and give him a thorough drubbing
324 with their bows or with sticks. Incidentally, this is always the func-
726 tion of the arrow--to immobilize the enemy or game and permit the attacker to come close and finish his work with blows. In the hunt or in combat, attack is always made from ambush. This is because the aim of the Indians at a distance [Fig. 27] is not as sure as generally supposed. The Nambicuara are not especially good archers. They certainly cannot draw the bow with their feet like the Bororo. Some can shoot well in height. They use no shield whatever either in the hunt or in war. After the attack they try to recover their projectiles. An arrow represents a certain amount of labor and must not be squandered...

They hold a number of arrows in their left hand and shoot them one after the other with incredible rapidity.

535 Men, women and girls participated in the festive dance.

A large circle was formed to the sound of an endless chant. The women stood on the men's left; pair after pair were joined until the circle was closed. [254] Each man placed his hand on the shoulder of the woman next to him. Within the circle, three girls of approximately the same age accompanied them in a close line, eyes lowered, hands crossed upon the chest. The girl in the center acted as a hub for this choreographic formation... [Fig. 43]

194
197

it reached the Chaco region, where they would thus appear to have lived at an earlier time. (See Krause, op. cit.)

On the other hand, as already pointed out elsewhere, the Nambicuara seem to have received this cultural influx by way of a different route--probably through the other channel of sub-Andean cultural expansion described by Nordenskjöld, which ran from northeastern Bolivia down the Amazon and La Plata watersheds. (Nordenskjöld, op. cit., Vol. 1).

(H. A. T.)

This is perhaps where the problem becomes most difficult: although Ehrenreich places the Xingo Indians alongside the Ge, other experts on South American linguistics believe, perhaps rightly, that they should be included with the Caraja in Chamberlain's "Carajan" group. (2)

2. Krickeberg, Rivet, and other experts still place the Suya among the Ge.

[Fig. 83]

Yet it is also inevitable to recognize in the Nambicuara language certain special characteristics of the Kiriri tongue. These traits are exclusively phonic, and [thus much less significant than if they were lexical or morphological.

[267] They merely consist of the tx, tz and kr sounds, which are accepted as peculiar to the Kiriri language (Baptista Caetano).

In the absence of well translated texts, it is impossible to delve more deeply into the study of these dialects. Even the relationships suggested above will be subject to revision when more complete linguistic materials become available.

411 As regards the [National] Museum collection, the following data are worthy of note.

The bows of the Serra do Norte Indians (hukicú) are made of ipê (1) wood and are very long, measuring from 1.70 to two meters;

1. [In this region, the term covers] trees of the Tecoma and Jacaranda genuses, Bignonia family. The forest variety is I. copaia, D. Don; the field varieties comprise the yellow type (T. ochracea, Mart.) and the purple or black kind (T. ipê, Mart.). (A. J. de S.)

the section is semi-circular. Of all Brazilian tribes, only the Catukina of the Purus River coil the twine around the weapon in a similar way. The cross-section of the Catukina bow, however, is quadrangular.

[Fig. 54]

We made an experiment to determine the approximate strength required to lend a bow the necessary power.

The bow we used measured 2.38 [sic] meters in length by 0.047 meter in its greatest width; its tucum cord [268] had a diameter of 0.002 meter. To set in this bow a fifty-centimeter arrow required 68 kilograms of dynamometric traction.

The [Serra do Norte] Indians use the Mediterranean release (Morse's fourth method): bow vertical, arrow resting against the left edge of the bow and held at the base between the index and middle fingers of the right hand.

In the Americas, this method is peculiar to the Eskimo; the "Redskins" employed another. In Brazil, no [other] tribe uses it as far as I have been able to ascertain; [269] for the most part, our Indians use the third method outlined by Morse.

[268] [Brazilian bows fall into the following categories listed by Hermann Meyer: 1) Peruvian; 2) Northern Brazilian; (1) 3) Guiana;

1. Semi-circular cross-section; dark red, smooth wood of a leguminous tree.

7;Roquette-Pinto--53A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

411
284

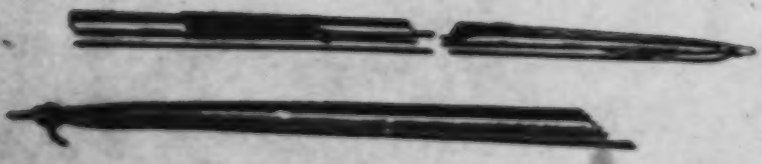


Fig. 34. Serra do Norte bow and its cross section.

7: Roquette-Pinto--54A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 Sp17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[268]

Fig. 55. Anieçú--Arrow with smooth cylindrical tip.

[270]

Fig. 56. Uaeliçú--Bamboo-tipped arrow.

[271]

Fig. 57. Aie-uiçú--Serra do Norte arrow.

4) Chaco; 5) Eastern Brazilian.]

Nambicuara bows must be placed in the second group on account of their cross-section, which is indeed quite similar to that of Mundurucu bows. Their twine is coiled in the manner of Meyer's Perutypus group.

[Plates p. 248]

[271] [Fig. 58] Meyer classifies Brazilian arrows into seven groups, now insufficient because other types have since been found, but which nevertheless cover the principal characteristics of our arrows. His classification is based on the feathering of the shaft. [1) Eastern Brazilian or Tupian-Ge; 2) Guiana; 3) Xingu; 4) Arara; 5) Mawe; 6) Peruvian with fibers; 7) Peruvian with resin, where Nambicuara arrows belong.] This last group is further divided in two: a northern division covering the Amazon Valley, and a southern division covering the Chaco region. The feathers are slit lengthwise, their stem scraped until only the outer layer remains; [272] they are tied spirally to the shaft by means of twine and black resin.

[Fig. 55]

Our collection includes war, hunting and fishing arrows. It must be noted, however, that these distinctions are not always maintained; when necessary, the Indians use all three types interchangeably.

Anitçú: The tip is of red wood, cylindrical, smooth; used to hunt monkeys.

[Fig. 56]

Uaelitçú: The tip is sharp, made of taquaruçu bamboo (Merostachys sp.); used in war and to hunt large game--capybara, tapir, jaguar. . . . .

Aieuinçú: The tip is smooth, with a barb at the end.

[Fig. 57]

[273] Arukirikatçú: A unique type, armed with a series of barbs secured with twine and pitch. It is coated with a black substance which the Indians believe to be poisonous; for this reason, they protect the tip with a bamboo sheath. It is a war weapon. The "poison" of Nambicuara arrows is harmless... (1)

1. [Alvaro Osorio de Almeida notes here that he carried out an

7:Roquette-Pinto--55A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 58. Feathering on Serra do Norte arrows.

Fig. 59. Aiêraçú--Bird arrow.

411
278

experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

411 Aieraçú: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[227] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong [324] imbé liana (Philodendron imbe, Mart.).

[Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

[324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a Bauhinia. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . . .

381 The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatai (Hymenea stigonocarpa [324] or H. stilbocarpa), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of duhutaarú, which means "wax."

[Fig. 62]

7:Roquette-Pinto--56A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

411
273

Fig. 60. Poisoned arrow (arukiritatçũ) with protective sheath.

7:Roquette-Pinto--56B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

411

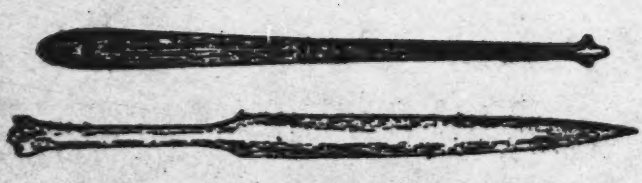


Fig. 61. Clubs found among the Serra do Norte Indians.

/215 cont./

278 Curare of the Ñambikwara of the Rio Juruena

The technique of the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena is more primitive.

They use only bark which has just been gathered. The draining off of the bark is done only once and with warm water: the bark /216/ is put on the fire in a rather large amount of cold water, and the operation is ended when the temperature reaches 37° to 40° /centigrade/. It is filtered quickly by squeezing the bark with the hands to extract all the liquid from it. Then comes rapid boiling over a high fire and skimming. After several minutes of a rolling boil the fire is lowered and the liquid kept at a temperature a little below boiling until it has a pasty consistency.

[415] [237] The curare is kept in paste form in bamboo tubes or changed into a very hard mass by the addition of meliponine beeswax.

This method exposes the curare to strong heat for at least two hours. The Çabanè method reduces this time to ten minutes, the other operations being carried out at low heat. Both produce curares with about the same activity.

[192] [411] The Rio Juruena Ñambikwara call curare and the plant a'utĭsú or a'ukisú; the roots ta'ădisú; the poisoned arrow aurú kiritkatsú, and its protective bamboo sheath asirikatsú.

Utilization of Curare

278 411 The Ñambikwara are not familiar with the blowgun. They use curare to poison large arrows with long, notched points, capped with a protective bamboo sheath. The points of the Tamandé curare arrows are shorter and more slender than those of the other Ñambikwara. They are usually placed in twos, threes, and fours under a single protective sheath.

According to the Indians an arrow's activeness does not last more than three or four months. The curare in paste form is kept for a longer time (close to a year). Hard curare can be kept for years.

/216 cont./

224 The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain ani-
278 mals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys.
411 Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediate-
[203] ly.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[262] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be
[252] eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanè do not even take this precaution.

278 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their
411 principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess
726 only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanè, are very lightly attached to their shafts.

For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
221 411 184 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[789] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
● 412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[77] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the *"Arawak"* type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and [264] along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot. [412] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more than one with a small family even though the [251] man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which [231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry [264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

412 415 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes, knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along the way. Whenever they kill some animal or [264] catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 412 177 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the Waklítisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes, two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a [439] few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatíru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo [306] knife (*alkúkwirikatu*); a hardwood drill (*Mskatu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*ddligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'énatu*), used as sandpaper; and a 415 comb (*ha'dlatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *húkisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

[p.93(A)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17Nambicuara SP17

a dois. As cestas de carga têm grande capacidade e são feitas de taquára. Os seus laços são fixados no fundo e nas paredes lateraes, passando pelas axilas e pelas espaduas de la india portadora.

Os Nhambiquára fazem ceramica de uma pasta grosseira, negra e mal cozida, na qual se acha a arjila misturada á grande porção de cinzas (Fig. 2).

[323]

FIG. 2.—CERAMICA DOS NHAMBIQUÁRA.
[Nambicuara pottery]

Para derrubar as arvores do terreno destinado á cultura, uzam do machado de pedra (diabaze) fixado em um cabo de madeira, por meio de cordeis e breu (Fig. 3). O indio que consegue deitar abaixo certas arvores com este instrumento, recebe como premio uma bella pena de arara ou mutum (*Crax globulosa*), que se destina ao nariz. Esta especie de condecoração conferida por trabalho industrial é tanto, mais notavel quanto, em geral, taes distincções, entre os selvagens do Brazil, são reservadas ao merito guerreiro.

Os arcos geralmente muito grandes, muito fortes, de madeira vermelha, são muito bem alizados. A sua secção transversal é semi-cilindrica. Seu comprimento varia, nos que existem na coleção, entre 1 m. 80, e 2 m. 38. Para obter uma flexa de 50 c. entre a corda e o arco de 2 m. 38, em experiencia feita, precizámos uma força de tração correspondente á 60 k. verificados no dinamometro. A corda é de tucum (*Astrocaryum tucum*), e tem um diametro de 2 mm.

[313 412]

FIG. 3.—MACHADO DE PEDRA (DIABAZE) PARA DERRUBAR ARVORES.
[Stone axe for felling trees]

As flechas destes indios têm aspétos diferentes e pódemser caracterizadas pela fórma das pontas, segundo 5 tipos (Fig. 4).

O primeiro tipo tem a ponta de madeira vermelha, inteiramente lisa e cilindrica (Fig. 4, *e*); o segundo se caracteriza por um pequeno aculeo fixado á ponta, dando-lhe a fórma de harpão (Fig. 4, *b*); tem a ponta de taquára em fórma de punhal com cerca de 25 c. de comprimento, as flechas do terceiro tipo (Fig. 4, *af*); as do quarto tipo distinguem-se mui facilmente por ter a ponta achatada, e provida, lateralmente, de 11 pares de farpas. As mais curiosas das flechas dos Nhambiquára são as do quinto tipo (Fig. 4, *cd*). Sua ponta tem farpas fixadas por meio de fios de

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amúesa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

7. Roquette-Pinto--22C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[220]

#12

Fig. 17. Tomaru--Grater of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--22E E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

● 412

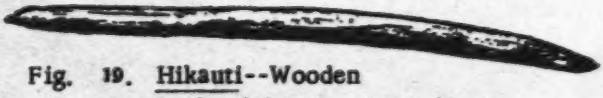


Fig. 19. Hikauti--Wooden knife of the Tawaite Indians.

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc
354 scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come
[252] through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

412 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To
[222 one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled
262] and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaguis.

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

7:Roquette-Pinto--23A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 20. Implement made from a piece of iron by the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--24A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

412

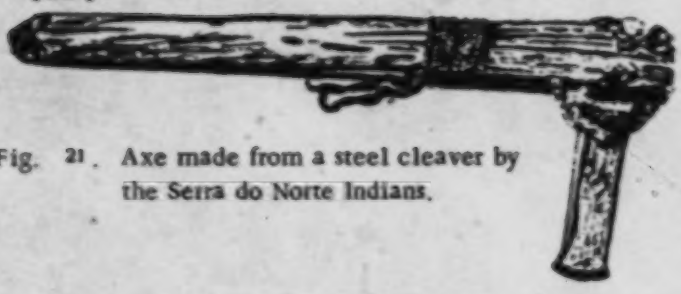


Fig. 21. Axe made from a steel cleaver by the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--248 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

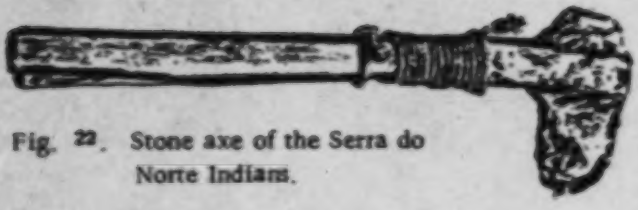


Fig. 22. Stone axe of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--30A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

412
257

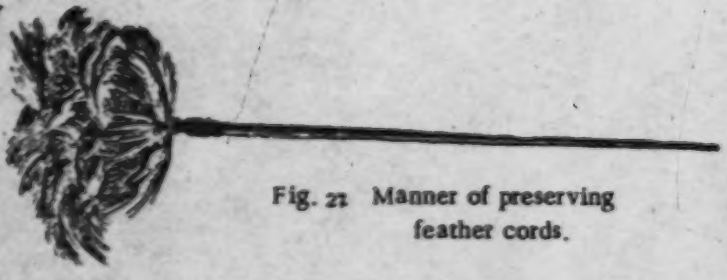


Fig. 21 Manner of preserving feather cords.

/214 cont./

278 Only the bark of the roots impregnated with a reddish,
224 gummy juice is used in the preparation of curare. The plants which grow in sandy places are considered to be richer in poison; they are recognized by the bright red color and moisture exuding from incisions made in the bark. Roots from clayey earth are dry and considered incapable of giving an active product.

The Ñambikwara of the Juruena consider it essential to gather the roots in the morning at dawn before the sun gets too hot, and they only use fresh bark. The Çabanè use dried, stored bark by preference.

Çabanè Curare

278 The preparation of Çabanè curare may be taken as typical. It comprises three main operations: draining of the bark in portions with fresh water; rapid boiling to rid the product of some of its impurities; slow concentration at low heat.

● [410] Immediately after their harvest the roots are washed and then scraped with a splinter of bamboo or a piece of iron to detach the bark. Small, very fine shavings are thereby obtained which are dried and kept in baskets or gourds.

[415] Draining of the bark. The bark is placed in a small, elongated basket (kọnọsimatá) of bamboo lamellae reinforced by large leaves (kọnọkọnọ́si) and hung by two vertical supports over an earthen dish. Over the bark they pour 200 to 250 cubic centimeters of cold water; a blood-red liquid filters off slowly. The filtering takes 15 to 20 minutes; when it is almost over fresh water is again poured over the bark. This operation is repeated six to eight times until the bark is exhausted (Pl. IV, A-B).

[410] Boiling on a brisk fire. After each operation the liquid obtained is poured into a receptacle placed directly over a strong fire; it is constantly /215/ stirred with a wooden spatula and does not take long to boil in large bubbles. When it

/215 cont./

278 threatens to overflow it is removed from the fire for a second and then put back to boil. A thick, reddish scum forms which [414] holds the largest impurities; it is removed as it appears with a straw from a palm tree (Pl. V, A). After five to ten minutes on an average the boiling diminishes; the liquid turns brown [415] and begins to thicken. It is then taken from the fire and poured with the aid of a funnel (kõ̤li) made from a rolled leaf into a new receptacle to be concentrated (Pl. IV, C).

[416] [172] Concentration. The concentration is done in a receptacle (here, a tin can from the mission) suspended 40 or 50 centimeters above a small fire, into which successive portions of liquid are added as they are prepared. The concentration takes two to three hours. According to its degree /of concentration/ they obtain a thick blackish-brown liquid, reddish when looked through, ready to be applied to the arrows with a straw, or a black paste which becomes very hard on cooling and can be kept for a long time. Before being used this paste must be softened at low heat.

The Çabanè recommend that one not touch the curare with the fingers nor even breathe the steam from it during the boiling. This hypothetical toxicity of the steam had already been noted by former travelers; it was even asserted that these emanations were so dangerous that the Indians had the curare prepared by old women who almost always succumbed to it. One can see (Pl. V, A) that the Çabanè sorcerer is not afraid of it.

Curare does not enter healthy skin; and the Ñambikwara of the Juruena press the water-soaked bark between their hands, taking the sole precaution of washing immediately afterward. The steam that I voluntarily inhaled never caused me the least sickness.

[172] The Çabanè call curare and the plant which produces it irĩwa, and the still unconcentrated liquid from soaking iriwiya. The Tagnani name the plant and the curare naĩdẽ̤.

Plate V

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page./

8:Vellard--17a D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate V

278 Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A. The curare is skimmed during the boiling.

[412] B. Testing of the degree of concentration of the product with the aid of a straw.

[415 824] C. Funnel made of a leaf rolled into a horn and the leaf used to make it.

[415 323] D. A pot of grey clay, badly baked, used to prepare and keep curare (Nhambikwara of the Cabixi River).

7: Roquette-Pinto--20 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

361 The circular spot formed by the village grounds in the middle of the bush gradually acquires the appearance of a star, owing to the paths that lead out from its circumference.

[712 413] Access to the village grounds is free. There is no fence or hedge to prevent admittance to the plaza; no fortifications or other defensive features are to be found in the vicinity. (1)

> 1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná, on the other hand (like the Tupinamba of old and other [tribes]), obstructed the paths leading to their villages with spikes [estrepes] which had to be removed when they established relations with the Rondon Mission. (See Col. M. Rondon, Conferencias [Lectures], pp. 161-162.)

Nambicuara villages always consist of two houses, which are set face to face at opposite ends of the plaza.

[137] [220] The region consists of extensive forests, stretches of scrubland [cerrado], areas of nearly impenetrable bush [charravascal], and a few stretches of open prairie. The Indians prefer the scrubland as the site of their villages.

The forest is dangerous on account of snakes, wild beasts, and even timber which often crashes down on the hunters; the prairie is dangerous because it exposes the village to enemy attack and does not afford any protection against invaders. But the scrubland serves the purpose very well; it has few disadvantages and many advantages.

342 This the Nambicuara know well: their hut blends into the greyish hues of the surrounding vegetation; it is like a shrub among other shrubs; from a distance it can hardly be distinguished. Its shape, though well defined, merges into the vague forms of the bush.

Naturally, those whose eyes are accustomed to the dust-veiled mass of xerophytic upland vegetation can quickly spot the huts; the illusion cannot deceive an experienced eye. But the mimicry is nevertheless real.

7:Roquette-Pinto--41A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

413

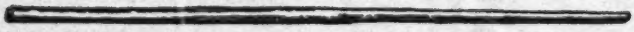


Fig. 41. Surgical instrument of the Serra do Norte Indians.

For a[illegible] seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
221 411 184 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[189] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[177] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

593 182 462 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms [342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or [415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all [157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 831 462 562 [517] Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an [183] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

622 and oxen for carrying could pass. The provisions of manioc proved to be insufficient and one morning the little band found itself without anything to eat. Our own attempts to kill some animal were in vain, and the worst [88] bad humor began to reign, the chief of the group being obviously held responsible for an affair which we, he and I, had contrived. In place of undertaking a hunting or collecting expedition, each one decided to go to sleep in the shade of shelters, and they left the chief alone to find the solution to the problem. He disappeared, accompanied by one of his wives (his first wife a2,
[222 contrary to usual procedure; but a3 and a4 shared the general irrita-
415] tion) and toward evening both were seen reappearing, their heavy baskets filled with grasshoppers which they had spent the entire day
[262] catching. Although grasshopper pie is not a particularly esteemed dish, everyone ate with good appetite and found his good humor again. They took up the journey again the next morning.

But other things than these exceptional relief measures are expected of the chief. He must sing and dance willingly and well, and be capable of animating the collective life. He must organize the work in the most reasonable way in order to eliminate useless fatigue and effort. Thus on the eve of a departure, B1 recites for us his order of march:

30. mãdórige mãdohádhudne haitehãdige nãnjehnile
uietnonãnahara jãuehara kanahaniˊndeere hinkanaha
iináamnjẽ ákeena iinãmnjẽ ihikoro ihikoro. (b1)
When it is hot, one is tired, one is hungry, the children walk badly; when one marches at dawn, one marches well, at dawn, one should march, change routes, march; on the way! on the way!

He must also win over his companions by numerous gifts. According to B1, who gives in willingly to the servitude of power, generosity plays a fundamental role in determining the degree of popularity which the new chief will enjoy, and the companions indulge in all sorts of speculations:

31. uilikã ahéni ajnire tununʔéntutnouilikã agnháhare
tunúrjani (b-1)
The chief is leaving; the one who will come will give me a great deal.--"Chief! Be generous! Give to me!"

The presents thus anticipated consist of food or objects which the chief will have made himself with the assistance of his polygamous wives, or that he will have procured by good exchanges with neighboring bands, or which might come from war booty. Often, it seems,

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 202] place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nãnde (bl). To analyze it, we should first say a few words con-
cerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
● [415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparacão do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and sometimes decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

278
●[415]

p. 239 and Fig. 34), but seems not to know their usage nor the nature of their content.

usually tied in bundles of two or three or more, and thus all the Indians possess a provision of poison from which they rarely become separated. We were not able to find out anything concerning the preparation of these drugs, but it seems that different varieties exist, used either by men or women. Notably, the poisons whose small doses are contained in the feather quills would be [96] according to an informant, women's poisons, and also much more to be feared. The "tube poisons" (as compared with the arrow poison which is only employed for hunting, and never for war) play an important role in inter-individual relationships. They are the usual instrument for amorous or commercial vengeance. To define these poisons, there are special terms according to dialects. Thus the arrow poison has a special name: inãru (a1); dãdnesu (a2); tiĩre, nãnde (b1); ãĩrare (b2); iriụã (c). But all of the arrow poisons and tube poisons are called by a more general term, belonging to dialect b1, but which is understood and used by all the groups: ĩãnde, which one might be wrongly tempted to translate as poison. It must be noted, however, from now on that in the case of tube poisons, the term nãnde means the tube and its contents simultaneously.

789 However besides these "true" poisons which we shall call scientific, there are other substances whose supposed action is of a purely magical character. Certain tubes contain, not a powder meant to be mixed with food, but fragments of resin of the tree called "barrigudo" or [824] "barrigudeira" in Portuguese (Bombax ventriculosa) and sahãrudĩtããru (a1/2), irĩdare (b1), iakĩụa (c) in Nambikwara. These fragments are used for certain "magic projections" which are carried out in the following way: a fragment of resin is placed between the lower edge of the palm of the left hand, held horizontally, and the tip of the index of the right hand held vertically (position called iuuehãre [a1]). By exercising strong pressure of the finger on the edge of the other hand, the index trips and throws the small projectile as far as several meters (asatããkedjuzu [a1], adãmdige [b1], ndãmdige [b2]). It is believed that the person reached by a fragment thrown in this way will become like the trunk of the barrigudo tree, narrow at the base and at the top and bloated in the center. He will fall ill, his stomach will begin to inflate, and finally he will die. This method of throwing is also often used for teasing, especially children, and to bombard an adversary with small fruit, with pieces of dirt,

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate I]

137
133

24
142
482
415

484
482
415

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

415
361
342
291

411
361
415
231

484
415
231

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[432
411]
●415

[231
342
415
285]

[231
222
482
855]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342
306
286
291

[415]

[411]

PLATE 27.—Nambicuara and upper Guaporé Indians. *Top:* Pimenta Bueno hut. *Center, left:* Nambicuara family shelter. *Center, right:* Nambicuara man wearing an armband. *Bottom, left:* Nambicuara family. *Bottom, right:* Woman drilling a mother of pearl earring. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except bottom, left, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiésu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
[513] gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinedénklesu*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sihdentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*siotáutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

[p. 33 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

252 The Nambicuara method of processing manioc in comparison with that of the Camayurá is simple and crude. The following describes the method used today: Marciano's wife dug up a burden basket full of manioc from a field belonging to the Protestant Mission. She sat under a tree [177] and peeled the tubers with an old butcher knife (formerly a piece of bamboo was used). She washed the peeled tubers and placed them in a calabash. She then took a grater made from a piece of kerosene box about 2 feet long and 6 inches wide to which an 18-inch strip of perforated tin was nailed. She placed one end of the grater in a larger copper basin (belonging to the mission) while the other end rested on the edge, and while steadying the grater with one hand she grated the tuber with the other. The tubers did not stand in water nor were they dipped in water during the process of grating.

After the tubers were grated she dipped out a calabash full of mash and began pressing it with her hands and pouring the juice into another calabash. After she had drained off as much juice as possible she picked up a handful of mash (*wiénere*) and rolled it and squeezed it until no more juice could be expelled. This ball she placed in another calabash and continued making balls until the calabash was full. She then patted down the balls to form a round loaf about 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick, which she set out on the bare [251] ground to dry in the sun. After several days in the sun these loaves get hard and dry and form the storable product (*kinokányere*) from which the edible cake *hi'ínire* (also called *walíánsu*) is baked. The juice (*syáuse*) which was left in the calabash she poured into a slight depression in the ground, and after the liquid had drained off she collected the thin film of starch flour (*akaínisu*) along with some sand, rolled it into a ball, and placed it in [415] hot ashes to bake. The lack of pottery vessels prevents the Nambicuara from saving and boiling the juice. They know, however, that the juice is valuable, and when they have cooking vessels they boil it to form a thick porridge.

When the Nambicuara wish to prepare a greater quantity of pulp they use a piece of bast for a press. This is a piece of ombira bark about 3 feet long and 8 inches wide called *sáru*. A woman rolls a ball of pulp in the strip of bark and twists the bark until the pulp is dry. The balls are then

4: Oberg Σ-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(5)]

412 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes,
415 knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a bow while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along
[264] the way. Whenever they kill some animal or catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel
412 axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the Waklitisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes,
177 two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a
[439] few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatíru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo
[306] knife (*alkúkwirikatu*); a hardwood drill (*hískatu*), used with sand for perforating tacum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*dáligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'énatu*), used as sandpaper; and a
415 comb (*ha'álatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *kúkisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

[p. 93 (A)]

[p. 136 (I)]

7: Roquette-Pinto--22D E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

445
252

Fig. 10. Mortar of the
Serra do Norte Indians

7: Roquette-Pinto--28C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912).

115 [2311

Fig. 24. Clay pot of the Serra do Norte Indians (1).

1. Today, the [National] Museum owns several large ceramic vessels brought from the Serra do Norte. The piece illustrated here deserves special mention, for it was the first one obtained in 1909.

415

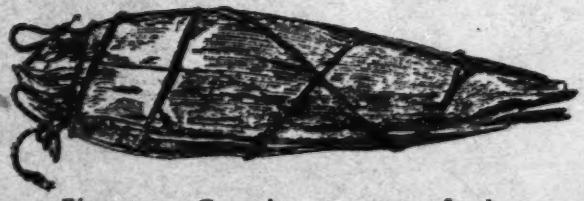


Fig. 25. Container to protect feather ornaments.

7:Roquette-Pinto--30B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

276
415

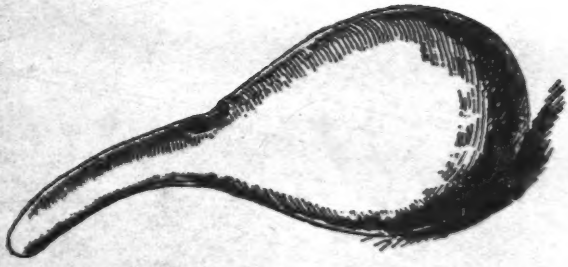


Fig. 28. Tobacco gourd.

415

Fig. 34. Bamboo tube containing a dark powder (paricá?).

241 [Plates p. 254]

[249] Yet a wild form of manioc has been found (Manihot utilissimo, Pohl); if not the very species we use, at least one of the same genus. But maize?

Where on the surface of the earth does maize exist in a wild state except for the tunicated Zea mais which is sometimes considered to be the ancestor of the modern species?

What unveiling of mysteries, if this question were to be answered!

Some Tagnani who were watching the herdsman João Lucas weed a small plot in Três Buritis began to laugh at him, indicating that it would be better to root up the weeds; the hoe severed the stems but left in the roots, and the plants would grow up again. When the Nambicuara weed, they pull out everything that is not useful. Their plots are always clean.

Their tobacco is the Nicotiana that grows wild in their mountains; it may not properly be said that urucu and cotton are cultivated: they are planted and utilized. Some large beans of various kinds de-
278 241 serve mention. [250] They are to be found in the Indians' baskets along with many other plants; but we never saw an Indian eating them or making any use of them. Pending further research, I am of the opinion that they are saved for medicinal undertakings carried out in secret by old men and women. The same may be said of the castor oil plant (Ricinus communis), which is definitely adventitious.

[Fig. 39]

● 415 The spools of cotton fiber that await spinning and the seeds saved for future use are kept out of the weather, dust and rain in bags made of straw or pacova leaves.

[Fig. 40]

759 It seemed to us that medicine was not exercised by any special segment of society. They all take part in the treatment of certain diseases; in serious cases, an experienced elder takes over.

752 Wounds are dressed with straw fibers [coated] with certain resins (jatobá). Burns are treated with cold water. Fractures and dislocations are reduced haphazardly.

7:Roquette-Pinto--40A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415

Fig. 39.
Straw container used by the Serra do Norte Indians to store Cucurbitacea seeds (Lagenaria?)

7:Roquette-Pinto--40B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

●415

Fig. 40. Cotton thread (kondzũ) wrapped in leaves.

7:Roquette-Pinto--47A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

●415
531

Fig. 47. Painted gourd.

7:Roquette-Pinto--47B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 260]

516
415
285

Juina River Indians

Juina River Indian

7:Roquette-Pinto--48A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
531

Fig. 48. Designs of the
Serra do Norte Indians.

Fig. 49. Designs of the Serra do Norte
Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--49A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

● 415
531

Fig. 50. Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--56C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
331

Fig. 62. Pot containing pitch.

7:Roquette-Pinto--57 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
824 [Lupinus cascavella] used in fishing.
278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).
262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--Guaiatú: white maize.

--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated, 252 is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the caaru. (1) The grater
[415]

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--Katunuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[824] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was [251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415 Mortars (nutêzê) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[283 286] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [855] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children). The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round [283] potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 924 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ... (28) p. 30B.]

/214 cont./

278 Only the bark of the roots impregnated with a reddish,
224 gummy juice is used in the preparation of curare. The plants which grow in sandy places are considered to be richer in poison; they are recognized by the bright red color and moisture exuding from incisions made in the bark. Roots from clayey earth are dry and considered incapable of giving an active product.

The Ñambikwara of the Juruena consider it essential to gather the roots in the morning at dawn before the sun gets too hot, and they only use fresh bark. The Çabanè use dried, stored bark by preference.

Çabanè Curare

278 The preparation of Çabanè curare may be taken as typical. It comprises three main operations: draining of the bark in portions with fresh water; rapid boiling to rid the product of some of its impurities; slow concentration at low heat.

[H2] Immediately after their harvest the roots are washed and then scraped with a splinter of bamboo or a piece of iron to detach the bark. Small, very fine shavings are thereby obtained which are dried and kept in baskets or gourds.

• [H5] Draining of the bark. The bark is placed in a small, elongated basket (kọnọsimatá) of bamboo lamellae reinforced by large leaves (kọnọkọnọsi) and hung by two vertical supports over an earthen dish. Over the bark they pour 200 to 250 cubic centimeters of cold water; a blood-red liquid filters off slowly. The filtering takes 15 to 20 minutes; when it is almost over fresh water is again poured over the bark. This operation is repeated six to eight times until the bark is exhausted (Pl. IV, A-B).

[H2] Boiling on a brisk fire. After each operation the liquid obtained is poured into a receptacle placed directly over a strong fire; it is constantly /215/ stirred with a wooden spatula and does not take long to boil in large bubbles. When it

/215 cont./

278 threatens to overflow it is removed from the fire for a second and then put back to boil. A thick, reddish scum forms which [412] holds the largest impurities; it is removed as it appears with a straw from a palm tree (Pl. V, A). After five to ten minutes on an average the boiling diminishes; the liquid turns brown [415] and begins to thicken. It is then taken from the fire and poured with the aid of a funnel (kǫli) made from a rolled leaf into a new receptacle to be concentrated (Pl. IV, C).

[415] [177] Concentration. The concentration is done in a receptacle (here, a tin can from the mission) suspended 40 or 50 centimeters above a small fire, into which successive portions of liquid are added as they are prepared. The concentration takes two to three hours. According to its degree /of concentration/ they obtain a thick blackish-brown liquid, reddish when looked through, ready to be applied to the arrows with a straw, or a black paste which becomes very hard on cooling and can be kept for a long time. Before being used this paste must be softened at low heat.

The Çabanè recommend that one not touch the curare with the fingers nor even breathe the steam from it during the boiling. This hypothetical toxicity of the steam had already been noted by former travelers; it was even asserted that these emanations were so dangerous that the Indians had the curare prepared by old women who almost always succumbed to it. One can see (Pl. V, A) that the Çabanè sorcerer is not afraid of it.

Curare does not enter healthy skin, and the Ñambikwara of the Juruena press the water-soaked bark between their hands, taking the sole precaution of washing immediately afterward. The steam that I voluntarily inhaled never caused me the least sickness.

[192] The Çabanè call curare and the plant which produces it irĩwa, and the still unconcentrated liquid from soaking iriwiya. The Tagnani name the plant and the curare naãdę.

Rio Juruena

/215 cont./

278 Curare of the Ñambikwara of the Rio Juruena

The technique of the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena is more primitive.

They use only bark which has just been gathered. The draining off of the bark is done only once and with warm water: the bark /216/ is put on the fire in a rather large amount of cold water, and the operation is ended when the temperature reaches 37° to 40° /centigrade/. It is filtered quickly by squeezing the bark with the hands to extract all the liquid from it. Then comes rapid boiling over a high fire and skimming. After several minutes of a rolling boil the fire is lowered and the liquid kept at a temperature a little below boiling until it has a pasty consistency.

[415] [237] The curare is kept in paste form in bamboo tubes or changed into a very hard mass by the addition of meliponine beeswax.

This method exposes the curare to strong heat for at least two hours. The Çabanè method reduces this time to ten minutes, the other operations being carried out at low heat. Both produce curares with about the same activity.

[192] [411] The Rio Juruena Ñambikwara call curare and the plant a'utlisú or a'ukisú; the roots ta'ñdisú; the poisoned arrow aurú kiritkatsú, and its protective bamboo sheath agirikatsú.

Utilization of Curare

278 411 The Ñambikwara are not familiar with the blowgun. They use curare to poison large arrows with long, notched points, capped with a protective bamboo sheath. The points of the Tamandé curare arrows are shorter and more slender than those of the other Ñambikwara. They are usually placed in twos, threes, and fours under a single protective sheath.

According to the Indians an arrow's activeness does not last more than three or four months. The curare in paste form is kept for a longer time (close to a year). Hard curare can be kept for years.

8:Vellard--16 D.E-S (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate IV

278
192
415
302
516

A

B

278
415
516

C

Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A-B. Draining of the bark with cold water.

C. After boiling the liquid is transferred into another receptacle where it will be concentrated at low heat.

8:Vellard--17 D.E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Gabanè

278
[142]
[301]
[302]
[412]

[415]

B

D

[516]

[415]
[824]

A

C

Plate V

/See captions on next page./

8:Vellard--17a D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabenè

Plate V

271 Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A. The curare is skimmed during the boiling.

[Nm] B. Testing of the degree of concentration of the product with the aid of a straw.

[415 824] C. Funnel made of a leaf rolled into a horn and the leaf used to make it.

[415 323] D. A pot of grey clay, badly baked, used to prepare and keep curare (Nhambikwara of the Cabixi River).

627 The chief admon-
[622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Waklítisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

[421] [428] [764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Waklítisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anánsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *tsuptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782] 753 [821] 776

Tsuptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lúlukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tsuptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinínuwa*), who lives with *tsuptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99 (8)]

684 conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations
626 incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing
[182] equivalences of value.

764 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern
184 groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriu̯aerekititu, a1) in a circular ditch (sinitákurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in
[768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. au̯regande aŝunikere kadúkarage i̯au̯órige énde énde énde inare inaretai̯re ŝinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aot2eníkere, b1) in a prone position (i̯ótarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[765] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doŝore dúrige aótede au̯tadátige au̯dotahãmdige au̯dotaãmde odenehei̯rẽ odunhínde ni̯aótumni̯e narai̯nidánde narai̯dúrige aíredugei̯óttige dén dén dén nagi̯aõde ai̯re dugi̯otige ti̯atugi̯ótige (b1)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

● 423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝibŝa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝibŝa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibŝa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝibṣa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝibṣa dialects. (2)

2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibṣa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
311 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝibṣa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝibṣa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibṣa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix -are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

627 [622] The chief admonishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Waklítisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. 421 Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. [428] [764] The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. [837] The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Waklítisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. [782] The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadiru*), 753 bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. [821] The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In 776 addition to the ghosts, there is *tauptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

Tauptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. [821] This tree (*lúlukutsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tauptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinínuwa*), who lives with *tauptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[p. 99 (B)]

that their southern neighbors make particularly nice necklaces. Also the meeting of the two groups, when it can take place in a peaceful manner, has as a consequence a series of reciprocal presents. The always impending conflict gives way to a market. This has some very remarkable characteristics in the sense that if one regards the presents only as presents, they do not bring any thanks nor proof of satisfaction. And if one considers them exchanges, they are effected without any bargaining, attempts to set the value of the article, depreciation, or manifestation of disagreement between the parties. Truthfully, they take pains not to admit that there are exchanges going on. Each goes about his usual occupations, and the objects or products go from one to the other, without the one who gives making note of the gesture by which he hands over his present, and without the one who receives paying any attention to his new wealth. In this way are exchanged husked cotton and balls of thread; blocks of wax or resin; urucu paste; shells, earrings, bracelets and necklaces; tobacco and seeds; feathers and sticks of bamboo destined for making arrow points; skeins of palm fibers, porcupine quills; whole pots or broken pottery; gourds. This mysterious circulation of merchandise goes on without haste for a half day or a whole day, after which the groups separate, and each one takes inventory of what he has received, and remembers what he has given. Thus, as regards the equity of the transactions, the Nambikwara trust entirely, the generosity of the partner. The idea that one might estimate, discuss or bargain, demand or take back is entirely foreign to them. We had promised an Indian a hunting sword as the price of transporting a message to a neighboring group. The commission was done, but upon the return of the messenger we had neglected, occupied by other cares, to give him immediately the agreed upon recompense, thinking that he himself would come to get it. He did nothing, and the next day we could not find him. He had left, very irritated his companions told us, and we did not [94] see him again. We were forced to entrust the present to another Indian. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that when the exchanges are finished, one of the groups departs discontented with its lot and, while taking inventory of its acquisitions and recalling its own presents, accumulates bitterness for weeks or months, which become greater and greater and more aggressive. It seems that wars very often have no other origin. Naturally other causes exist, such as a murder or carrying off women, depending on whether one desires to take the initiative, or whether one wishes to avenge a preceding attack; but it does not seem that a band feels

302 [431] Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads, they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)

The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being presaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avunculor marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

619 773 to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them the flute (*sakiarku*), and taught them how to sing and dance. *Chikkâdisu* is thus the culture hero of the Nambicuara. In human form he looks like a Nambicuara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucú. Yet today people no longer see *chikkâdisu*, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

622 Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklîtisu band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicuara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*alânsu*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *alunaśiduara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicuara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicuara believe, depends upon the *alunaśiduara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

619 Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicuara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Intermarriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chiwâisu and Hégadisu obtain pots from the Western Nambicuara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pots they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicuara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

[582] 438 619

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

[p. 96(B)]

619 #138 several hundred yards off and messengers are sent out to arrange a meeting. When agreement is reached the visiting band enters the camp, the visiting chief kneels on one knee and holding his bow and arrows above his head with his right hand he makes a speech extolling the hosts and their goods and depreciating the things which his band has brought. The host then makes a similar speech, and trading begins.

Important items are traded by the two chiefs representing their respective bands, while small items can be exchanged by individual owners. In all cases, however, the technique of trading is the same. If an individual wants an object he extolls it by saying how fine it is. If a man values an object and wants much in exchange for it, instead of saying that it is very valuable he says that it is no good, thus showing his desire to keep it. "This ax is no good, it is very old, it is very dull," he will say, referring to his ax which the other wants. This argument is carried on in an angry tone of voice until a settlement is reached. When agreement has been reached each snatches the object out of the other's hand. If a man has bartered a necklace, instead of taking it off and handing it over, the other person must take it off with a show of force. Disputes, often leading to fights, occur when one party is a little premature and snatches the object before the other has finished arguing. The term "boca forte" (strong mouth) applies particularly to trading, for a man with a strong mouth gets what he wants and convinces the other that he, too, has made a good bargain. This method of trading contrasts sharply with that practiced among the Upper Xingú tribes where each party places a pile of goods opposite the article he wants, usually without saying a word. If agreement is not reached, each one eventually withdraws his goods.

619 583 After a satisfactory exchange of goods the two bands go hunting and prepare a quantity of food and dance as long as the food lasts. During these meetings marriages are sometimes arranged, but more often, when leaving, some strong man will try to steal the wife of some other man. If a fight should occur in which one man is killed the winner will take not only his wife or wives but his children and property as well.

619 Rev. L. W. Beckman gave the following account which reveals something of the tension between

1: Lévi-Strauss--105 E-6 (1938-1949)1948 SP17 Nambikuara SP17

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern 526 Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paresi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [94] al whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

648 37. tamai'n ãjtne munãjtjere munãjtjenãitiore njani' (bl)
609 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
201 In one case which we witnessed, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tõhé tõhé kãhé kãhé muniniti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take—commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

that their southern neighbors make particularly nice necklaces. Also the meeting of the two groups, when it can take place in a peaceful manner, has as a consequence a series of reciprocal presents. The always impending conflict gives way to a market. This has some very remarkable characteristics in the sense that if one regards the presents only as presents, they do not bring any thanks nor proof of satisfaction. And if one considers them exchanges, they are effected without any bargaining, attempts to set the value of the article, depreciation, or manifestation of disagreement between the parties. Truthfully, they take pains not to admit that there are exchanges going on. Each goes about his usual occupations, and the objects or products go from one to the other, without the one who gives making note of the gesture by which he hands over his present, and without the one who receives paying any attention to his new wealth. In this way are exchanged husked cotton and balls of thread; blocks of wax or resin; urucu paste; shells, earrings, bracelets and necklaces; tobacco and seeds; feathers and sticks of bamboo destined for making arrow points; skeins of palm fibers, porcupine quills; whole pots or broken pottery; gourds. This mysterious circulation of merchandise goes on without haste for a half day or a whole day, after which the groups separate, and each one takes inventory of what he has received, and remembers what he has given. Thus, as regards the equity of the transactions, the Nambikwara trust entirely, the generosity of the partner. The idea that one might estimate, discuss or bargain, demand or take back is entirely foreign to them. We had promised an Indian a hunting sword as the price of transporting a message to a neighboring group. The commission was done, but upon the return of the messenger we had neglected, occupied by other cares, to give him immediately the agreed upon recompense, thinking that he himself would come to get it. He did nothing, and the next day we could not find him. He had left, very irritated his companions told us, and we did not [94] see him again. We were forced to entrust the present to another Indian. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that when the exchanges are finished, one of the groups departs discontented with its lot and, while taking inventory of its acquisitions and recalling its own presents, accumulates bitterness for weeks or months, which become greater and greater and more aggressive. It seems that wars very often have no other origin. Naturally other causes exist, such as a murder or carrying off women, depending on whether one desires to take the initiative, or whether one wishes to avenge a preceding attack; but it does not seem that a band feels

63. tenūkuẹ̄ tenūkuẹ̄ utanátiri (b1). 157
To me! To me! Throw! 521

However the artisan at work also makes his wife, child neighbor participate in the execution of the work on whose vicissitudes he comments gaily:

64. itioụ̄ taninjẹ̄ diụ̄ṅ... ámi... kādaha... munjaḷina... kādjanene... nooṇa... taluunḷẹ̄... nohin... iahene... muhiṇa. (b1)
Hold it [the cord] so that I can twist it... let it go! It fell!... There!... It is difficult!.... It is done!.... Does it suit you?.. It is ugly!... No, it is pretty!

The last formula is ritual, it is the one they use at the end of chants and dances; the protagonists excuse themselves: "it is ugly"; and the audience responds: "No, it is pretty!" [88]

[123] This politeness is not always without malice, and compliments 157
sometimes hide attempts at mockery. We cited above the formula used by 521
a group to depreciate their dances in comparison to those of their companions 576
they have just met; (1) but a few hours earlier, disdaining a present of beads

1. Cf. p. 92.

which I offered and which were not much appreciated because of their color, they advised me:

65. mpátin majmáinde tunuhi'nde (b1)
Keep them to give to the Maimandé.

One day we were sold poison tubes (by group a2) described as so 439
dangerous that we should abstain from ever opening them under pain of im- 789
mediate death. They proved to be empty, which testifies to great 157
ingenuity if the mystery was improvised on our account. In any case, it throws a curious light on the relationships between neighboring groups.

412 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes,
415 knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along
[264] the way. Whenever they kill some animal or catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel
412 axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the Wakiitisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes,
177 two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a
[439] few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatíru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo
[306] knife (*alkúkwirikatu*); a hardwood drill (*hiskatu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*dáligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'énatu*), used as sandpaper; and a
415 comb (*ha'álatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *kúkisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

[p. 93 (A)]

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnosu, al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[261] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (eʔeru, al, eʔtʔonde, bl, ʔola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (koraiʔsu, al, kutonde, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (katāterisu, al, nagāde, bl, taliʔme, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuvà palm (arookesu, al, lokoninde, bl), or uaguassu (aradikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, al, tagere,
[252] bl, taaki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

593 182 462 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms [342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or [415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all [157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 831 462 542 [517] Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bi). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an [153] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

593 831 462 [83] 562 fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folklore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tagare yirige, b1), a typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second [198] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

[538] 5. yirtnoʃunatukhne joʔotnuʃutnãdnjani denesunatukhne. (b1)
The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, a1), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

198 562 This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect a1, they give words an ending —ʃu instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedjutu or —kedjuzu.

198 It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity.
562 When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

462 But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they
[484] valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal
[482 481] or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step; [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page[1] a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the
[482] other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senasi'kititu, a1).

[1] [see p. [illegible] analyst]

462
[62] like the women, but from the shoulder (adiuisi'kititu, al), and frequently lightening the load by dragging the strap in the left hand, which they explain by saying that they need to watch out for possible game. And they naturally do not neglect collecting and gleaning whenever the occasion is presented or necessity is felt. In like manner, the women normally aid their husbands (especially the polygamous wives) in their work in the gardens. Both sexes cut down wood, the men for constructing huts or shelters and for making bows, arrows, spears and clubs, etc., and the women, more often, for the fire wood. Above all, and when she is not occupied by her own work, the woman aids her husband in all the tasks that are his. She holds his implements, gives them to him when he asks for them, supports the end of the arrow or the wood of the bow while he repairs or polishes them, or begins to twist the cord while he finishes the wooden part. She does the retouching and finishes the work. This frequent and always harmonious collaboration gives the impression that the sexual division of labor is much less strict among the Nambikwara than it is commonly, and sometimes one might even think it non-existent. This is not so; but the rule is constantly made flexible or masked by the unity of the couple.

601 As we have shown in studying the kinship system all the classifi-
602 catory contemporaries of an individual belonging to a different sex are divided by him into husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters. We have found no term which designates the actual spouse, and allows one to distinguish him in conversation from the classifying spouse. A man calls his wife or wives, and his cross-cousins (fem.) indiscriminately asiesu, as the woman designates her husband and her cross-cousins (masc.) by the same term owensaesu. But, of course, behavior is very different in the two cases. It has just been seen to what extent relationships are close and active between true husband and wife. As regards his potential wives, a man does not adopt any particular attitude, and the relationships do not seem to be either [59] [Table: Sexual Division of Labor] more or less intimate than those which he carries on with his sisters (the same remark is true as regards the relationship of a woman with her potential husbands and her brothers). In these two cases, the relationships are characterized by [60] great reserve, the individuals involved do not pay much attention to one another and rarely address one another except for definite reasons. But it is a question here of a mass attitude, conditioned by usage, rather than of an over-all picture of conscious and stylized reactions. The Indians do not seem to perceive

[Text continues on p. 67]

1:Levi-Strauss--66 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

●462

SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

	MAN	WOMAN		MAN	WOMAN
Portaging	(+)	+	Weaving	+	
Agriculture	+	(+)	Rope making	+	
Hunting and fishing with bow	+		Weaving and basket making; straw work	+	
Collection of wild honey	+		Ceramics		+
Collection and harvest of grains, fruits, roots, eggs, small animals, hunting with digging stick	(+)	+	Preparation of gourds		+
			Mortars		+
			Recipients of leaves or of bark	+	
Cutting up of small game	(+)	+	Beads, necklaces, bracelets, earrings		+
Preparation of manioc (harvest, pressing and cooking)		+	Finery of feathers and of furs	+	
Preparation of drinks		+	Musical Instruments	+	
Fire { Production	+		Balls	+	
Fire { Transportation		+	Vegetable dyes		+
Cutting down wood	+	+	Preparation of poisons and of blowguns	+	
Construction of huts	+				
Construction of the shelters	+	+	Collection of medicinal plants	+	+
Utensils: axes, knives, spears, graters, burins, drills	+		Weapons	+	

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[593] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[855] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

595
601 2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiesu aouerelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nukenajtere, which could be a feminine of nukenajore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

595
601

sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
262] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridnakititu, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

846 1. She wears no decoration or ornament;

784 [107] 2. She does not touch food, neither to harvest it, to gather it, to prepare it nor to cook it;

3. She speaks to no one and no one says a word to her;

4. She avoids groups and when curiosity draws her toward our circle, she attends the distribution and exchange of gifts from a distance and in silence. If someone gives her or her husband a present (for example some beads), it is immediately given to the baby;

5. Every day she receives her food from her mother (a18), who gives it to her without speaking, and occupies herself with certain cares of the baby such as delousing it;

6. She does not bathe in the river, but washes herself with the water which she herself goes to draw in a gourd;

7. She goes away with her husband, sometimes for whole days, and, upon departure, follows him at a distance without saying a word; on these occasions, she takes the baby along;

A21 behaves similarly:

1. He does not go with the masculine group when they go hunting or gardening;

2. He rarely goes away, and then with his wife. The rest of the time he spends stretched out without taking part in any creative activity; *they say he is ill* (inkatu);

3. In the degree to which he and his wife perform the most

[162] indispensable activities, there is no division of labor between them. Either one buries the baby's excrement, or places in the coals the manioc received by a22 and a18 which constitutes their sole nourishment. Both are extremely thin, and appear very weak; their hair has not been cut or washed for a long time.

Toward June 20, 1938, this behavior was modified. For three consecutive days A21 and a22 disappeared for the whole day, doubtless to hunt, for, after several fruitless trips, they return (June 23 at 15 o'clock) with the following small game:

a. An irara (Mustela sp.);

b. Three bats;

c. Two lizards and their eggs.

846 The irara and the bats have already been put over the flame

252 to burn off the hair. a22 begins immediately—and for the first time—to clean and crush a small quantity of manioc and she quickly puts a cake under the coals. At the same time she puts the broken lizard eggs there, and [108] takes them out barely cooked; she divides

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiésu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Wakiítisu band has one house (*síeu*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
[513] gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinedénkleru*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sihdeutsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*sisiéutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new campsite
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
carried by the women. The Wakiítisu do not

[p. 88 (A)]

854 Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

622 They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

578 One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Cocozu
622 and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there: Nuleke, Krikricekneré (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. *sloth], Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Uiantaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Cocozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

622 Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

562 The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true. She
[562] gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is

198 It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity.
562 When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

462 But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they [465] valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal [462] or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with [463] the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step: [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the [465] other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senasïkititu, a).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. 302 [386]

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 854

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Aruwak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark. 323 [314]

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. 412 [372] [373]

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads, they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis. . .

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

[244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)

The Tagnani also use a kind of fish-trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

513 [514] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"--on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nutshells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 524 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [558] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 513 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity. When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step: [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senastkitiu, al).

462 like the women, but from the shoulder (adiuisi'kititu, al), and fre-
[462] quently lightening the load by dragging the strap in the left hand, which they explain by saying that they need to watch out for possible game. And they naturally do not neglect collecting and gleaning whenever the occasion is presented or necessity is felt. In like manner, the women normally aid their husbands (especially the polygamous wives) in their work in the gardens. Both sexes cut down wood, the men for constructing huts or shelters and for making bows, arrows, spears and clubs, etc., and the women, more often, for the fire wood. Above all, and when she is not occupied by her own work, the woman aids her husband in all the tasks that are his. She holds his implements, gives them to him when he asks for them, supports the end of the arrow or the wood of the bow while he repairs or polishes them, or begins to twist the cord while he finishes the wooden part. She does the retouching and finishes the work. This frequent and always harmonious collaboration gives the impression that the sexual division of labor is much less strict among the Nambikwara than it is commonly, and sometimes one might even think it non-existent. This is not so; but the rule is constantly made flexible or masked by the unity of the couple.

601 As we have shown in studying the kinship system all the classifi-
602 catory contemporaries of an individual belonging to a different sex are divided by him into husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters. We have found no term which designates the actual spouse, and allows one to distinguish him in conversation from the classifying spouse. A man calls his wife or wives, and his cross-cousins (fem.) indiscriminately asjes'u, as the woman designates her husband and her cross-cousins (masc.) by the same term ouensaesu. But, of course, behavior is very different in the two cases. It has just been seen to what extent relationships are close and active between true husband and wife. As regards his potential wives, a man does not adopt any particular attitude, and the relationships do not seem to be either [59] [Table: Sexual Division of Labor] more or less intimate than those which he carries on with his sisters (the same remark is true as regards the relationship of a woman with her potential husbands and her brothers). In these two cases, the relationships are characterized by [60] great reserve, the individuals involved do not pay much attention to one another and rarely address one another except for definite reasons. But it is a question here of a mass attitude, conditioned by usage, rather than of an over-all picture of conscious and stylized reactions. The Indians do not seem to perceive

[Text continues on p. 67]

595
571 piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers: "Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
856 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives, take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves, timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, beside their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of play. In certain groups (central and south), the children manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights or contests which they do together, and lead an existence modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gathering wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting expeditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know what an important role the women have in the economic life of the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy
482 in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and we make the remark:

16. uajnuĩtte uĩkɔrage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

ueĩkɔatnore uainuetuikade?ena tãjtniene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nɛ̃iuɥenãghee̅ nɛ̃uɥeeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehẽna ɥ̃ttɛ ɥ̃kɛrage, "the woman caresses the baby," or ɥãjuɥẽtte ɥ̃kɛrage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
● 482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them
231 receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [cf. From the children.--Analyst]

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate I]

137
133

2H
142
452
415

487
482
415

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

1: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[432
411]
415]

[231
342]
415
285]

[231
222]
482
358]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
42
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
532]

1. The little girl b6 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law debeaning each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[621] 622 tnations, and the ascent or decline of individuals and groups follow each other in a rather surprising manner.

How will the chief be able to overcome these difficulties? The first instrumental force of his power lies in his generosity. Generosity —an all important feature of chieftainship among most primitive peoples, especially in America—plays an outstanding part even on those crude cultural levels where worldly goods are limited to the most primitive weapons and tools, coarse ornaments made of feathers, shells and bones, and raw materials, such as lumps of resin and wax, hanks of fiber and splinters of bamboo for arrow-making. There cannot be great economic distinctions between families each of which can pack [462] all of its belongings in the baskets carried along by the women during [558] the long travels of the dry season. But, although the chief does not seem to fare better, in this respect, than the others, he must always have at hand surpluses of food, tools, weapons, ornaments which, while being small indeed, acquire great value because of the scarcity which is the prevalent condition. When an individual, a family or the band itself needs or covets something, the chief is called upon to secure the desired article. Generosity is the quality, much speculated on, which is expected of a new chief. Generosity is the string constantly struck which makes the general consent to one's leadership sound clear or out of tune. There is little doubt that, in this respect, the chief's ability to give is exploited to the utmost. Band chiefs used to be my best informants, and, well aware of their difficult position, I liked to reward them liberally; but I seldom saw one of my many gifts remain in their hands for more than a few days. Each time I took leave of a band, after a few weeks or a few months, its members had time to become the happy boarders of axes, knives, beads, and so on. As a rule, however, the chief was exactly as poor as at my first arrival. Everything he had received from me (and this was considerably more than the average) had already been squeezed out of him. This collective greediness not seldom drives the chief to an almost desperate position; then the refusal to give plays about the same part, in this primitive democracy, as the threat to resign followed by a vote of confidence in a modern parliament. When a chief reaches the point where he must say: "To give away is over! To be generous is over! Let another be generous in my place!", he must, indeed, be sure of his power and prestige, for his rule is undergoing its severest crisis.

Ingenuity is but the intellectual form of generosity. A great deal

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiêsu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siênsu*. At present the
342 Wakltisu band has one house (*sisu*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
[513] gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinadênkisu*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sikâentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*sistêutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
carried by the women. The Wakltisu do not

The Wakiltisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresí in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakiltisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
458 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
[252 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
262 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has
[177] a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

[p. 88(B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

372
316
415
482

881
301
302
291
142

[p. 136 (I)]

Plate III

A

B

C

D

(See captions on next page.)

8:Veiland--16 D.E-6 (1939) 1939 SP17 Nambikwara SP17

198 It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity.
562 When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

462 But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they [illegible] valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal [illegible] or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with [illegible] the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step: [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page[1] a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the [illegible] other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senasi'kititu, al).

[1] [illegible]

L. Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate I]

137
133

284
192
482
415

487
482
415

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

415
361
342
291

411
361
415
231

414
415
231

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group A1 (cf. p. 46). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. [illegible]).

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

000 old Paresí Indian village site on the west bank of the Papagaio. It is a division point in the telegraph line, and besides the telegraph operator there is a section boss and a number of Paresí Indian linemen. As the Nambicuara take whatever wire they feel they need, the linemen are kept busy repairing the line. There are 12 houses in the settlement proper with the buildings of the Protestant Mission forming one end of the town and the buildings of the Jesuit Mission forming the other.

[316]

The line boss, who is also the mayor of the town, gave Kazro and me a two-room mud-and-wattle house as our quarters. Our meals we took with the two American missionary families. The Catholic Mission was under the charge of Father Roberto, a Frenchman, and Father João, an Austrian. In addition, there were three sisters in charge of a school. The priests had developed extensive fields of manioc and rice, irrigating the fields by diverting water from the river. They had also set up an electric-light plant, using water as a source of power. There are tremendous possibilities for power development, for Utiarity Falls, situated some half a mile distant, has a drop of about 240 feet. Unfortunately this power resource is located in a practically uninhabited, semiarid region.

797
●484

The Rev. L. W. Buckman, who has been in the area since 1941, kindly consented to prepare a pack train, using the mission oxen and mules, to go in search of the nearest band of Nambicuara. On the third day after our arrival when our preparations were well along, however, a band of Nambicuara came to Utiarity. In fact they were able to get a ride on João Tapuya's trucks as he was returning from Burity, the end of the truck road. This was Julio's band of some 18 people known by the Nambicuara as the Wakiltisu. Their purpose was to bring one of their men who had running syphilis sores to the Jesuit Mission for treatment. This changed our plans, for we now had one of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands in camp, which would give us plenty to do for the limited period of our visit. Also during the first week, Father João returned from the Iranxe village, bringing five men, and offered to assist us in gathering whatever information we could get from them. This we found to be very difficult, as the Iranxe spoke no Portuguese and the mis-

000

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an [748] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

352 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, [751] weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paresi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

[245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some become used to their cruel captivity: a woodpecker (Colaptes campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living comfy, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

Doves (Chamepelia talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atratus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads, they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis. . .

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

[244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)

The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

?:Roquette-Pinto--318 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 236]

516

Village on the Juina River.

491

Indian footbridge--Juina River.

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Parecis, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the *Guaporé*—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

• • • •

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP1?

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. 302 [386]

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 354

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Arawak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark. 323 [317]

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. 412 [372] [373]

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

221 subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A [262 253] favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

824 As an example of the variety of uses to which [262] the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding [288] the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and [262] multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. •[501] (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only [766] men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

372 The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

412 The material equipment of the Eastern Nam-
415 bicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads, they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis. . .

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

[244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction. If the river is wide, they make a bundle of mauriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be ddescribed later.

In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but speccial arrows.(1)

The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--isis found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

7:Roquette-Pinto--36A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 36. Float of muriti stalks used by the Serra do Norte Indians when crossing rivers. (After a sketch by Mr. G. Kuhlmann.)

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

121 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 177 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paresi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

• • • •

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

512 [512] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"--on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nutshells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 329 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [358] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 462 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

1. Cf. below, p. 37, n. 1.

ə	mute e
ã	nasal a
ẽ	nasal e
õ	nasal o
i̯	asyllabic i
u̯	asyllabic u
š	palatal fricative unvoiced sibilant
ž	palatal fricative voiced sibilant
č	palatal affricate unvoiced sibilant
γ	voiced velar fricative
ʔ	weak glottal stop
h	strong glottal stop
ˈ	accented syllable

[33] dividing line of waters which separates the basin of the Paraguay, a tributary of the La Plata River, and the sources of the Arinos River, itself a tributary of the Amazon.

In its general aspect, the region is a sort of vast undulating plateau, falling slowly in the direction of the basin of the Amazon, with the highest points in the center and in the south (about 800 meters) and the lowest (about 350 meters) toward the north and west. Nevertheless, the traveler leaving from the south is greeted by an impressive spectacle when, after having traveled through 1,200 kilometers of high desolate land, he reaches the northwest border of the plateau, compared to the lowlands the difference in altitude is small, 100 meters at the most, but the rise is abrupt. Behind him, he leaves an interminable and sterile brush, while immediately at his feet begins, with the valley of the Gi-Parana, the no less interminable Amazon forest. This remarkable geographic frontier is also the western limit of Nambikwara territories.

Farther to the center and to the north, the aspect is different; running waters have worn ditches across the plateau which become larger in the direction of the Amazon basin. These depressions bring about differences in altitude up to 150 meters. One notices them especially in the region which extends from the Roosevelt River to the Doze de Outubro River, and they give this region a falsely mountainous aspect from which the fallacious expression "Serra do Norte" probably originates.

[34] [32] Geological constitution conspires with climatic conditions to [5] give the plateau its desolate physiognomy. The sand, product of the decomposition of the sandstone, provides a sterile soil, and the irregular distribution of rain explains the prairie-like aspect, so characteristic of the whole region. Except for a little rain—very rare—which falls sometimes in July or August, the "chuvas de caju," one might say that the period from April to September is completely arid. On the contrary, precipitation is violent and almost daily from October to March. There are storms when the rain lasts sometimes one, two or even three consecutive days. During the rainy season the temperature rises; 42 to 44 degrees[1] during the day, cooler at night, with a sudden and brief shower at dawn. But abrupt variations of temperature rather characterize the dry season, probably because of intense nocturnal radiation. It is not rare, at this season, to go from a daytime maximum of 40 degrees to a nocturnal minimum of 8 or 10 degrees. The Indians, who live completely nude, sleep on the ground, [291] [313] and know nothing of the use of coverings either of cloth or fur, suffer cruelly from this circumstance.

[1] [i.e. degrees Centigrade.— Analyst]

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
181
291
301

> 2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
● [513] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
[101] Paresi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaikoahore, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the 'grated' pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342 shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season,
[361] villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. "All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepikiriwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass."

352 The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on
●513 bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paressí* nicknamed them *Uaikoakôre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

[291] Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of
301 buruty straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and and toucan feathers, or of fur with
[714] feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes And darts hanging down from the nape of the neck.

sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakítisu band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakítisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Wakítisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiésu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siénsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
[513] gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinedónklesu*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sihdentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*siotdutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazinitî and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Calaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacúba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atsíri and the Amúésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oaniní and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malé-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

145 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their
145 digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[194] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the
[514] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred
164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar piorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots
[513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

302
751

Indians are as well protected against the actinic action of the sun as if they were wearing the thick clothing of the Sahara tribes. Because they are nude, however, the air circulates freely around their body, reducing the heat and hastening the evaporation of perspiration.

"If exposed to sunlight, in accordance with the property described above, urucu absorbs only slightly the heat of the sun, reflecting the red rays and also the heat rays. For this reason the white man or one with slight pigmentation, when smeared with urucu, does not perspire excessively as does the Negro under the same circumstances.

"In view of the properties ascribed to urucu by our experiments, and of the widespread usage of this dye among the Indians of tropical America, we believe that it should be considered not as merely ornamental but as an effective means of protection against tropical light and heat."

164 [184] The manifestations and evolution of the disease lead us to believe that it is a dermatomycosis. The habitat of the pathogenic fungus is probably to be found in the soil. This would explain why the personnel of the Line, who have lived among the Nambicuara for years, have not yet contracted the disease. This also applies to the Paressi, who are now in contact with the diseased Indians. Both groups, unlike [513] the Nambicuara, make use of hammocks and never sleep on the ground.

To this day, no microscopic examination of the scales has been made, and I am not responsible for this failure. In 1912 the Indians [123] would not allow us to collect the necessary materials; they were still suspicious.

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an [768] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

352 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, [484] weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paressi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

7: Roquette-Pinto--26 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

513 At the post of Três Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[248 824] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[171] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

201 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikátnerá!"

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover, her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2 and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of "little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the husband's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous). They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a more or less subordinate society. We have found households comprised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five (A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is proportional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly distinguish (thus: tolūtĭge, b1, to cough, and tolūtiore, b2, to sneeze; kaśite, sneeze, and kasĭpe, c, spit. tarnĭkititu, a1, to expel flatus or to defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution, ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

514
515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.

514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation.(1). Following this, they are only subject to

1. Cf. below, p. 109.

certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. jaŋoõdage edẽdẽ edẽdẽ edẽdẽ kano kano kano kano kano kano kanaho huiire tamindige. (b1).
The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

841
147
171 2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen which women are indisposed. But the above remarks seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkolékenore, b1—to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uatalãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 163 847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.

[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them.

145 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their
145 digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[194] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the
[514] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred
164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar piorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[113]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots
[513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

142 The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paresi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

. . .

512 The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The 512 daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which 252 requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and 512 boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

512 [516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. [306] Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nutshells or sea shells, [515] earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 824 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [356] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

595
601 sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
262] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
● [515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridna(kitim, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover, her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2 and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of "little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the husband's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous). They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a more or less subordinate society. We have found households comprised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five (A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is proportional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly distinguish (thus: tolitige, b1, to cough, and tolitiore, b2, to sneeze; kaite, sneeze, and kaitpe, c, spit. tarnikitiru, a1, to expel flatus or to defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution, ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

514
515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.

514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation.(1). Following this, they are only subject to

1. Cf. below, p. 109.

certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. iayoũdage edẽdẽ edẽdẽ edẽdẽ kano kano kano kano kano kanabõ huiise tamindige. (b1).
The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

841
147
171 2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen which women are indisposed. But the above remarks seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
853 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãsere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeɨere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

10. ũtsotnaniena naũdnerajena indõtenajena ũneere (b1)
the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
482
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Waklĭtisu band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Waklĭtisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Waklĭtisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A]

[184] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialaçu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not [515] draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[386] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

* * * *

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

513 on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their
[516] knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks rest-
[306] ing on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nut-
[515] shells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants,
521 silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes
[262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats,
824 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly
[855] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood
512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight,
313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying
482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[482
411]
415]

[231
342
415]
285]

[231
222]
482]
855]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate VII]

291
302
301
516

[607]

Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]

The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

[End Plate VIII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938 [illegible]39)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
714
534
301
291
302

•[516]

PLATE 36.—Nambicuara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the nose flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Panpipes. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except *center, left,* by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 1]

[190]

142
516
854
291

Tagnani mother and daughter

Tagnani mother and son

Tagnani Indian

Serra do Norte Indians

[198]

142
516
291
301

Tagnani Nambicuara Indians

Nambicuara Indian

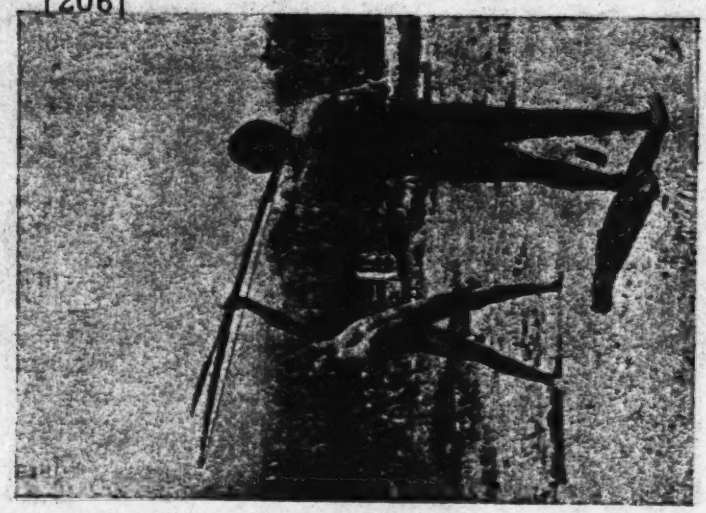
Tagnani girls

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

7: Roquette-Pinto--13C E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

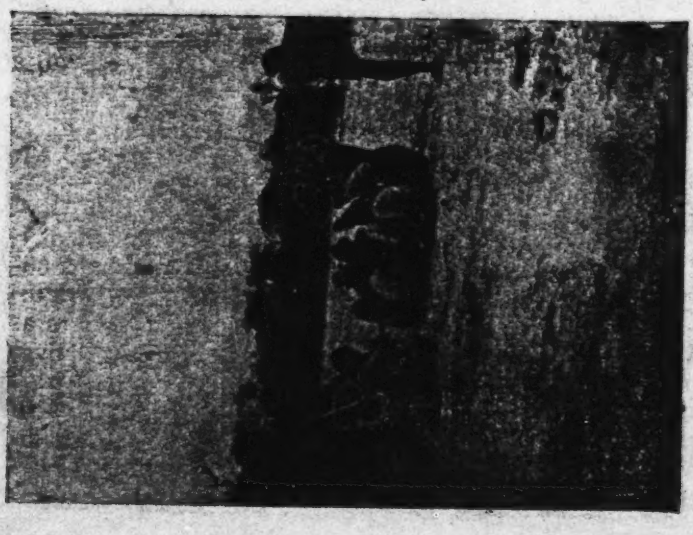
[206]

142
411
516



Indian of the Serra do Norte shooting an arrow for elevation.

000



7:Roquette-Pinto--18A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342
516

At the house door —village on the Juina River

Cocozu hut — Juina River

Nambicuara village

7: Roquette-Pinto--22B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[226]

342

Indian house--Festa da Bandeira (Carumi) River

516

Nambicuara village

7:Roquette-Pinto--25A E-4, 5 (no date)1930 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342

Hunting shelters--Juina River Indians

516

Serra do Norte Indians

513 At the post of Três Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[245 824] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[171] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

● 516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

201 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikátnerá!"

7:Roquette-Pinto--28A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[230]

516
291

Nambicuara at Três Buritis

[85E]

Nambicuara children

7:Roquette-Pinto--31B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 236]

516

Village on the Juina River.

491

Indian footbridge--Juina River.

7:Roquette-Pinto--35A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 242]

142
516
291
301

Uaintaçu Indians
Post at Campos Novos

Serra do Norte Indian

Cocozu couple

Anunze Nambicuara (Nuleke's father)

7:Roquette-Pinto--43B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 254]

142
302
291
301
516

Anunze women.

Tawite camp at Tres Buritis.

7:Roquette-Pinto--47B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 260]

516
415
285

Juina River Indians

Juina River Indian

7:Roquette-Pinto--50B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 264]

516
142

Serra do Norte Indians at the Telegraph Station of Utiariti.

Paressi and Nambicuara at the Utiariti Station.

115
278
291
516

492
291
302
516

Plate III

A

B

C

D

(See captions on next page.)

8:Vellard--16 D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate IV

278
142
415
302
516

A

B

278
415
516

C

Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A-B. Draining of the bark with cold water.

C. After boiling the liquid is transferred into another receptacle where it will be concentrated at low heat.

Plate V

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page./

593 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark
182 prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection
462 against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms
[342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or
[415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as con-
831 cerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest
462 is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara
562 have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to
[517] signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
[183] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

513 [516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting [306] on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nut- [515] shells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, 521 silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262 and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 824] little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [856] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nʔiuu̯enãgheẽ nʔuu̯éeguedne (b1)

Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehéna u̯ĩtte u̯ĩkərage, "the woman caresses the baby," or u̯ãi̯nu̯étte u̯ĩkərage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231
521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. From the children.--Analyst]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. i̯akhũninde ĩteru u̯irokũnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: u̯oṣĩ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hõte u̯ãi̯nde miramirai̯na hõte u̯airĩdni̯ena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣariṣena tãkəlahẽ tãkela ãɣoriṣẽ kãdai̯ena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

802 a special term ba is found, to designate a duo or a pair.

NAMES OF NUMBERS

Numbers	Dialects a 1/2.	Dialect b 1.	Dialect b 2.	Dialect c.
One.....	kənáge	nágəna, kanákero	naiúkənada-i̯ŝaore	amérо
Two.....	searu	nabaám, baãdo	baãŝore	balére
Three.....	nuneseare-kənage	nabágəna	uái̯nŝore	balaámero
Four.....	desanu	nabau̯õda	uai̯dnai̯ŝore	
Five.....	dasarénere	nmba-nmba-nagena	niku̯ái̯nŝore	
Six.....	anere		u̯ái̯dna-ái̯ŝore	
Seven.....	toái̯denere			
Eight.....	uakesau̯núnere			
Many.....	sáklaere	u̯ái̯gnine ku̯ái̯ntege	dei̯ndari̯ŝore	álele

[116] In the a 1/2 vocabulary, the terms indicated for "four" to "eight" probably represent less the names of the number than the descriptive terms of the operation which consists of adding a new unit to a whole. In the b2 vocabulary, the original word employed for "three" is apparently connected with the same origin as that of dialect b1 signifying plurality. The terms used for "four," "five" and "six" are probably descriptive of the manipulation.

●[521] In conversation, the exclamatory forms are used, for example in discussions among men upon their return from hunting:

55. nãgənaarenj̯ani baánenj̯ani baánegərenj̯ani bãde-bãdenj̯ani báabáakənaánj̯ani. (b1)
"I killed one myself--two, myself--three, myself--four, myself--five, myself."

In older versions, the old woman (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773 171
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it
by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is [538]
probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or
grains in South American folklore.

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological 157
and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among
their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the
Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt
to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South
Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few
manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of ex-
pression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants
introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to 157
respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either 571
a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships:

60. tai undeɟretnɟẽ ta eɟkirednɟẽ uɟ̃ɟiren undẽtnɟẽ
tatɟene uɟ̃ɟ iritɟani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep,
I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. ieɟtɟana amnentɟẽ hikənariəna iatɟeni amdẽnɟẽ
kənahádaɟ ɟedẽtnɟẽ. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see
clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it;
tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanaɟõnɟani nihin nalirɟani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games 157
of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 521

63. tenũkuẽ tenũkuẽ utanãtiri (bl). 157
To me! To me! Throw! 521

However the artisan at work also makes his wife, child, neighbor participate in the execution of the work on whose vicissitudes he comments gaily:

64. itiouĩ taninjẽ diuĩn... ãmi... kãdaha... munjalina... kãdjanene... nooua... taluunlẽ... nohin... ishena... munjena. (bl)
Hold it [the cord] so that I can twist it... let it go! It fell!... There!... It is difficult!.... It is done!.... Does it suit you?.. It is ugly!... No, it is pretty!

The last formula is ritual, it is the one they use at the end of chants and dances; the protagonists excuse themselves: "it is ugly"; and the audience responds: "No, it is pretty!" [708]

[123] This politeness is not always without malice, and compliments sometimes hide attempts at mockery. We cited above the formula used by a group to depreciate their dances in comparison to those of their companions they have just met; (1) but a few hours earlier, disdaining a present of beads 157 521 576

1. Cf. p. 92.

which I offered and which were not much appreciated because of their color, they advised me:

65. mpãtin maimãindẽ tunuhĩnde (bl)
Keep them to give to the Maimandẽ.

One day we were sold poison tubes (by group a2) described as so dangerous that we should abstain from ever opening them under pain of immediate death. They proved to be empty, which testifies to great ingenuity if the mystery was improvised on our account. In any case, it throws a curious light on the relationships between neighboring groups. 439 739 157

534 (arátasu-aháru), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[192]

[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kúkedetu úkedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called du²úru (a1/2) du²únde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: talíttige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dósu sajkédutu ²akedátelusu alósu usjínkedjutu inkétu jakesájtutu ire ire iagékediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inkátu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

595
601 sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
262] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridnaikititu, a1).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582 and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (b1) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutebãdige tamĩndige (b1)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhasi?ete. (b1)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kaiobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern 526 Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to [283] carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [284] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group a1 whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
48
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

601
621

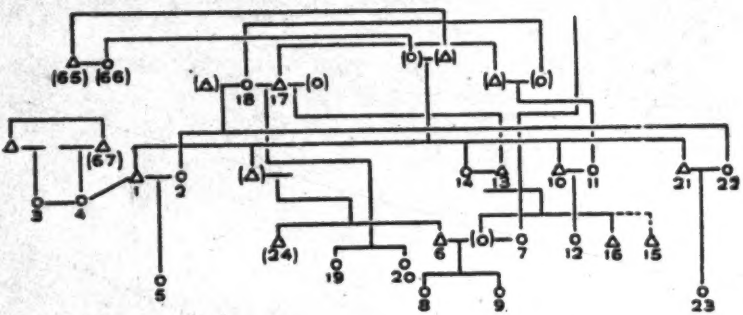


Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622
115
157 A1. --The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years, married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531
212

1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

531
212

Besides, they called the act of writing: iekariukediutu (a1), that is "make lines," which for them had an esthetic interest:

(3) Kihikagnere mũʔiene (b1).
It is nice to make lines.

[177] The drawings reproduced in Figure 19 thus constitute a cultural innovation inspired by our own drawings.

622 confers; also [41] he asked us for a note pad and a pencil, and we
115 are likewise equipped when we travel together. He does not com-
157 municate to me verbally the information that I ask of him, but traces on his paper some wavy lines and presents them to me as though I should read his response. But he himself is half duped by his comedy. Each time that his hand finishes a line, he examines it anxiously, as if the significance should miraculously spring forth, and each time, the same chagrined disillusion is painted on his face. But he doesn't give in. And it is silently understood between us that his scrawl possesses a meaning which I pretend to understand. Naturally, the verbal commentary follows almost immediately, and excuses me from having to demand some very necessary clarifications. When we discuss command, we shall return to certain aspects of this semi-mystification.

He is a valuable informant who understands the problems, perceives the difficulties, and is interested in the work; but his functions absorb him often, and he disappears for whole days on a hunting expedition, a survey of itinerary or a localization of ripe seed or fruit trees. On the other hand, his wives often call him to tender love games in which he lets himself be voluntarily involved.

In a general way, his attitude shows a logic, a continuity of purpose, very exceptional among the Nambikwara who are often unstable and temperamental. Placed in other conditions and with other means at his disposal, he might be a valuable organizer. And he is, after all, alone responsible for the destinies of his group, which he conducts with competence, although in a sometimes utopian spirit.

The father and the mother of A1 are dead. But his father's brother and mother's sister, whom he calls ahyĩnosu and aʔkenosu live in the same village (A65 and a66).

115 a2. --About 30 to 35 years. The eldest of the wives of A1, mother of a5, daughter of a18 and a now dead father. She is serious industrious, a little reserved in social relations. In the triple household

789 Poison is thus nãnde par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a curare reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory [121 174] and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of curare, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the strychnos.

Besides the notion of nãnde we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the atãsu (a1). Atãsu signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: atãsu, "it is the animal." Atãsu also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, atãsu is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the atãsu if one does not defend oneself 789 411 in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick [épieu] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form [286 531] and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated with black and white bark weaving (javelin: hĩ'dosu [a1], keẽũẽre

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

752 They spread saliva on bâanêcedútú sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing kiss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikriceknerá--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

● 531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

[532] [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

113 1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

7:Roquette-Pinto--46B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

● 531

Fig. 46. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--47A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
531

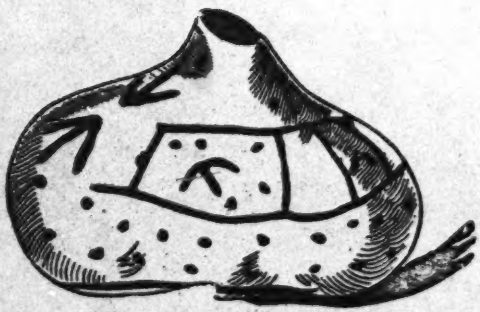


Fig. 47. Painted gourd.

7:Roquette-Pinto--48A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
531

Fig. 48. Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians.

Fig. 49. Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--49A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

415
531

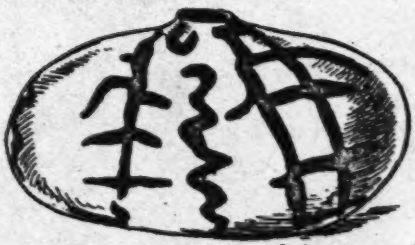


Fig. 30. Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--50A E-4,5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

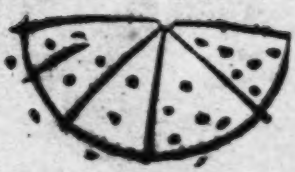


Fig. 51. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--51A E-4,5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

531

Fig. 52. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7-Roquette-Pinto--52A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

●531

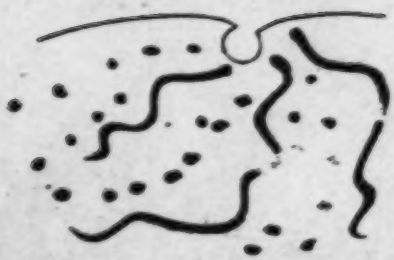
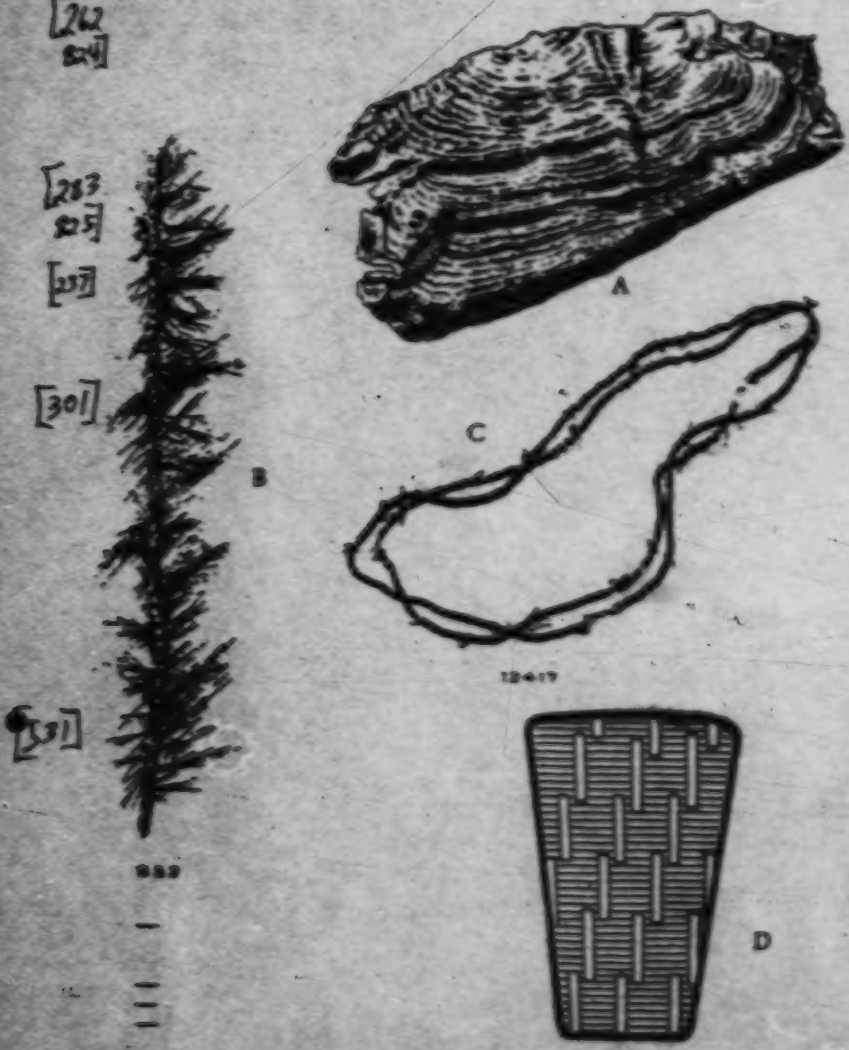


Fig. 53. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

?Roquette-Pinto--S?A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)



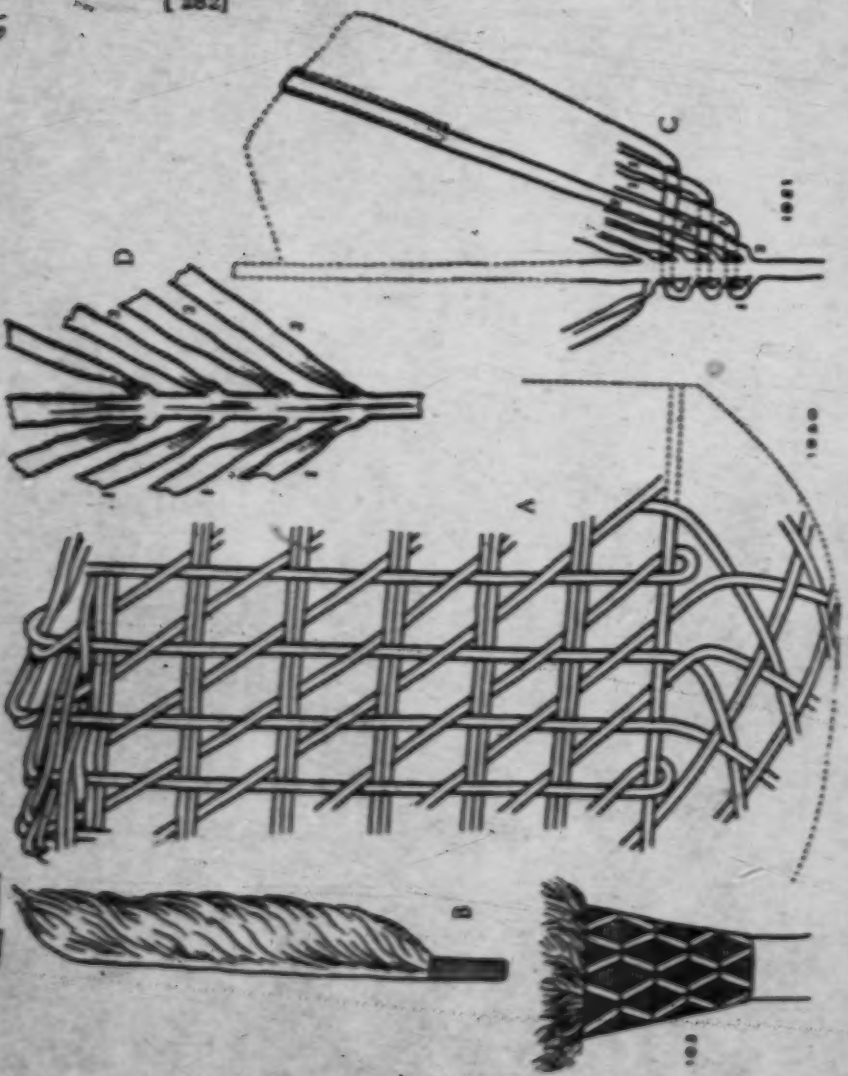
A. Areai mushroom (Políporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

?:Roquette-Pinto--59C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)



A. Pattern of basketry made with the flexible stem of a Desmoncus.
B. Details of nose plume.
C and D. Weaving pattern of palm leaf fan.

Fig. 19
Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by A1 while explaining his genealogy (c. p. 40, fn. 1).

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances [157] 797 177 648
sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the preceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in the course of [134] these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupeed, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

752 They spread saliva on bâanêcedútú sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing kiss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikrickneká--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

[532] [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

113 1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

534 (aratasu-ahatu), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[92]

[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kukedetu ukedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called duʔuru (a1/2) duʔunde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: talittige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dosu sajkedutu ʔakedatelusu alosu usiʔnkedjutu inketu jakesajtutu ire ire iagekediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inkatu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

by singing calls his *anúnsu*, who eventually comes up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúnsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anúnsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anúnsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the shaman's orders. The procedure followed in curing an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anúnsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anúnsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *aydnkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with the offerings and the singing they become angry and make the children ill. To cure the children, a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

In every case, contact with the ghosts of the dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made through singing. The Waklítisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anúnsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *aydnkadisu*. Shamans practice continence before important rites, for if the *anúnsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

778 534 The sacred flutes (*wdinrhu*) are associated with *okkihditlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the [784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 775 533 The *wdinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After planting, the men gather into the flute hut and play the flutes and sing the *weiydnsu*. The ghosts of the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *kaikdnakidutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wdinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnaní-i! Tagnaní-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[321] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

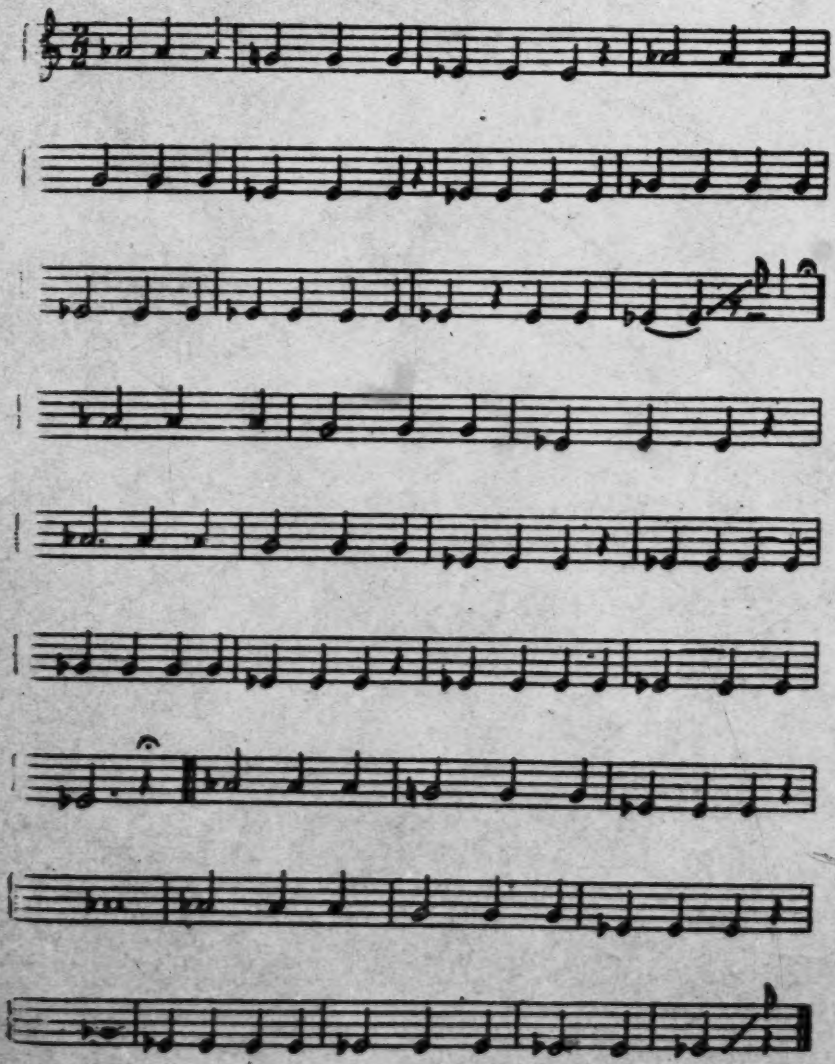
184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the [511] family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [a vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

14.599

Recording No. 1.

Serra do Norte Indians

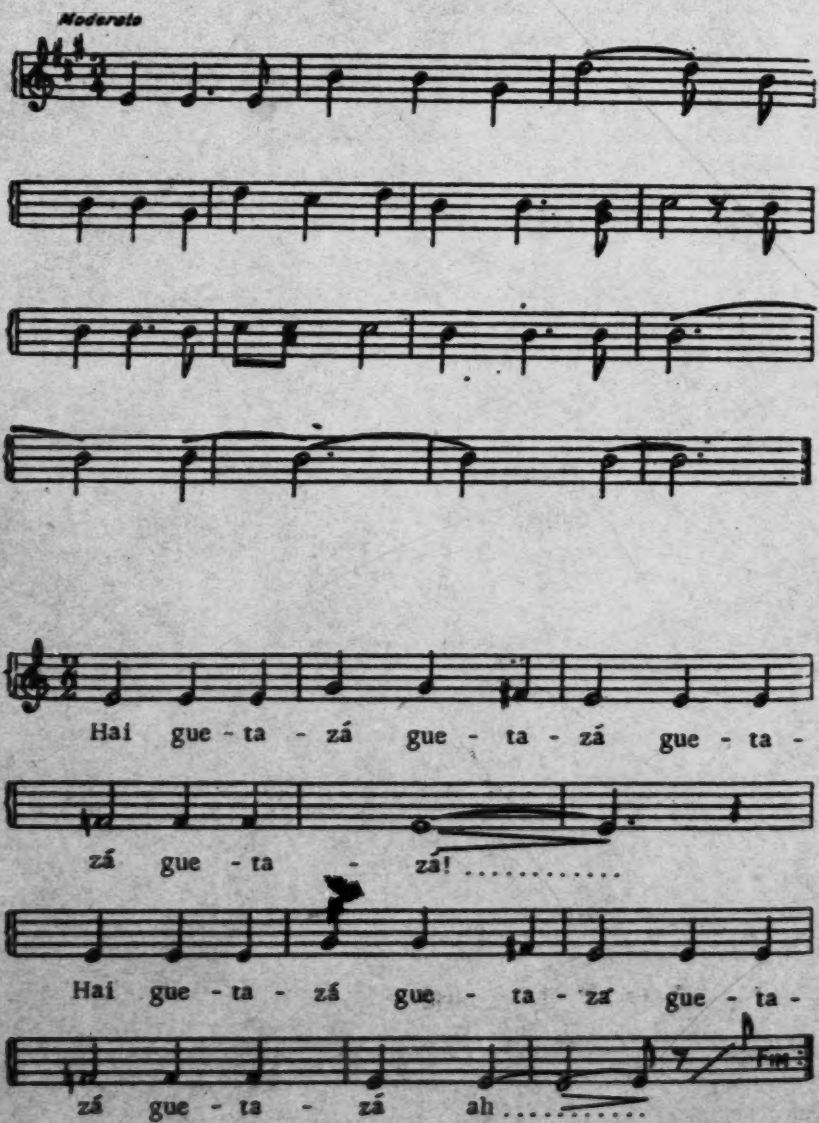


7:Roquette-Pinto--73 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[334] Recording No. 2.

535

Serra do Norte Indians



000 carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude every-
323 where else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make
184 five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often
501 heard in festivals.
534
142 The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara
[101] and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

• • • •

512 The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm them-
515 selves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The
512 daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which
252 requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed,
[824] and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and
512 boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging
[516] expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
[534] seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instrument.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5: and b3, older than he (about 40 years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years, b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18, sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son" also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1; he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster, they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1, thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
574 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

857 iõndage ʔutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ʔutentere kuaikano (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[368] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ʔutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows. .

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the
● [534] first skeleton of the hut, are called indeleaore; likewise, the double (kalõde) or triple (lutondjone) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtjane takanãtjane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[92] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19,cracks bacaiuva

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[531 203] place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[177] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nande (bl). To analyze it, we should first say a few words con-
cerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparação do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

796 The seasonal celebrations take place at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and probably mark the opening and closing of agricultural labor. They consist of festivals with dancing, singing and music. Several days in advance, hunting expeditions go in
[226] search of small game, and they also go in for large fishing expeditions. In fact, fish seems to play a role of the first rank in the ritualistic activities. (1) Other Indians leave, sometimes for far-off places in
796
●534

1. See below, p. 109.

[324] order to find thick bamboo in the forests which border the rivers or which occupy the valleys, from which they cut pieces to make the flageolets for the ritual. These are about 70 centimeters long and pierced by four holes besides the one for blowing. An air passage is effected at the upper end in the mouthpiece of wax which closes the opening. They are only used upon occasion of these ceremonies and are played in unison in groups of three, one of them, engraved with a white longitudinal line, being named jomote pilikāde, (chief flageolet), and played by the chief. A resonator made from a bamboo trunk furnished at the lower end with a hollowed-out gourd usually accompanies them (dutende, b1). The flageolets are called "male" and the resonators "female." Quite curiously, these flageolets are called jomote (b1/2) and jamaká (c), by the central, northern and southern groups, that is from the same term (jamaká) by which the Paressi name the same instrument, while the eastern groups, who are the only immediate neighbors of the Paressi, employ a completely different term: kajgetásu (a 1/2). The Indians describe these festivals thus:

796 45. ukuérige ájdnige iuarhajdne ungerage (háidene) ájnsurgerage
to hide to blow to play [the flageolet] to make merry fishing.

nahundage tátige niuattahárige káde káde káde ká ajténdige
to carry to roast to make chicha moon moon moon this moon to dance

jukuohájndige mihádage komiégerage
and another time to play [the following month] more rain everything is dry

[106] mlādage tutahajhajkuírige
the rain is finished let [the flutes?] be carried away

hájntendige halehájdnige denō horátige ejetéende
to make the field feast the women are hidden they do not see it

796

alãgena haɨtige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. uɨtnore uɨtnɨa imaɨgare.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

denaɨtɨe iatiaeninɨnena ednapo iɨneni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[68] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
784 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (aɨtasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; juauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
[192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (ahaɨru, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

534 (aratasu-aharu), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[192]

[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kukedetu ukedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called du2uru (a1/2) du2unde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: talittige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dosu sajkedutu 3kedatelusu alosu usiinkediutu inketu jakesaitutu ire ire iagekediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inketu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the *other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other* two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Orbignya distichas*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the resin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
714
534
301
291
302

[5N]

PLATE 36.—Nambicuara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the one-hole flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Pregnant. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except center, left, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[End plate 1]

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *kinokányere* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet *menyú* of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry ball in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*haikánakídutsu*). [262] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are [252] roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*waínchu*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

[p. 92(N)]

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

778 The sacred flutes (*wáinrhu*) are associated with *ekhháitlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and
● 534 chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the
[784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 The *wáinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After planting,
775 the men gather into the flute hut and play the flutes and sing the *weiyánsu*. The ghosts of
533 the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *haikánakídutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wáinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

[p. 101 (B)]

● 534 *kadínsu*, the nose flute, *maitétansu*, and the five-tube panpipe, *dútu*. The nose flute which is about 4 inches in diameter is made by sticking two round pieces of gourd together with rosin. Three holes are made on one side, two holes providing finger stops, while air from one nostril is blown across the other. These flutes do not appear to have any ritual significance.

771 In reviewing the religious symbolism of the Nambicuara it appears that the following conclusions can be drawn. The *oklihdítlisu* myth explains the origin of the Eastern Nambicuara and their rights to the territory which they now occupy. *Tauptú*, although not the cause of illness, explains why people die. *Tauptú* and *dihnínuwa* also account for the existence of shooting stars and the presence of rain. *Ulurú* appears to represent the ever-present forces of destruction inherent in the physical environment. Within the framework of these ultimate forces the Nambicuara carry on their struggle for existence assisted by and opposed by the members of their own kind. The security of the band depends upon the close cooperation of the kinsmen acting under the guidance of the chief. The *wáinrhu* flutes provide a supernatural sanction for the powers of the chief and thus help in enforcing and maintaining band solidarity. The flutes, furthermore, are a symbol of the common ancestry of the Eastern Nambicuara in that they relate the bands to the culture hero. The ghosts of the ancestors (*ayánkadisu*), like the living members of the band, must be well-treated in order to avoid danger to children and the perpetuation of the band.

619 But actual day-to-day danger to the individual comes from the members of other bands. Disputes over women and quarrels arising from the exchange of goods, as we have seen, lead to bloodshed and death. In the ultimate analysis each [621] band defends itself as a sovereign unit by force. The danger arising from the constant tension and suspicion between the bands is symbolized by the *anúnsu* who bring illness, who create the storms which destroy the houses and fields, and who threaten the band with starvation by making hunting difficult. As direct attack by other bands is met with the physical forces of the band, so spiritual attack by the *anúnsu* of other bands is met by the assistance of one's own *anúnsu*. They help the shamans to draw out the evil objects

[p. 102 (A)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákoré and Ouihanieré to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Caloçal and Jauré. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of cocoanut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbocúba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atsíri and the Amuéas of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kóbbé of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native áwa or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malé-malé palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone áxe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of taoum a traction force of 60 kilos is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malé-malé and liana. The upper disk has three orifices.

301 [280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the
[829] seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . .

[825 Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of
237] the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa)
[824] palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

291 The jalaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

301 [281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

285 Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

[293] . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

534 A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçú) seems
[171] to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajoz tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. . . .(70, p.]

7:Roquette-Pinto--59D E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

●534

Fig. 67. Hait-teatacú--
Nose flute of the Serra do
Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--60A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

534

Serra do Norte Indian playing the hait-teatacú (nose flute). (1) Blowing hole. (2-3) Holes controlled with the middle fingers.

174

but smooth-edged axes, is more akin to the proto-Neolithic or transitional period. The present trend is to recognize in the New World Paleolithic industries . . . but no formal overlapping periods as in Europe. (R. L.)

A later footnote by Heloisa Alberto-Torres which is not reproduced here contains the following statement: ". . . an interesting ethnographic relationship is [established by the absolute identity of Australian and Nambicuara axes . . ." (Ed.)

At first observation, the Nambicuara might seem to be an old and backward branch of the Paressi tribe.

[308] What we know of the physical anthropology ethnography and linguistics of both groups, however, invalidates this supposition.

177 Yet their culture bears unmistakable signs of Paressi influence.
[342] The first is the beehive-shaped house, formerly built by the Paressi. This is an import among the Nambicuara; the original house of the Serra do Norte Indians is the screen of leaves and branches, similar to the kijême of the Botocudo (Windschirm of the German ethnologists) and reminiscent of the North American wigwam.

[Fig., p. 61A]

[309] And if they did not borrow the large "round house" from the Paressi, they adopted it from Bolivian Indians.

[310] Another instance of alien influence is the nose plume, which the Paressi do not wear now but which formerly, according to Antonio
177 Pires, they could not do without; and also the nose flute, which
534 [the Nambicuara] play unskilfully, as though it were a little-known instrument of yet unfathomed secrets.

The double flute seems to have been brought from the north. It must be an import from the Maue and Munducuru, with whom the Serra do Norte Indians have had serious clashes as already mentioned above.

7:Roquette-Pinto--62A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

534

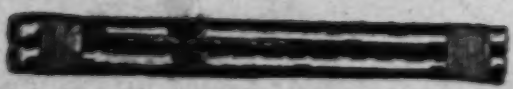


Fig. 70. Kaiguêtazú--Double flute of the Serra do Norte.

721 collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its
[683] members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as
[537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ĵednãẽ ṷõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ṷalaṷriŝenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not.
[292 Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods
[535] of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[787]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622 is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he
[756] exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The
789 arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

[197]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

223 vanna, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs for fear of angering the mother cayman. After [535] a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the riducule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

226 As the Nambicuara hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacú or matrinchã to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuara claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cutoffs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*kúnte*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the weeds where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tonáru*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

[p. 90(A)]

10| The position of all groups known to be scattered through the Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is recorded on the ethnographic map of the region which goes with these notes.[1]

[218] The exact meaning of the names cited above cannot yet be given with certainty. In the light of existing data, however, their study leads to the following conclusions which cannot be far from the truth.

Cocozu: "Uncles"; thus called by the others, perhaps, because they are the most primitive members of the whole tribe.

[578] Anunzu: This is clearly a corruption of the term anungú or amungçú, which means "woman's milk"--a disparaging epithet like so many others found throughout the Americas; it may mean "infants" (unweaned babies).

Uaintaçu: Apparently a corruption of umtaçú, which means "alligator" [Port. jacaré] in the language of the Juina Nambicuara. The Uaintaçu group would thus be none other than the old Jacare tribe mentioned in the first chapter of this work.

Tagnani: They are obviously the Tamarari of the old geographic maps; they should be equated with the Tamarare or Camarare, who gave the river its name and who are mentioned in several ancient documents.

Tawite: This word signifies "child" or "son" [offspring], a common appellation among other tribes as well.

In order to avoid future confusion, I propose to retain the name "Nambicuara" in conjunction with the specific name peculiar to each group.

341 The villages of the Serra do Norte Indians are usually built on the crest of small hills, far from the watercourses. Some are more than one kilometer distant from the nearest river or stream.

It may be assumed that the choice of such sites has a twofold aim: the Indians suffer less from mosquitoes and they dominate the surrounding territory, which is an advantage to people leading as they did up to now a life of constant warfare.

The village is built on a large plaza, fifty meters in diameter; once cleaned of bush, which is rooted up [219] by hand, the ground [538] is kept clear by the constant tread of feet. One night of dancing, with its endless beat along the same path, suffices to smooth out the village square.

1 [See map following foreign text, cat. 116 - Analysis]

7:Roquette-Pinto--42 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

113 Brasil [Materials for the Study of Brazilian Indian Psychology]." Arquivos Brasileiros de Psiquiatria, Neurologia e Medicina Legal (Rio de Janeiro, 1917).

237 301 Featherwork is scarce and in fact insignificant. One of the illustrations in this book [p. (608)] shows an interesting feather diadem patterned after an object of similar type but of admirable craftsmanship which the Indians purloined from their neighbors to the west and which is also to be found in the [National] Museum. (2) [Fig. 42]

2. Semicircular straw head ornaments are to be found mainly in the state of Amazonas as well as among the Huari of the Guaporé River, who resemble the Nambicuara in their primitive axes, their circular houses, etc. (Cf. Nordenskjöld, "The Ethnography of South America Seen from Mojos in Bolivia," [Engl.]).

The use of cotton has given an extraordinary boost to the development of featherwork among the Tupian Indians, as I demonstrated with the gorgeous ornaments made by the Urubu Indians (Gurupi River). The Nambicuara are familiar with cotton, but have not even developed featherwork based on plaiting or netting; this seems to attest to a tradition poor in such textile techniques. The Guayaki, who are Tupian Indians of rudimentary culture, according to Vellard, have neither featherwork nor agriculture. (R. L.)

535 We were able to observe two types of dances: a war dance which we recorded in a film shown at the National Library [of Rio de Janeiro] on March 15, 1913, and in which Indians of the Cocozu,

535 Anunze and Uintaçu tribes participated; and a festive dance in which we took part, executed in our honor at Três Buritis by the Tagnani and Tawite.

The war dance filmed in Campos Novos was later also [253] performed by the Tagnani in Três Buritis.

Armed with bows and arrows, the warriors form a line some 15 meters from a piece of wood which represents the enemy, singing in two-part time and marking the beat on the ground with their feet. [Fig. 25]

Two Indians leave the line, arrows ready and bows half strung, and walk as if cautiously hiding among shrubs in the bush. After a wide detour they come near the "enemy" and hurl their weapons at him.

This is the signal to attack; the singing ceases and a rain of arrows falls on the "unfortunate victim"....

41! 324 726 Then they advance upon him and give him a thorough drubbing with their bows or with sticks. Incidentally, this is always the function of the arrow--to immobilize the enemy or game and permit the attacker to come close and finish his work with blows. In the hunt or in combat, attack is always made from ambush. This is because the aim of the Indians at a distance [Fig. 27] is not as sure as generally supposed. The Nambicuara are not especially good archers. They certainly cannot draw the bow with their feet like the Bororo. Some can shoot well in height. They use no shield whatever either in the hunt or in war. After the attack they try to recover their projectiles. An arrow represents a certain amount of labor and must not be squandered...

They hold a number of arrows in their left hand and shoot them one after the other with incredible rapidity.

535 Men, women and girls participated in the festive dance.

A large circle was formed to the sound of an endless chant. The women stood on the men's left; pair after pair were joined until the circle was closed. [254] Each man placed his hand on the shoulder of the woman next to him. Within the circle, three girls of approximately the same age accompanied them in a close line, eyes lowered, hands crossed upon the chest. The girl in the center acted as a hub for this choreographic formation... [Fig. 43]

7:Roquette-Pinto--43A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

535

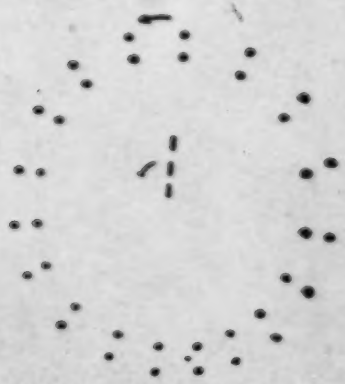


Fig. 43. (Astrolatrous?)
Tagnani dance (diagram).

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnanî-i! Tagnanî-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[521] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 [511] The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [à vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

648 Also, the attitude of two bands who know that they are neighbors
609 is very significant. They fear the clash of contact, and at the same time they desire it. In fact, they cannot meet one another accidentally, for for several weeks they watch the vertical smoke from the campfire which rises, perfectly discernable at some twenty kilometers, into the middle of the clear sky of the cold season. It is one of the most impressive spectacles of the Nambikwara territories when towards evening this smoke suddenly fills a horizon which one had thought deserted. Is the band which approaches friend or foe? They do not know, and they discuss at length their course of conduct. For days or weeks they avoid one another by maintaining a reasonable distance between the fires, then one day, according to whether the contact appears inevitable, desirable, or necessary, the women and children scatter in the bush and the men leave to face the unknown. We attended one of these "encounters" (nakonatige, bl). A long conversation is entered upon (de)nihotige, bl) between the two bands reduced to their masculine elements, or more exactly, the leaders undertake, in turn, a sort of prolonged monologue, composed of exclamations, uttered one after another, in a tone at the same time plaintive and tearful, where the voice rises and trails off in nasal fashion at the end of each word. The group animated by warlike intentions exposes its grief. The peaceful protest their good intentions. It was not possible for us to reconstruct the word for word translation of this discourse. However, we give here the Indian text, insofar as we have been [92] able to get it, and its approximate translation, for the purpose of showing the construction and specific tone:

[537] 36. One group begins: niaroendigē ninōkuē. -"We are very irritated! you are our enemies!" And, after a series of exclamations of this type, the other replies: iā orauē touadeē nuhaigiʔi'n nūkmaetiē nūkmajnī' nukenitenohi'n moladeringui'n nagatalinjot endiguē. -- "We are not irritated! We are your brothers! We are friends! Your friends! True friends! We can understand one another." (bl)

After having exchanged these peaceful protestations, the groups reform and a common encampment is organized, each group preserving its individuality and gathering together its fires, and sometimes songs and dances are organized in the course of which each group disparages its own exhibition to the profit of that of the other group:

[721] collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its [682] members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as [537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ĵednãẽ ṷõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ṷalauriĵenʔẽ (b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. [242 535] Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[787]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622 756 789] is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

[197]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 382; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

593 fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely
831 realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are
462 considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folk-
[183] lore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tagare uirige, b1), a
562 typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second
[198] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

● [538] 5. uitnoṣunatukhne joḷotnuṣutnādnjani deneṣunatukhne. (b1)

The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, a1), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

198 This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact
562 correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect a1, they give words an ending —ṣu instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedjutu or —kedjuzu.

[734] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them.
Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[842] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares
the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump
line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens
passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible
these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself
to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children.
Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

15. uāitento dohonenŝiram kānaram hēpatnē atātene
ueidenkiathattene uaīndenle. (b1)
Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man!
Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

595 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of
571 polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and
their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called
"mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a
state of companionship with them, especially with the girls,
which also extends to all the children of the group. We have
already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who
take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke to-
gether, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games,
such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. An-
other example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One
of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such
violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little
one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries
upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the
ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, with-
out ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close,
appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys
might have in our society. They rarely imply service or atten-
tion. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

In older versions, the old women (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the 171 [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is [538] probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or grains in South American folklore.

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological 157
and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of expression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to 157
respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either 571
a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships:

60. tai undejretnjẽ ta eikirednjẽ uaj jiren undetnjẽ tatjene uaj iritjani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep, I will stay, you go away.

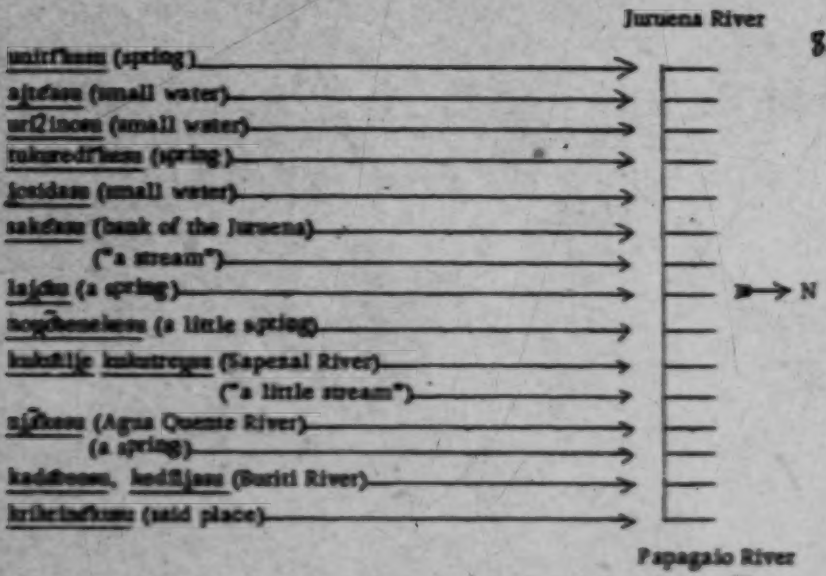
Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. iejtlana amnentjẽ hikanariana iatjene amdenjẽ kanahadau jedetnjẽ. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it; tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanajõniani nihin nalirjani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games 157
of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 521



TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read above (p. 50) a remark of B1 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as legacies of the "ancestors": 173 [183 829]

58. irõmore ikãtage urttige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already given. (1) Here is the text used by adults: 773 539

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narutine kãjihire
narukahihire naukaurijaure
nahutende kãing-rage naukãdo urijere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

773 dẽinhe nẽ̃kena kanayapẽ̃ndige
539 only an old woman escaped one day (?)
nẽ̃ndige ẽ̃ideende kẽninde
to cry [she climbs on a buriti palm] buriti coco
iotẽ̃tige tanẽ̃amdage iẽ̃ũ iẽ̃ũ iẽ̃ũ
she throws [in the water] to wait to wait to wait [the water]
dehẽ̃ndige untahẽ̃tige nihunĩ̃ndige tarahĩ̃narige gĩ̃ttɛ
to dry to sleep the morning to be born to deliver child
taiĩ̃ttige totha̋ndige ikã̃totẽ̃ndige ikã̃ iõndige
to fall [from the stomach] to grow very quickly
to grow very quickly to grow
ndaygɛ tamĩ̃ndige bã̃dige tẽ̃aygu
[with its] mother to copulate two twins to be born
nĩ̃ndage ẽintaliĩ̃kero
of the marriage [and] having fallen again
ioni dẽinhaiɛnẽ̃nkero
of a man and woman married again
gẽinaroẽ̃nkero tẽ̃taliĩ̃kero nĩiin
of a child large again who falls again the brothers
kĩ̃ẽ̃nkero deinia gĩ̃ina
to marry again another village
tamindẽkero bã̃ẽ̃ɛnaa
[having made] having copulated again two twins
dɛnẽ̃kero dẽiaynĩ̃ĩ̃kero ainindẽkero
again being born to make another village again to
inhabit again
gẽheni nẽhakero bã̃ẽ̃ininukero nĩidnia
to make children again two children to make again the brothers
nẽ̃nẽ̃ĩkero ẽ̃inikɛ tẽ̃nẽ̃nu tẽ̃nẽ̃nu
to marry again other men to beget to beget
dẽinidia gĩ̃ina iẽ̃hoɛ tamĩ̃nẽ̃ayɛ tamin[illegible]tige
another village to build to beget to beget
ẽ̃idige dẽinẽ̃kero ninẽ̃kero
to make love to have children again another village again
ainẽ̃ẽ̃idige ainẽ̃ẽ̃kero deidiaygi gĩ̃ina
going away going away again other villages
[131] hẽ̃inẽ̃kero hẽ̃ã̃ nirigandi" aiã̃ã̃ hẽ̃nẽ̃iarã̃ã̃
others still far away to inhabit (?) all distant very distant
nĩ̃ẽ̃tindẽ̃ti ã̃ĩ̃naiẽ̃ddẽiani nigẽhẽ̃tiã̃
very distant to inhabit who do not know how to speak
others distant (?)

773
539

nágatatnjáani ukúnajonetátjena ukuajenthni
who do not know how to understand others who live so distant
[that it is necessary]
kanéngore kanéngore kanéngore
that a moon end that a moon end that a moon end
natlitnjãni (b1)
in order that they arrive.

The whole story can be summed up as follows: alone of all the 773
humans, one old woman succeeded in escaping the Flood by hanging to the top of a buriti palm. By letting some nuts fall from the palm into the water, she was able to measure the decline of the water, and when the ground was dry, she came down and was delivered of a son. Through an incestuous union with her son, she then gave birth to twins of different sex, and from their incestuous union was born a new generation of twins. Thus, the whole of humanity would be descended from a series of marriages between twins, each giving birth to a new couple. As men multiplied, new villages were founded, always further away. So much so that today men live at such distances from one another that they do not speak the same language, do not understand one another, and must travel for whole months in order to visit.

This version offers several points in common with others collected in distant regions of South America. It is doubtless necessary to interpret the throwing of the palm nuts in the light of the "magical projection" 773
which has been studied above. (1) The throwing of small nuts certainly 171

1. Cf. p. 96.

possesses a magic significance. The same episode is found in several versions of the legend of the Flood, (2) and its magical value is formally attested

2. Cf. for example the Tupi version collected by Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 45.

for the Ŝipaia by Nimuendaju. (3) In older versions, the old woman (since

3. To kill the sun by throwing upon it small nuts of the palm tree anaja, thus introducing night upon the earth ("Sagen der Tembe Indianer," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 47, 1915, p. 296).

157
182

While they speak of the latter with the excitement, and the almost exalted tone, of discovery. Let us listen to an informant (B1) describe the double cycle of the year:

First the sedentary life:

67. nedəntãtage kanaadaɥ haɟndige ɥedəntaʼnkero, ɥatliriʼkero 221
Tomorrow go hunting come back again 539
ɥakɥiʼnikero daʼnkero undaʼkero 157
cook again go to bed again sleep again 182
naɟngiʼkero aɟreloʼkero aɟkənkero
day again go to the field again cultivate the field again
aɟngənkero aʼamkəro nunãkero ɥininuʼnkero
cultivate again leave again eat again
nangiʼkero danunkero taoʼrige taɥ taɥ taɥ
another day cut wood cut cut cut
telunuʼkero [teloʼndige] mbaʼri mbaʼri mbaʼri
finish again wait wait wait
ʂoruʼmkero ʂ̂utnunaʼtaɥe [ʂ̂utnuʼkero] liʼtnutɟet
burn again the cold comes [still the cold] plants
denuʼnkero ɥaɣaariʼanunkero ɥaaninuʼnkero
to go again looking for some return again
iraʼakero kakɥaʼidnatɥe [kaɟkɥaʼnde] hiʼkərage kuʼkero
plant much dig again
ikəranukuʼtige liʼtnuraʼnkero
in order to plant dig plants cut again
teloʼndãmkero deɟnteritaapuʼmkero aɥrhaɟkero
finish again live a long time again pull up the roots
etuʔiʼ etuiʼʔ etuʔiʼ haʼnkero
grate grate grate finish again
nlakərahinkero nkɥaɥlakərahiʼnkero aʼtlakero hiʼnkero
ɥɥaʼtaɥ hikəninuni (b1)
a new field again plant again

And now the great adventure of the nomadic period:

68. inkənahaɟre miʼrɥere iʼrige
We leave at dawn; [the basket] is made it waits.
[128] ãgərage tɥatuʼrige tɥa tɥikiniʼnkero iʼkəro
one packs; one fills the basket in the woods one travels one travels
nahoreda õkero nlaɟdiʼnkero ntoraiʼnkero aɟnkero
one comes to the water one crosses the water one crosses on the way
aɟnkero alorekidiʼrekəro alorairiʼkəro
on the way! one takes the prairie one crosses the prairie

157
182
221
539

ajtuaginiˈkəro (in) ʃiˈhun lomãniˈnkəro ajkəro
in the forest one travels again the hill one goes down travel
ajkəro ajkəro ajritigəmãniˈnkəro mãgəlaniˈnkero
travel travel the hill one goes up the hill one crosses
kəlakəlatiniˈnkəro erəlorãniˈnkəro ajrikəro
at the crest one travels one goes down another hill, more walking!
ʃikin(a)tittaˈnərige hajtlikəro ʃikitakãlikəro
In the wet sand travel in the wet sand travel
ʃejnlikəro herhaniniˈnkəro nungeniˈnkero
one passes the hut of other people traveling meets others
ŋelikatmunde ʃitiliˈtze (bl)
one is united with others here are the huts.

As is seen, the two forms of existence not are only very strikingly opposed from the economic and sociological point of view. They constitute two poles around which accumulate complex ensembles of emotions, sentiments and memories. With the same tenderness with which they 157 182 caress their wives, the men evoke the type of life defined by the temporary shelter and the eternal basket, where the most incongruous means of subsistence are sparingly scraped, gathered together, caught each day, where one lives cruelly exposed to wind, cold and rain, and which leaves no more lasting trace than the souls of the women, dispersed by the wind and storms, on whose activity it essentially reposes. And almost like the reign of need is opposed to that of liberty, they conceive in a completely different aspect the sedentary life (whose specific and ancient character is still borne witness to the original species which they cultivate), but upon which the unchangeable chain of agricultural operations confers the same character of perpetuity as the reincarnated masculine souls, the durable house of winter time, and the cultivable land which will begin to live and to produce "when the death of its preceding cultivator shall be forgotten." (1) We do not think it possible to draw conclusions, from a work

1. Cf. quotation, p. 112.

having to do exclusively with several sociological and psychological aspects of the life of the Nambikwara, relative to the place one should assign them in the ensemble of South-American cultures. However, the preceding information suffices to show under what form the problem is posed. We are in [120] the presence of a culture which shows linguistic affinities with the Ʃibsa, and which approaches the Tupi from the double point of view of family organization and religious beliefs, at the same time recalling

60/ As concerns a male subject E 10:

1- 3.	a²ɛ²nosu		
2- 4.	asoŭnosu	rec. :	asuittu
13-14.	asuĭ'ttu	rec.:	asuellisu
5-17.	a²ɛ²kehosu	rec.:	a²ɛ²kiraru
6-18.	ahuĭ'nosu	rec.:	a²ɛ²kiʼtaru
[21] 7.	asŏ'nosu	rec.:	asinoeʼru
8.	a²ɛ²nosu	rec.:	asinoeʼru
9.	arĭ'ndesu or (t)oŭnosu	rec.:	akenaŭnosu or alohsu
11.	asiŏ'su	rec.:	oyeŭsaesu
12.	asŭ'kosu	rec.:	asŭkosu (if the subject chosen is e 9 woman, E12 will be oyeŭsaesu and e 11 aseŏ'tasu, rec.: aseŏ'tasu)
15.	arĭ'ndesu	rec.:	alohsu
16.	alohsu	rec.:	arĭ'ndesu

If one does not keep account of the reciprocal use of the terms, normally univocal, alohsu and arĭ'ndesu in the case of parallel cousins, this nomenclature only includes univocal terms, with the exception of two: asŭkosu and aseŏ'tasu, and each sex has at its disposition only one of these two reciprocal terms; in other words, a man has only brothers-in-law, while a woman has only sisters-in-law. It will be seen below that as concerns the first term (asŭkosu), it implies particular relations between the men who use it.

The extreme simplicity of the system of course leads to some difficulties of nomenclature when one desires to distinguish degrees of parentage confounded by the system. In the same way its extreme symmetry risks bringing about contradictions when "oblique" marriages bring transfers between generations. To the classificatory nomenclature analyzed above is superimposed—or added—a descriptive nomenclature, which permits, in case of difficulty, placing the individual in the generation with more precision, or according to the degree of kinship which he holds with respect to the subject. This descriptive [55] nomenclature is not currently used, and above all, it never intervenes in naming. But it is consulted each time there is some doubt, and in some cases more frequent usage can be pointed out.

The first difficulty might be produced concerning the distinction of the real husband or wife, compared to the theoretical husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical

[36] Eastern group, dialect a1: oakletosu (a1): galifere (b1): galiririte (c).

621 [161] This group, comprising 23 persons divided into six families, was found in the region of the Papagaio River (Utiarity) upon the occasion of one of its excursions in the nomad period. As we learned later, it was part of quite an important Indian community localized in several villages or camp sites in an unexplored zone of the right bank of the Juruena River, where we went, traveled and lived with them. The dry season and the period of nomadism does not seem to have been the only reason for the isolation of the group; some differences re- [22] lating to command had seemingly provoked a break, grouping a certain number of individuals around an active and ambitious chief. We have, undoubtedly, been called on to play a semi-conscious role in this fight. We shall return to this point when we treat of command. However, the encounters of the group with other bands belonging to the same community have always been cordial. The meeting with a first band approximately restored the population of the winter vil- [61] lage; and the strength of a neighboring village, found later on, increased the number to 75 persons, the largest number of Indians that we saw united in eight months.

As will be seen by the genealogical chart opposite, the restricted group is composed of four generations, the oldest reduced to two individuals, the following being composed of "husbands" and "wives," "brothers," "sisters," "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law." The third and the fourth, finally, constitute a complex mixture of children, sometimes at an early age, considered as "children" or "relatives," and of adults classed as "brothers," "sisters," "husbands," and "wives," and shifted to a generation younger than their normal one because of their situation as children of older brothers.

Before giving several quick pieces of information about each of the members of the group from the point of view of his situation in the kinship system and of his individual psychology, it is necessary to stop for a moment at the question of proper names.

• • • •

• 551 Proper names are never pronounced among the Nambikwara. A very strict prohibition forbids them and raises a nearly insoluble problem for the notation of genealogies, even though the taboo does not seem to be as rigorous for the dead as for the living. Nevertheless, one [37] never hears a proper name, and individuals call one another

●551 either by simple exclamations:

hena (dialect a1): herõ (a2, b1, b2): "People!"; or by the kinship term

1. sabani ó - uainko (c): "Hey young one. —Father?"
2. ĩiditnejte mandotjena takenaãde kuikunjena uirige takenãe kui'mkumenẽ (b1) (1): "The manioc is burnt; my brother

126

1. It is necessary to define more exactly the manner in which these texts, and those which follow, have been obtained. We have not had the aid of any interpreter. At the time of our stay there was only one, a Nambikwara Indian educated far from his own people by the Jesuit fathers, and whom unfortunately, we could not employ. The Indians in contact with the posts of the telegraph line use, in their relations with the Paressi or Brazilian employees, a sort of "sabir", formed about forty words, one part Indian and the other Portuguese. This ingenious language, accompanied by numerous gestures, served as an introduction. At the end of about three months we had achieved a grossly empiric knowledge of Nambikwara itself, permitting us to make ourselves understood by the Indians, and more or less to follow a conversation. This result could not have been obtained without the tireless good will of the informants always ready to exchange words (Nambikwara for French or Portuguese) and to develop the obscure points by the use of an appropriate sign language. Working with these methods of chance we have both noted in passing fragments of conversation which were not addressed to us, and collected information by dictation. In both cases, the interpretation of the text was taken up again, afterwards, with the informants. It goes without saying that a meaning established in such a superficial way is not free from inaccuracies which sometimes may prove to be gross. We do not publish them for their literal meaning, often subject to caution, but rather because of the rough impression of indigenous life and atmosphere which they nevertheless aid to recreate. For the transcriptions, we are indebted to Mr. Paul L. Garvin for those which he established with the aid of our travel notes, and which he uses in his "Esquisse du système phonologique du Nambikwara-Tarunde," which appears in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, 1948.

[118]

● 551 scrapes it to eat it. Brother! Scrape!"

551 177 The Indians feel very strongly the inconvenience of the system, especially when they are in contact with the whites. Those among them who intermittently frequent the posts of the Rondon Line have very rapidly adopted the Brazilian names which they hear pronounced around them, and they are—or have been—baptized Julio, José Maria, Luiza, Iracema, etc., giving these surnames some strange distortions. Sometimes too, there are nicknames like Lebre (lièvre = rabbit), Assucar (sucre = sugar) or Cavaignac (the shape of beard worn by the famous general). Several Indians have preserved this last name, thus perpetuating in the backwoods the memory of the time when Rondon lived and flourished.

We could use these names to designate them in the course of this study, or also their real names insofar as we have been able, in certain cases, to restore them. But these Brazilian names are only carried by the small minority of Indians who are in contact with the posts of the Rondon Line; [38] and the authentic names are lacking to us in a great number of cases. At any rate, the process would not be true to reality. For the remarkable point is that, in daily life, one does not hear a single name pronounced. It thus seems to us more in 128 conformance with the indigenous atmosphere to refrain, in the course 551 of this work, from using names to designate individuals, and we shall content ourselves with symbols indicating the sex, the group, and the place in the group of the individual considered (for each group, respectively A, B, C; capital letter for a man, small letter for a woman, followed by a figure identifying the subject.)

551 Nevertheless, as has just been indicated, it has been possible for 124 us, for group a1, to collect a complete list of names. This is how: one day when we were playing with a group of children, one of the little girls was struck by a playmate. She came immediately to take refuge near us, and began, in a very mysterious manner, to murmur something in our ears which we did not understand, and which we were obliged to have repeated for us several times, so that the adversary realized the trick, and, apparently furious, came in turn to reveal what appeared to be a solemn secret. After several hesitations and questions, the interpretation of the incident left no doubt. The first little girl had come, out of revenge, to give us the name of her enemy, and when the latter saw this, she told us the name of the other one, as a means of reprisal. From this moment on, it was very easy, if not very scrupulous, to arouse the children against one another, and to obtain from each of them the name of all the others. After this, a little complicity thus having been created, they gave us the

551 124 names of the adults without too much difficulty. When the latter found out our secret meetings, the children were harshly reprimanded, and the source of our information cut off. However, during a moment of great confidence one day, A1 gave us the names of her parents and great-grandparents, so that at the end of the account the list of proper names covers a total of five generations:

551 601

1. Mother of the mother of A1 ..... Arigudadusu.
2. Father of the father of A1 ..... Itītilisu, Irīgudusu.
3. Mother of the father of A1 ..... Etuaugluglusu.
4. Father of the mother of A1 ..... Iglui'kulusu.
5. Father of A1 ..... Arakudadusu.
6. Mother of A1 ..... Tuuuarusu.
7. A1 ..... (missing)
8. a2 ..... Guenderesu.
9. a3 ..... Uajterekaneru.
10. a4 ..... Uaarakaneru.
11. Mother of a4 ..... Uaarasu.
12. Father of a4 ..... Nisuanī'rusu.
13. a5 ..... Guenderekineru.

[39]

14. A6 ..... Tajriīsu.
15. a7 ..... Nariīsu, Niāniajkinere.
16. a8 ..... Tajrīkineru.
17. a9 ..... Tajrīkineru.
18. A10 ..... Nīkloerekinēdetu.
19. a11 ..... Seliʔitirokaisu.
20. a12 ..... Seliʔitikineru.
21. A13 ..... Tareesakaresu.
22. a14 ..... Njoselese.
23. A15 ..... Nikākitasu.
24. A16 ..... Njoselesekiraru.
25. A17 ..... Kajākaresu.
26. a18 ..... Sonaasakaresu.
27. a19 ..... Sonaasakaneru.
28. a20 ..... Sonaasakarikiritasu, Kjatorekineru.
29. A21 ..... Karlolesu.
30. a22 ..... Itatānjēdetu, Idonerekineru.
31. a23 ..... Kjedikitasu, Kuetitōdesukineru, Karlokineru.

●551 As seen by the list, two categories of names exist. The adults possess a name of their own. The children are named after their parents—son, or daughter, of so and so. The name used in this case is usually that of the mother (a5/a12 (but who is not a child), A16/a19/a20): but not always: a8 and a9, whose mother is dead, are both called after their father, daughters of Tairiisu. As concerns a23, who is a little baby, a wide divergence manifests itself among our informants (it must not be forgotten that they are children, and that their information is uncertain), and the name of Karlokineru, daughter of Karlokeru, her father, has been taken even though her mother is living. But, as will be seen farther on, during our stay A21, a22, and a23 are confused in the same borderline way. On the other hand, the fact that the names of Kiatorekineru and of Idonerekineru could be chosen for a20 and a22 suggests that they are not the daughters of a18, but parallel cousins of her daughters. If such is not the case, the two names may be part of a collection, or have been attributed wrongly to their supposed holders.

[553 88] Adolescents receive their names from the chief at the moment of puberty. The name giving is a point to which we shall return later on. The fact that certain adults are designated on our list by a technical term is undoubtedly explained by the fact that our informants did not know their true names. Nevertheless, it must be noticed that, in the two cases being discussed, a12 is a pregnant woman and a22 a woman who is nursing a child. Both are submitted to complex prohibitions. A special prohibition rests perhaps on the name of individuals placed in certain situations.

[40] Whatever the case may be, these are the only names which we have been able to obtain and, regarding the prohibition which covers them, in the course of this report, we will not use them more than they are used in the daily life of the Nambikwara Indians. We shall now give some information concerning the individuals composing the group studied.

857 bõ, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nɑ̃iuu̯enãgheẽ nɑ̃uu̯ẽeguedne (b1)

Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens; who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehéna u̯ɨtte u̯ɨkɑrage, "the woman caresses the baby," or u̯ãi̯nu̯ẽtte u̯ɨkɑrage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. From the children.--Analyst]

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed
[304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks
[551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Waklitisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitaurhu are
[845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate
[848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent development.
[845] [847] Crippled or malformed babies are not killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years
853 old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her
854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of firewood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave
853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out
252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

[p. 103 (A)]

551 As seen by the list, two categories of names exist. The adults possess a name of their own. The children are named after their parents—son, or daughter, of so and so. The name used in this case is usually that of the mother (a5/a12 (but who is not a child), A16/a19/a20); but not always: a8 and a9, whose mother is dead, are both called after their father, daughters of Tairiñu. As concerns a23, who is a little baby, a wide divergence manifests itself among our informants (it must not be forgotten that they are children, and that their information is uncertain), and the name of Kariñkineru, daughter of Kariñeju, her father, has been taken even though her mother is living. But, as will be seen farther on, during our stay A21, a22, and a23 are confused in the same borderline way. On the other hand, the fact that the names of Kjatorekineru and of Idonerekineru could be chosen for a20 and a22 suggests that they are not the daughters of a18, but parallel cousins of her daughters. If such is not the case, the two names may be part of a collection, or have been attributed wrongly to their supposed holders.

[553 88] Adolescents receive their names from the chief at the moment of puberty. The name giving is a point to which we shall return later on. The fact that certain adults are designated on our list by a technical term is undoubtedly explained by the fact that our informants did not know their true names. Nevertheless, it must be noticed that, in the two cases being discussed, a12 is a pregnant woman and a22 a woman who is nursing a child. Both are submitted to complex prohibitions. A special prohibition rests perhaps on the name of individuals placed in certain situations.

[40] Whatever the case may be, these are the only names which we have been able to obtain and, regarding the prohibition which covers them, in the course of this report, we will not use them more than they are used in the daily life of the Nambikwara Indians. We shall now give some information concerning the individuals composing the group studied.

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikiˈndurige, bl); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being ouensaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednjẽn durẽnje (bl)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ãjrige ajĩũngnerage denano inĩira ãjkira ãjknira tããta halonoo tatliˈkta ãjndage hntimbãta uiˈrige imãgəra imãgəra (bl)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

531

1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, id., IX 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc. cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [553] the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal 304 septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. uetnoãdige iochãdige uilikade uelikãdeli kinere nukeajore judotige jurojenje nikamã jurojotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

• • • • •

853 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and
252 the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kairo and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination.
[842] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

811 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has
[304] his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name [553] which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her female relatives. The chief then calls all members [202] of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt [251] they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

5 Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date) 1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí. 131 114

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákoré and Ouihanieré to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacurió-iná, Tabura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozérini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition. 101 [184]

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbaniba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atsíri and the Amuésa of the Gran Pajonal. 142 301 [304] 241 276 513

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kótéhé of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature. 252 381 [411]

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices. 412 [301 554] 411 [147] 534

?Roquette-Pinto--34 E-4,5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

304 Only the men have pierced upper lips and nasal septa; the women, never.

Children still at the breast did not have their lip or septum perforated; but those whose first milk molars had appeared already had both areas pierced. Hence I believe that this operation is not performed until boys have reached the age of two.

301 Not until they are five or seven do they begin to insert through the lip and nose perforations some thin and distinctive plugs nearly always made of reed stems.

Their use is widespread in the Serra do Norte; I have seldom seen Indian men without those plugs.

[Fig. 35]

The lip plug rests between the median upper incisors and protrudes aggressively upward; the septum plug is thicker and shorter. Both are cut to the appropriate size by means of fire.

[241] If the plugs fall out, the wearer immediately retrieves them and sets them back in the perforations; on those few occasions when [the Indians] removed them to show us how they were fastened, they promptly replaced them as if ashamed to be deprived of their ornaments.

As a rule they wear both simultaneously. Some Indians prefer to the modest nose plug another adorned with a macaw or curassow feather.

[304] Contrary to what used to be thought, these ornaments do not seem to constitute marks of distinction or signs of hierarchy.

We saw youths of eighteen adorned with such plumes; none of the Indians accorded them the least importance.

When they wear these feathers, they forego the lip plug.

Their predilection for black beads is remarkable; they make them from the shells of small palm nuts to form multi-looped necklaces, and when we offered them an assortment of glass beads they chose the black ones at first. Yet they ended up choosing all of them... They are insatiable.

Nevertheless, their ornaments are predominantly black in color. Black bracelets; rings made with black palm nuts which they used to wear as ear pendants and which they carry now on their fingers to

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[621] tuations, and the ascent or decline of individuals and groups follow
622 each other in a rather surprising manner.

How will the chief be able to overcome these difficulties? The first instrumental force of his power lies in his generosity. Generosity —an all important feature of chieftainship among most primitive peoples, especially in America—plays an outstanding part even on those crude cultural levels where worldly goods are limited to the most primitive weapons and tools, coarse ornaments made of feathers, shells and bones, and raw materials, such as lumps of rosin and wax, hanks of fiber and splinters of bamboo for arrow-making. There cannot be
[462] great economic distinctions between families each of which can pack all of its belongings in the baskets carried along by the women during
[556] the long travels of the dry season. But, although the chief does not seem to fare better, in this respect, than the others, he must always have at hand surpluses of food, tools, weapons, ornaments which, while being small indeed, acquire great value because of the scarcity which is the prevalent condition. When an individual, a family or the band itself needs or covets something, the chief is called upon to secure the desired article. Generosity is the quality, much speculated on, which is expected of a new chief. Generosity is the string constantly struck which makes the general consent to one's leadership sound clear or out of tune. There is little doubt that, in this respect, the chief's ability to give is exploited to the utmost. Band chiefs used to be my best informants, and, well aware of their difficult position, I liked to reward them liberally; but I seldom saw one of my many gifts remain in their hands for more than a few days. Each time I took leave of a band, after a few weeks or a few months, its members had time to become the happy hoarders of axes, knives, beads, and so on. As a rule, however, the chief was exactly as poor as at my first arrival. Everything he had received from me (and this was considerably more than the average) had already been squeezed out of him. This collective greediness not seldom drives the chief to an almost desperate position; then the refusal to give plays about the same part, in this primitive democracy, as the threat to resign followed by a vote of confidence in a modern parliament. When a chief reaches the point where he must say: "To give away is over! To be generous is over! Let another be generous in my place!", he must, indeed, be sure of his power and prestige, for his rule is undergoing its severest crisis.

Ingenuity is but the intellectual form of generosity. A great deal

593
182
462 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark
prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection
against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms
[342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or
[415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which con-
stitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which ex-
tends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fear-
ful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of
one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties
and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from
time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians
for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before
the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed,
apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable
cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates
tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his
walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by
the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering
and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia
of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid,
are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[57] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive
and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that,
something like the most moving and credible expression of human
tenderness.

593 Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as con-
831 cerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest
462 is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara
542 have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to
[517] signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jelene, bl). Their esthetic
judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and
above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between
the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as
being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation,
they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself
the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent
homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic
adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes
to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably
the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
[58] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model
of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

543 fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely
831 realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are
462 considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folk-
[83] lore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tagare uirige, bl), a
562 typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second
[193] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

[538] 5. uirtnoṣunatukhne joʔotnuṣutnãdnjani deneṣunatukhne. (bl)

The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, al), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

198 This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact
562 correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect al, they give words an ending —ṣu instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedjutu or —kedjuzu.

It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity. When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step: [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senasikititu, al).

1: Levi-Strauss-112 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

789 of warm air, aided by small fragments of paper put over a fire, was at least accepted, is not understood. And as usual when it is a question of excusing an incident (which could have had very unhappy consequences), they put all the blame on the women, "who do not understand anything," "were afraid" and feared a thousand calamities. (1)

1, Later, Al asked for some balloons to give a demonstration himself before the combined groups assembled by him. But, less forgetful than he, we obstinately refused.

Two conclusions are gleaned from these facts. The first is [98] that the term of nãnde covers much more than the strict meaning of the word "poison," and that it includes all types of actions of exceptional and likewise menacing character, as well as the products or objects likely to determine this action. All nãnde objects and operations have a common character, expressed by the term kakore. This means the dangerous products or substances, and, at the same time, those of a menacing or dangerous nature which certain living beings may possess by specific or only temporary right. Thus poison, the snake, the poisonous spider, the jaguar, are kakore; but the same is true of an enemy tribe, or an Indian (even if he is a [98] relative or friend) when he projects revenge or is found in a state of violent anger. The second conclusion is that the poisons, whatever may be the positive and utilitarian character of their preparation, are not thought of scientifically as substances provoking physiological disorders, but as vehicles or receptacles of that mysterious force which turns the usual order of phenomena upside down. Nevertheless, nãnde is not conceived of in the abstract form of a power. It resides in, and cannot be separated from, certain apparently recognizable material aspects. When the Indians examined our balloons of silk paper, they sought something there which would be the concrete sign of their magical and malevolent nature; and while they proceeded with their inspection, we wondered anxiously what could be the specific characteristics (happily absent) of the product or the nãnde object. If it is true that the sense of the term nãnde is more complex than that of the word poison, it is no less necessary to recognize that poison carries the better example and the more perfect illustration of the Indian conception. It is a clearly identified substance, and recognizable by its outward characteristics to which its evil effects necessarily correspond.

836 who seem to be susceptible to violent passions. We knew an Indian who fled with a Paressi Indian girl during our stay, and lived with her for several months hidden in the bush and fleeing the husband who was in hot pursuit after them. Here is the way an informant (B15) tells of a former adventure. He reconstructs a dialogue with the beloved woman:

51. ajndarinjẽ — otendnjẽ — ajdotẽha ajdakanjajni sutnadajẽ ajrhajtasjĩ'ndige tamintednjẽ (b1)
Do you want to make love?--I do not wish to.--You are worth nothing! I want to make love or I will kill you! Let us go make love.

Very anxiously the woman responds:

higekanhiẽ ŋairirẽ ŋairidednjẽ etjẽdahẽ dungrajeni (b1)
Do it quickly, my husband will be angry, he will beat me.

684 There is no social sanction against adultery; but the wronged
626 husband can avenge himself in a fearful manner and in circumstances of this type poison, used either against the wife or against the lover, plays its role. In order to avoid such incidents, the companions intervene between the adversaries and counsel the seducer to disappear for a while:

52. ijehetnjẽ ajkuakatednjãni ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude kajãdodni uajknoreniani (b1)
Go away.--I am going far away.--When this moon is ended and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, then, in that one, you may return.

We knew an Indian (C11) whose wife disappeared one day, having left with a member of his group. He thought first of revenge, but his companions intervened, and it was finally decided that the lover should keep the wife and would give him a dog as compensation. Several months later, the lover died (we were not able to find out whether the death was normal or accidental), and the woman returned to her husband, who said he was very happy to have acquired the dog
● [562] also. This story should not be interpreted in the sense of an equivalence, conceived by the Indian spirit, between a woman and a dog. We have insisted too much on the fundamental role of the woman in Nambikwara
[182] life to have to return to that here. But in groups where trade [112] exists in such a primitive form (1) exchanges of goods have as a

1. Cf. p. 93 f.

American Indians. As example of the first aspect we shall mention: the 157
public and "scientific" preparation of the curare; the development of certain therapeutics such as the treatment of ophthalmia by instillation; the flexibility of the sexual division of labor; sexual life in general; the atmosphere of the rites of abstinence; the rational attitude as regards alimentary taboos. Several remarks on this point will make clear the indigenous psychology. The white worms (anaṭhu, a1) which are frequently found 157
in the nuts of the bacaiuva palm have been indicated as being inedible. Sub- 262
sequently we verified that they were eaten in secret by the children. Thus a8 finds them while cracking nuts and gives them to her little sister a9; and furtively she too eats a worm. Her action is noticed by a3 and a4 who cover her with sarcasm. However one day when food is scarce, A1 eats a plate of worms which his young wife a4 has gathered for him, and sadly remarks that, due to lack of meat, he is reduced to this poor fare. The same observation is made about the hawk. Above we showed what constitutes the metaphysical basis of the alimentary taboo concerning the jaguar. However, the current interpretation is entirely different:

66. ujatededniẽ uiliẽe (b1).

I don't eat any of it, it smells bad!

In the face of new situations, the Indians generally react without 157
mysticism. Thus, A1 before the problem of writing: (1) on the other hand, 177

1. P. 40 f. and p. 89.

the Nambikwara show total indifference toward photography, even when they have understood its purpose. We have never found [126] Indians who tolerated the participation of the camera in the slightest details of their intimate life with such complete indifference.

However, the passage to irrational positions is made with the same 157
brusqueness which characterizes the two attitudes, almost simultaneous, of an infant hilarity before the still unusual sight of an inflated balloon which burns, and of an appeal to evil magic when a second balloon succeeded in rising. (1) Never does the tender indulgence with which the men surround

157
562

1. P. 97.

their companions (2) allow one to suspect the actual metaphysical curse

2. P. 56 f.

with which the women are burdened in the Nambikwara culture, excluded under pain of death from collective ceremonies, deaf and blind to the voice

of the Beyond, and condemned to nothingness after death like non-initiated babies. We have described the tender companionship which presides in the relationships between the sexes, and the general harmony which reigns within the groups. But when these are altered, it is to give way to the most extreme solutions, poisoning and murder. It is quite reasonable for the informants to underline spontaneously the role of forgetfulness in funeral rites. (3)

3. P. 112.

For there is a striking contrast between the joyous irony with which one answers someone who is ignorant enough to inquire about a relative deceased for quite awhile: "ihitu, ilgetu" (a1), "to the sand! in the sand!," and the horrible apparition of the atatu which is evoked with ritual sobbing.

Nambikwara rites do not seem to be symbolic in any way. The skeleton-like state of A21 and a22 at the end of the period of abstinence testifies to that, and although ceremonies are rare, they are carried far. The informants speak of periods of three months for the isolation of the young girl entering puberty, and of a bath in the river lasting a whole night as a preliminary to marriage. However much behavior is supple and without complication in daily life, likewise intrusions of the supernatural (in visions and revelations, the séances of shamanism, war dances, etc.) are manifested by the transition to an atmosphere of tragedy. No South American group, to our knowledge, expresses in such a sincere and spontaneous way (for one never feels the theatrical atmosphere of Tupi or chaqueno shamanism) such violent and opposed sentiments, whose individual expression seems inseparable from a social stylization which never betrays them.

* * * * *

It is far from us to wish to assign an exclusively economic cause to this dualism. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to consider that the psychological dualism goes on an equal footing with the organization of social existence around [127] two opposite poles, on the one hand the sedentary life, agricultural, based on the dual masculine activity of the construction of huts and of gardening; on the other hand, the nomadic period, during which subsistence is principally assured by feminine collecting and gathering, the one representing alimentary security and well-being, the other chance and want. To these two ways of life, one followed in the winter, the other in the summer, the Nambikwara react in very different ways. They speak of the former with the melancholy which is attached to the conscious and resigned acceptance of the human condition, to the dull repetition of identical acts,

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units. 571 607 582

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires. 571 607

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men. 571 607 562

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast. 000

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. 114 171 601

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two: 114 171

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
184 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

291 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[293] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl, [304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A]

[184] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (Inlacu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not [515] draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[384] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

854 Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

622 They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

578 622 One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Cocozu and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there: Nuleke, Krikriceknerá (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. "sloth], Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Uiantaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Cocozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

622 Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

562 The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true. She [562] gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[137] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own aticú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover, her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2 and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of "little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the husband's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous). They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a more or less subordinate society. We have found households comprised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five (A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is proportional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly distinguish (thus: tolũ'ige, b1, to cough, and tolũtiore, b2, to sneeze; kasite, sneeze, and kasi'pe, c, spit, tarni'kititu, a1, to expel flatus or to defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution, ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

[734] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them. Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[842] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children. Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

> 1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

> 15. u̯ãitento dohonenŝiram kãnaram hẽpatnẽ atãtene u̯ejdenkjathattene u̯aĩndonle. (b1)
> Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man! Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

595 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of
571 polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called "mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a state of companionship with them, especially with the girls, which also extends to all the children of the group. We have already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke together, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games, such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. Another example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, without ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close, appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys might have in our society. They rarely imply service or attention. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

595
571 piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers: "Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
856 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives, take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves, timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, beside their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of play. In certain groups (central and south), the children manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights or contests which they do together, and lead an existence modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gathering wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting expeditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know what an important role the women have in the economic life of the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 482] Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and we make the remark:

16. uajnu̯ɨtte u̯ɨkɔrage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

u̯eɨkuātnore uainuetuikadeʔena tāi̯tni̯ene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

In older versions, the old women (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the 171 [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or grains in South American folklore. [538]

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of expression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships: 157 157 571

60. tai undeiretnie̅ ta eikirednie̅ uai̯ iiren undetnie̅ tatiene uai̯ iritiani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep, I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. ieitlana amnentie̅ hikonariana iatiene amdenie̅ kanahadau̯ ṣedetnie̅. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it; tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanaio̅niani nihin nalirjani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 157 521

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

607 838

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

tarãtę ialãsiętę

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

607 571

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

184 571 621 197 731

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces, In the course of our field-work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabãnę* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarãndę* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

571 607 A more fundamental problem raised by the union of the two groups, namely the nature of the relations to be established between their respective members, was solved by the common statement that all the male members of the Sabáŋę group were to be acknowledged as the "brothers-in-law" (*tarúlę*) of the male adults of the Tarúndę group, and, conversely, that the latter were to be acknowledged as "brothers-in-law" (*iópǫ*) by the former. Consequently, all the "wives" belonging to one group became the "sisters" of the "husbands" of the other, and the "sisters-in-law" of the latters' wives; and all children of both sexes in one group became the potential spouses of the children in the other. As a result, these two groups will be welded into a single consanguineous unit within two generations.

The conscious and systematic nature of this solution cannot be doubted. When asked for their kinship relation to any male adult of the allied group, the male informants, irrespective of the group to which they themselves belonged, never gave a different answer, but always emphasized that the question was meaningless since all the Sabáŋę men were their *tarúlę*, or all Tarúndę men their *iópǫ*. On the other hand, no one seemed to have a clear idea of the exact relationship between the women, the children, or the adults and the children of the two groups. Occasionally the correct theoretical relationship could be deduced; more frequently only the group name was given in reply to our queries: She is calling the other one "Sabáŋę"—or "Tarúndę." Thus it may be assumed that the system was conceived of and applied according to (and exclusively according to) the *tarúlę* (or *iópǫ*) relationship. This inference is rather important because, of course, the same result could have been achieved by other means.

If the sole aim of the system had been to ensure inter-marriage, it could have been brought about equally well in two other ways; perhaps we should say that two different interpretations might have been made of the same phenomenon. In the first place, the women might have been regarded as "sisters-in-law"; or, in the second place, all the men of one group and all the women of the other might have entered a brother-sister relationship. In both cases the result would have been the same as in the accepted interpretation, in which, indeed, these relationships are implied though not expressed. Nevertheless, the solution itself was actually based on the relationship between the male and his allied collaterals, the consequences of which must now be examined.

571 607 582 Two of the three possible interpretations implied the consideration of women; only one was purely masculine, and it is the latter which was adopted by the natives. The reason for the choice is obvious since the problem to be solved was a purely political one, concerning the chieftainship, which is exercised by men, rather than the normal mechanism of filiation, the pattern of which seems to be matrilineal. In a simple system of cross cousin marriage, such as that of the Nambikuara, the brother-in-law may be either the matri-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units.

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires.

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men.

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast.

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter.

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two:

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

621 115 157 622 177 601 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of perfecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy temperament hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never [537] seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instrument.

621 601 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40 years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years, b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18, sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son" also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1; he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster, they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1, thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 574 601 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

621 generation is composed of b26, wife of B25 (about 20 years); of the
574 husband of b29, B28 (about 25); of the wife, b22, of B21 (same age);
601 of his brother B24 (20 years), both children of a deceased sister of B18; and of a widower of about 40 years, B30, brother of B15 and of b2, who had been married to a sister of B1. The young generation is represented by only two children, b23, about 7 years, daughter of B21 and b22, and b31, about 10 years, daughter of B30, mother dead. For the whole picture of genealogical relationships, the reader should refer to Figure 15.

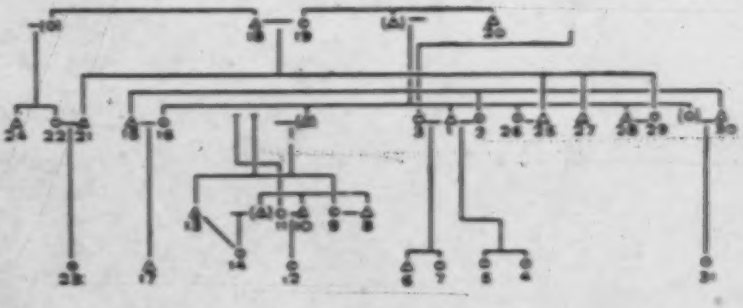


Fig. 15.

601
621

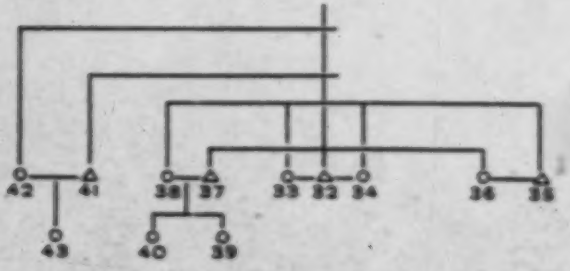


Fig. 16.

601 Fire 6 (19 to 22). --The chief, or rather, it seems, the shaman of
621 group c, is 30 to 40 years old, "brother" of c23. His dispositions are
[754] friendly and mysterious. We shall encounter him farther on (2). He

2. P. 103.

has two wives, c19 and [54] c21, very pretty girls of 17 or 18 years, "sisters" of the dead husband of c23. Here we have, then, a good example of sororal polygyny. The second woman has a little boy of 3 years, C22.

Fire 7 (23 to 25). --The woman, c23, is over 40; she is a widow and seems to enjoy great consideration. Her numerous "brothers" provide for her as well as her children, and like C20, she is apt to receive supernatural revelations (1). She has a son, C25, about 14

1. Cf. p. 101.

years old, and a daughter, c24, about 10. Concerning them, refer to page 34.

Fire 8 (26 and 27). --A young couple of about 18, whose parents must be dead and whom the elders of the group call "grandchildren."

Fire 9 (28 to 30). --C28, about 25 years, is a "son" of C6; his wife, c29 is older than he (over 40); she is called "daughter" by c19 and c21, although they are by far younger than she; her daughter c30 is about 2 years old.

Fire 10 (31 to 33). --c32, about 40 years old, is a younger sister of c23; she has two daughters: the eldest, c31, about 17, is married; the younger, c33, still a baby. The husband and her son-in-law are absent; they are said to be on a trip together. The group sees to the needs of the two women.

It is suitable to add a visitor to this list, C34, about 30 years old.
[574] He is the brother of c12 and, during his stay, he receives the hospitality of household number 4.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

Husbands and Wives

543 To understand well the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another, it is indispensible to keep in mind the fundamental character

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover, her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2 and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of "little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the husband's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous). They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a more or less subordinate society. We have found households comprised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five (A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is proportional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly distinguish (thus: tolúr'ige, b1, to cough, and tolútiore, b2, to sneeze; kasite, sneeze, and kasí'pe, c, spit. tarní'kititu, a1, to expel flatus or to defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution, ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

514
515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.

514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation. (1). Following this, they are only subject to

1. Cf. below, p. 109.

certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. iauoōdage edēdé edēdé edēdé kano kano kano kano kano kanahó huiire tamindige. (b1).

The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

841
147
171

2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen which women are indisposed. But the above remarks seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

63. tenūkuẽ tenūkuẽ utanātiri (bl). 157
To me! To me! Throw! 521

However the artisan at work also makes his wife, child, neighbor participate in the execution of the work on whose vicissitudes he comments gaily:

64. itiouĩ taninjẽ diuĩn... āmi... kādaha... munjalina... kādjanene... nooua... taluunlẽ... nohin... iahena... muhjena. (bl)
Hold it [the cord] so that I can twist it... let it go! It fell!... There!... It is difficult!.... It is done!.... Does it suit you?.. It is ugly!... No, it is pretty!

The last formula is ritual, it is the one they use at the end of chants and dances; the protagonists excuse themselves: "it is ugly"; and the audience responds: "No, it is pretty!" [708]

[123] This politeness is not always without malice, and compliments sometimes hide attempts at mockery. We cited above the formula used by a group to depreciate their dances in comparison to those of their companions they have just met; (1) but a few hours earlier, disdaining a present of beads 157 521 576

1. Cf. p. 92.

which I offered and which were not much appreciated because of their color, they advised me:

65. mpātin majmāindẽ tunuhĩnde (bl)
Keep them to give to the Maimandé.

One day we were sold poison tubes (by group a2) described as so dangerous that we should abstain from ever opening them under pain of immediate death. They proved to be empty, which testifies to great ingenuity if the mystery was improvised on our account. In any case, it throws a curious light on the relationships between neighboring groups. 439 789 157

181 Caduveo, perhaps remindful of their slave-owning past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The
171 Arawak-speaking Terena and Paressí, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Bacairí and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
●576 and impolite even to rudeness. On many occa-
609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "raspberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paressí consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

We shall
621 comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its
[578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for
621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

115 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The
157 chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent
622 Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent
601 in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) i̯oãmditnʔẽ ni̯ãnai̯ne hẽni niho ãmdedni̯ẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often
[177] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

He was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[301] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (amõ), [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananáz River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarundé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
● [578] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

756 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of
278 naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

* * * * * *

622 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman,
756 plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations.
796 The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp. 177 648 797 [726]

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighboring group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (aidotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later. 278 578

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability. 157 648

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North 157

101 The position of all groups known to be scattered through the Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is recorded on the ethnographic map of the region which goes with these notes.[1]

[218] The exact meaning of the names cited above cannot yet be given with certainty. In the light of existing data, however, their study leads to the following conclusions which cannot be far from the truth.

Cocozu: "Uncles"; thus called by the others, perhaps, because they are the most primitive members of the whole tribe.

[578] Anunzu: This is clearly a corruption of the term anungzú or anungçú, which means "woman's milk"—a disparaging epithet like so many others found throughout the Americas; it may mean "infants" (unweaned babies).

Uaintaçu: Apparently a corruption of nuntaçú, which means "alligator" [Port. jacaré] in the language of the Juina Nambicuara. The Uaintaçu group would thus be none other than the old Jacare tribe mentioned in the first chapter of this work.

Tagnani: They are obviously the Tamarari of the old geographic maps; they should be equated with the Tamarare or Camarare, who gave the river its name and who are mentioned in several ancient documents.

Tawite: This word signifies "child" or "son" [offspring], a common appellation among other tribes as well.

In order to avoid future confusion, I propose to retain the name "Nambicuara" in conjunction with the specific name peculiar to each group.

361 The villages of the Serra do Norte Indians are usually built on the crest of small hills, far from the watercourses. Some are more than one kilometer distant from the nearest river or stream.

It may be assumed that the choice of such sites has a twofold aim: the Indians suffer less from mosquitoes and they dominate the surrounding territory, which is an advantage to people leading as they did up to now a life of constant warfare.

The village is built on a large plaza, fifty meters in diameter; once cleaned of bush, which is rooted up [219] by hand, the ground [535] is kept clear by the constant tread of feet. One night of dancing, with its endless beat along the same path, suffices to smooth out the village square.

1 [See map following foreign text, cat. 116 - Analyst]

854 Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

622 They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

578 622 One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Cocozu and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there: Nuleke, Krikricéknerá (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. "sloth], Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Uiantaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Cocozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

622 Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

562 The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true. She [462] gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is

[581] Dutemõdednige (b1), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monoduinuŝere, b1) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tauorõtige, b1). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiiŝere, b1), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjõtige, b1) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjõtige, b1) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

[17]

1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: "... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1.
Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
336 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara,

601 "mothers"), or of the "husbands" of my mother (who are at the same time my "fathers"). It is seen then that a given individual calls all his parallel cousins "brothers and sisters," and his parallel uncles and aunts "fathers and mothers", while he calls his cross-cousins husbands or wives, and his cross-aunts and uncles "father-in-law and mother-in-law" (identified with grandfather and grandmother, thus, more exactly: parents to the second degree). The confusion between gen-
601 erations and degrees thus makes equally possible the marriage of the
582 brother of the mother or of the father, to the daughter of the sister or of the brother, or of the sister of the father with the son of the brother, since, in these two cases, the parents-in-law will be the grandparents, called thus, by the term of parents to the second degree. These marriages, which we shall call "oblique," since they unite individuals belonging to two consecutive generations, are actually practiced.

601 Below is to be found the list of terms of relationship, as they have just been analyzed in their respective relations (Dialect A 1/2).

1. ahuĩnosu (a 1); ahuĩne (a2)..... father, brother of the father, husband of the mother's sister.
2. aʔkenosu (a 1); aʔketosu (a2)... mother, sister of the mother, wife of the father's brother.
3. uettu, uezu ..... child.
4. aʔkiraru ..... son.
5. aʔkineru ..... daughter.
6. akenãnosu ..... older brother.
7. (t)oãnosu ..... older sister.

[20]8. alõnsu ..... younger brother, son of brother of the father, son of sister of the mother.

9. arĩndesu ..... younger sister, daughter of brother of the father, daughter of sister of mother.
10. asũkosu ..... sister's husband, cross-cousin (masc.) (man speaking).
11. aseetasu ..... brother's wife, cross-cousin (fem.) (woman speaking).
12. asĩntu ..... sister's daughter (m. s.), brother's daughter (w. s.), son's wife.
13. asineetu ..... sister's son (m. s.), brother's son (w. s.), daughter's husband.

601 A second difficulty comes up in the designation of parallel cousins. It has been seen above that the same name is used for them which designates the younger sister or the younger brother, whatever their age may be. This [23] usage suggests that the adequate translation of the terms alõnsu, akenãnosu, arĩndesu, (t)oãnosu could be, rather than "elder" and "younger," big brother, big sister, little brother, little sister, with the same ambiguity that exists in our language between the real sense of the adjective and its figurative sense. Be that as it may, one often comes up against a contradictory situation, not only objectively (which does not shock Indian logic, as will be seen in the case of "mothers" younger than their "sons"), but also literally. This is what happens when for example, a woman calls a female cousin arĩndesu who is quite obviously her elder. Then one has recourse to two supplementary terms, sometimes added to classifying terms, but also sometimes replacing them, even when it is a question of designating blood brothers or sisters. These are:

21. toã-nosu : "elder" (to designate a man):

22. toãtadosu : "elder" (to designate a woman).

These terms serve to sharpen the respective position, regarding the generation, for those who are:

23. arĩnẽdesu, or

24. aloneẽnedẽsu,

that is, "one as regards the other of the arĩndesu," or "the alõnsu," which is not permissible in certain instances; while two women can be without difficulty:

25. aseteẽnãdesu

or two men:

26. asukoĩnẽdesu,

that is, "the one for the other," aseẽtasu or asũkosu. Thus we have found women who call their parallel cousins arĩndesu toãtadosu, meaning, "my older little sister."

601 Other difficulties appear in the case of oblique marriages. When
582 the mother's brother marries the sister's daughter, the woman's grandparents are at the same time the husband's parents. When the husband marries one or several daughters of his wife's sister, his own parents are simultaneously the parents-in-law and the great-uncles of his wives. Thence the frequent necessity to differentiate more precisely than the classifying terms permit between mother's and the father's sisters, on one side (that is the potential parents-in-law), and the fathers and mothers of the father and mother (that is the eventual
601 parents-in-law of one of the spouses). The [24] following terms, then,

601 35. tarũtarosu : "old brother-in-law" (tarũte [b 1/2] equals asũkosu [a 1/2]);

36. tuĩtarosu : "old husband" (uĩte [b 1/2] equals ouẽnsaesu [a 1/2]);

37. ianẽrosu : ?

38. asoũkerosu : "old grandfather" or "father-in-law";

[25] 39. taka?kenosu cited with the commentary : "When the
[764] taka?kenosu dies, the alõnsu cut their hair, but not the akenãnosu."

Finally, two terms of relationship express the relations coming from "oblique" marriages and from the division of generations into "elders" and "younger":

40. ajũnkedisu;

41. (t)ãdirikisu.

A man calls the akenancsu of his mother ajũnkedisu (while the term asoũnosu is generally—but not always—reserved for the alõnsu); one and the other are, of course, the asũkosu of his father. The same individual is then called "father-in-law" (asoũnosu) or "husband" (ouẽnsaesu) by the sister of the subject considered, or, if she is married, ajũnkedisu also, the husband then calling him "father" (ahuĩnosu). One sees then that the ajũnkedisu is a man whose daughter or wife I (masculine subject) marry, and whose son my sister marries, if she does not marry the man himself. Thus it is explained that the ajũnkedisu is asũkosu or asoũnosu, to my brother; asũkosu or asineẽru, to my father; akenãnosu or asineẽru, to my mother; ouẽnsaesu or asoũnosu, to my sister; ahuĩnosu, to my wife.

On the other hand, a man calls a woman (t)ãdirikisu who can be arĩndesu or asintu of his father, aseẽtasu or asĩntu of his mother, aseẽtasu or ajẽinosu of his sister, aekẽnosu of his wife. She is then a woman whom I marry or whose daughter I marry. A woman, in her turn, calls another woman (t)ãdirikisu who is a?kẽndesu of her husband, that is, a woman whose brother or son she marries.

601 ●582 One sees that these two names bestow two privileges, or opens a double right: that of the marriage of the mother's brother (and, theoretically, of the father's brother) with his niece; a right belonging essentially to the elder brother; and of the marriage of the sister's son (brother's son) with his aunt. This rule, or rather this possibility is explained on the one hand by the tendency of the Nambikwara towards polygamy, on the other hand, by the scarcity (moreover consecutive) of women. We shall study examples in an instant.

601
●582 A man marries a woman and subsequently her four "daughters" (probably two blood daughters from the preceding marriage, and two parallel nieces). In this case, a2 calls the older wife a2éinosu, and the four young ones aseétasu, from which one can conclude that A32 has married at the same time his (t)ádirikisu and the latter's daughters.

Finally, in this third case:

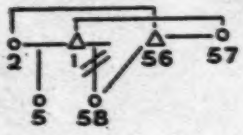


Fig. 8.

Normally, a2 calls a57 aseétasu (wife of her brother), but she disregards the fact that a58 is in the same situation, and keeps for her the name which she gave her before her marriage to A56, of tauéttu (my child, daughter of her husband). Her own daughter a5 normally calls a57 a2éinosu (wife of the mother's brother), and a58 toánosu (older sister), however, she could marry and call the son of her "mother-in-law" husband as well as the son of her "sister."

Thus the Indians treat abnormal situations resulting from polygamous unions in two ways. Either they admit the creation of a new situation and bless it by revising the names (the newly-married wives are promoted to the class of "mothers," and their parents to the class of [28] "parents of the third degree"; the women are then separated in nomenclature from their former brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law and husbands, who become sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law); or else the former names are simply preserved, the practical knowledge of the situation supplanting the impropriety of the language.

601 But these uncertainties, which appear in the case of verbal contradictions, are completely absent in the presence of real contradictions. These latter are admitted as normal consequences of the system, or more exactly, they are not considered as contradictions. Thus:

601 Grandparents are most often singled out among themselves, and
184 distinguished from the parents of the spouse, which does not happen in system a (1 or 2); also, the son (or daughter) of the brother (or the of the sister) of the father (or of the mother) are sometimes designated by different terms. The groups studied are not dense enough to be able to make a base for a theory of the system in force. Solutions of replacement intervene frequently, and the preferential forms of marriage found are not adequate for generalizations, due to an insufficient number of cases. But the preceding considerations suggest that prefer-
● [582] ential unions, choosing also among certain categories of cross-cousins, could formerly have been in force.

Finally, the names for brothers (and sisters), elder and younger, are more changeable than in system a (1 or 2); and one sees appear a new term designating the brother or the sister of the other sex. This
[177] disorganization of vocabulary can be interpreted as resulting from the influence of the northern system (dialect c), where we shall see later on that it tends more and more to assimilate the system of groups b.

Here is the vocabulary of parentage used, with references to group a (1/2): [Note: m.s. = man speaking; w.s. = woman speaking; m.w.s. = man or woman speaking.]

Dialect a 1/2		Dialect b 1/2	
abuĩnosu	1.	(ta)miĩnde	(my) father, father's brother.
	2.	eĩnde.....	father (equals man).
	3.	uaĩre	father (used to designate absent father, or father of a third person, or the father's brother.
	4.	(ta)miĩnlaore	father's brother (equals other father).
	5.	(ta)mindũdnere	father (father's brother when he substitutes for dead father).
aʔkenosu	6.	(ta)nãde	(my) mother, mother's sister.
	7-8.	(ta)nãdelaore, ndaore.....	mother (other mother; for the mother's sister and the mother of a third).

601 184 born respectively from a brother and from a sister receive different names according to whether they are the sons or daughter of a brother (of a sister), or sons or daughter of a sister (of a brother). Finally, it is no longer normally possible to identify the son-in-law (ŝiauĭtte) and the daughter-in-law (ŝinaĭso) with the nephew or the niece (cross-), and the ŝiuŝi, soeŝo (the same difference as the asuĭttu, asuĭte, and asuelisu or asuiarore of the preceding systems) do not correspond exactly to relatives of the third generation, or to the third degree.

601 184 ●582 These contrasts are clarified when one studies the forms of marriage actually practiced. Of eight marriages, five are "horizontal," that is uniting a husband and wife coming from the same classificatory generation, and three are "oblique," the husband coming from the generation of his wife's mother:

C1 = c2 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal);
C4 = c5 : husband's brother and wife's sister (horizontal);
C6 = c7 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C12 = c13 : mother's older brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C16 = c17 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C20 = c8 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C20 = c21 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C29 = c28 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal).

[33] In the absence of genealogical facts, one can even suppose that two of the marriages above, classed as "horizontal," are probably oblique, given the considerable difference in age between the husband and wife (C20 = c8, c21); such is often the case of children issued from "oblique" marriages. But even disregarding this possibility, the proportion of "oblique" relationships rises when one passes from marriages as such to the classificatory relationship of husband and wife. Thus C6, for example, calls "wife":

c2 : wife's sister;
c5 : sister of father's wife;
c7 : his own wife;
c8 : sister of father's wife;
c13: wife's sister;
c17: wife's sister;
c21: sister of father's wife;
c24: wife's sister;
c31: wife's sister;

there are actually three horizontal relationships and six oblique (directly or indirectly, through the already oblique position of the intermediary).

We have seen above that the "oblique" marriage is not unknown in the eastern, central, southern and western groups. But it is not so frequent there, and above all, the system of names does not take account of it. The problems resulting from this form of marriage are, then, resolved in two ways: either they preserve the names which have become contradictory, or they displace one or several individuals from the category of kinship to another. The method of the northern system is entirely different, for this is the system whose structure is accommodated to marriage between persons of different generations. (1) This new character is snown by a clearer distinction,

601
582
184

1. For the theoretical interpretation, it will be compared with the Miwok and Ao Naga systems, as we have analyzed them in another work. (Les structures élémentaires de la parenté, ch. 17 and 22.)

within each generation, between the "elder" and the "younger"; in place of four terms distinguishing the relative age and sex, there are only two, iája and sabáni, which refer to age and apply indifferently to both sexes. Moreover, the term sabáni tends to have the general meaning of "young" or "little," and succeeds in specifying, from this point of view, whatever the kinship relationship is (2) implying

2. Cf. below, p. 37, text No. 1.

thus that the quality of sabáni is equivalent to displacement to another generation. And actually, even though the older brother and the younger brother can equally claim to marry their sister's daughter, the older brother, even when married to his niece, will continue to be called iája by [34] his wife's mother. On the other hand, in the same situation the younger brother sometimes passes to the rank of sjauitte; he is no longer considered as a brother, but as a son-in-law. Moreover, if the term ŝiauitte normally means a "horizontal" son-in-law, that is a cross-nephew married to a daughter, it is significant that a man calls ŝiauitte his younger brother, who has married a niece, and even a "wife"; and that a woman designates a younger brother married to a daughter in the same way, as has just been seen. Nevertheless, a man calls his cross-cousins (fem.) and his sisters' daughters indiscriminately iátta (wife), while distinguishing the husbands of his "wives" as ŝiauitte (horizontal son-in-law), sabáni (or ŝiauitte, replacing sabáni) and iája.

601 It might be considered that these differences as regards the other
184 systems are purely formal. They bring on, however, some important
552 consequences. The preferential marriage between mother's brother and sister's daughter must introduce asymmetry between the children of the brother and those of the sister, thus justifying the use of different names in the two cases. For the same reason, one sees a shift of a classificatory generation appear between a woman who has married an uncle, and that of her parallel cousins. Here is a striking example:

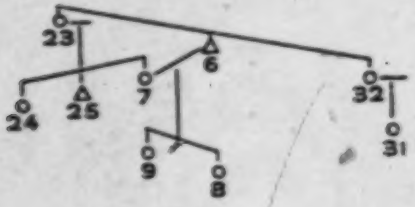


Fig. 10.

c23 calls C6 (in reality, sabani) ŝiaui'tte; thus her daughter c24 calls him tii'mo (husband), since he is married to her sister, c7, and their brother C25 calls him jopa for the same reason. For c23, her granddaughters (and nieces at the same time) c8 and c9 are ŝiuŝi, called taatero by the sister of the mother c24, and aiŝinu by the brother of the mother C25. But if one looks at it from the point of view of c31, the essential fact is not, as in the preceding cases, that C6 has married a daughter or a sister (here, a niece or a parallel cousin), but that he is the mother's brother. Consequently, she calls him koo'ka (father-in-law), and she calls the wife of C6 ŝii'ko (mother-in-law), and the children of the latter become her ŝiui'tta (sisters-in-law).

A double conclusion can be drawn from this analysis. In the first place, it must be remembered that in systems a and b the term for "older brother or sister" also means parallel cousins. Now we have just established that in the system of group c the parallel cousin can actually be displaced to a younger generation, and that such is the case when the marriage is of the "oblique" type. It may, therefore, be that the oblique marriage has occupied a more important place in systems a and b than is the case today. The second point is that the kinship system of group b, with its use of a special term for the brother or sister of the opposite sex, and its distinction [35] between the parents of spouses and the grandparents, takes an intermediary position

601 582 184 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system. This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 114 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover,
her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship
is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority
over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
● 582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a
woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman
and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2
and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at
least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage
within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the
marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer
to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of
"little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous
grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the hus-
band's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous).
They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a
more or less subordinate society. We have found households com-
prised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five
(A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is propor-
tional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous
union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic
activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly dis-
tinguish (thus: tolitige, b1, to cough, and tolitiore, b2, to sneeze;
kaite, sneeze, and kaitpe, c, spit. tamikititu, a1, to expel flatus or to
defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution,
ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that
of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582] and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (bl) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutebãdige tamĩndige (bl)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhaṣĩete. (bl)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kajrobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

621 instead that all the Sabané men were for them tarûte, or that all
605 the Tarundé men were jôpa. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group: it is called "Sabané" or "Tarundé." It is thus in the function of the relationship of tarûte or jôpa (asûkosu, al) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution; one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its correlaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
● [582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of

1. See p. 39.

marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited

TN 601 171 The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

TN 601 582 171 The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins among the Tupi, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico eté, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces--and very attractive women they are--do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [81] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Taragoaj, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden. The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others. With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection [842] between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the [842] father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraïb of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers, and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85; Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

T
N
601 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the
171 women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their
582 sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

T
N
595 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the
171 Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; --Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; --P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 53 , 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

T
N
607 All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between
171 the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

N
T
607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
N
[838] which make up for the absence of an available sister.
T
N We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
171 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
582 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
607 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the
601 second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarũte or jõpa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouasap (Yves d'Evreux) or coton-assap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

N
171
601

1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

622 named chief. One single point is clear: his functions are not hereditary. When the acting chief falls ill or becomes too old to carry on his charge, he points out from among the members of the group the one who will be his successor, doubtless influenced in his choice by collective opinion. He makes the decision public by the formula: hẽi ũilikãde (b1): "this one will be chief," and thus the continuity of power is assured:

34. ũilikaa dõrerige tiahĩlikĩherage nlaure ũilikãde (b1)
When the chief dies, another chief comes in his place.

[90] But it happens that the person in question caring little for the heavy responsibilities which await him, declines the honor which has just been done him:

35. ũtniane ũntũilikã ĩlikãdnere (b1)
I do not wish to take the place of the chief.

and it is necessary to proceed to a new choice. What are then the motives which might determine the acceptance? Sexual preoccupations certainly play a role. If the newly elected is young, in place of going through a long period of celibacy or of being forced to marry an old woman, he will find himself in the privileged position of having several companions. If he is already married, he can add to his wife the youngest and prettiest among the available women of the group, or among those who will be conquered in war, and eventually obtain those whom he would desire and who would be already married.

C20, having lost his wives through illness or for some other reason, found himself a bachelor. He then took his young wife (c21) [502] from another husband, under the pretext that the latter was "too young to have a wife." Undoubtedly his liking of responsibility must equally be taken into consideration, his sense of leadership, ambition, and his desire for a fuller existence than that of normal life. The only two chiefs with whom we had any real personal contacts (A1 and B1) were both individuals of particularly lively spirit and, in giving to the term the sense which it might possess in these societies, more cultivated than their companions. (1)

1. The Indian theory of command has been the object of a more detailed study: C. Lévi-Strauss, Chief and chieftainship among a primitive tribe: The Nambikwara of Northwestern Matto Grosso. Transactions of the New-York Academy of Sciences, 1944.

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikiˇndurige, b1); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being ouẽnsaịkititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednịẽn durẽnịe (b1)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ãịrige aịŝúngnerage denano inŝira ãịkira ãịknira tããta halonoo tatliˇkta ãịndage hntimbãta uịˇrige imãgəra imãgəra (b1)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

[581] Dutemõdednige (b1), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodunũere, b1) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tauorõtige, b1). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiĩ̂ere, b1), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjõtige, b1) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjõtige, b1) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied. (1)

[71]

1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: ".... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
336 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara,

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types ot arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

621 people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves 121 with such questions as the type of political organization in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

[361] Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the 621 gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It 601 does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between [602] two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The [582] Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[3] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown 602 by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage system functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive 621 narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[3] C. Lévi-Strauss. "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians." American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1943.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

619 to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them
773 the flute (*wáinhu*), and taught them how to sing and dance. *Oklihdítisu* is thus the culture hero of the Nambicuara. In human form he looks like a Nambicuara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucú. Yet today people no longer see *oklihdítisu*, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

622 Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklítisu band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicuara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*alúnsu*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *alunsdídnara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicuara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicuara believe, depends upon the *alunsdídnara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

619 Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicuara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Inter-
● [582] marriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chiwáisu
438 and Hégndisu obtain pots from the Western
619 Nambicuara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pots they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicuara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

[p. 96 (B)]

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *taydntasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatahdinisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awinisu* (father) and the term *ahakinisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahainusu* and mother's brother *asúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akandnusu*, his younger brother *dawdidnisu*, and his sisters *awddnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akirdru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asuétu* and *asintu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *dazéru*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatasdiserawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*azisu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amezdisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*asúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahainusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Waklítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Waklĭtisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitânrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who is to become the husband of a girl just out of seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

571 607 A more fundamental problem raised by the union of the two groups, namely the nature of the relations to be established between their respective members, was solved by the common statement that all the male members of the Sabáne group were to be acknowledged as the "brothers-in-law" (*tarúlę*) of the male adults of the Tarúnde group, and, conversely, that the latter were to be acknowledged as "brothers-in-law" (*iópą*) by the former. Consequently, all the "wives" belonging to one group became the "sisters" of the "husbands" of the other, and the "sisters-in-law" of the latters' wives; and all children of both sexes in one group became the potential spouses of the children in the other. As a result, these two groups will be welded into a single consanguineous unit within two generations.

The conscious and systematic nature of this solution cannot be doubted. When asked for their kinship relation to any male adult of the allied group, the male informants, irrespective of the group to which they themselves belonged, never gave a different answer, but always emphasized that the question was meaningless since all the Sabáne men were their *tarúlę*, or all Tarúnde men their *iópą*. On the other hand, no one seemed to have a clear idea of the exact relationship between the women, the children, or the adults and the children of the two groups. Occasionally the correct theoretical relationship could be deduced; more frequently only the group name was given in reply to our queries: She is calling the other one "Sabáne"—or "Tarúnde." Thus it may be assumed that the system was conceived of and applied according to (and exclusively according to) the *tarúlę* (or *iópą*) relationship. This inference is rather important because, of course, the same result could have been achieved by other means.

If the sole aim of the system had been to ensure inter-marriage, it could have been brought about equally well in two other ways; perhaps we should say that two different interpretations might have been made of the same phenomenon. In the first place, the women might have been regarded as "sisters-in-law"; or, in the second place, all the men of one group and all the women of the other might have entered a brother-sister relationship. In both cases the result would have been the same as in the accepted interpretation, in which, indeed, these relationships are implied though not expressed. Nevertheless, the solution itself was actually based on the relationship between the male and his allied collaterals, the consequences of which must now be examined.

571 607 583 Two of the three possible interpretations implied the consideration of women; only one was purely masculine, and it is the latter which was adopted by the natives. The reason for the choice is obvious since the problem to be solved was a purely political one, concerning the chieftainship, which is exercised by men, rather than the normal mechanism of filiation, the pattern of which seems to be matrilineal. In a simple system of cross cousin marriage, such as that of the Nambikuara, the brother-in-law may be either the matri-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units.

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires.

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men.

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast.

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter.

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two:

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

595
171

Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171
114

The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *cheiouasap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*compérage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *atour-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171
607
582

One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Lafone Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (American Anthropologist. Vol. 21, 1919), pp. 421–440; Kirchhoff. *Die Verwandschaftsorganization der Urwaldstamme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 109.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 169–170.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sisters. Cross cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross cousins. (The same holds for the giving of a daughter by a father.) The potential or actual brothers-in-law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of the brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikuara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations.

We may now summarize our observations. The ancient Tupi acknowledged two forms of marriage; namely, cross cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practised in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by his sister's husband. In both cases the marriage is the result of an agreement between cross cousins, actually or potentially brothers-in-law—which is the definition we retained as a suitable translation of the Nambikuara terms *tarášę* and *iópę*. Now, this special "brother-in-law" relationship could be established, under the name of *chetowasap* (Evreux) or *coton-assap* (Léry), between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie, or else only more remotely related, or even between strangers (as was the case of the French and the Indians). The reason for such a step was to ensure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. One recognises here the same process described in the analysis of the relations between the newly joined groups, Sabáne and Tarúndę.[28]

[28] The widespread South American custom of using kinship terms to express social relationships is attested to by Von den Steinen (*Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), who was called "elder brother" by the Bakairi and "maternal uncle" by the Mehinaku. We have just established the equivalence of the terms "maternal uncle" and "brother-in-law" in a system of cross cousin marriage combined with avuncular marriage. Regarding the use of the term "elder brother," two observations should be made. First, in a kinship system such as that of the Bororo, not far distant from the Xingu, each generation is to some extent split into two layers, the elder half being assimilated to the younger half of the generation above and the younger half to the elder half of the generation below. In such a system an "elder brother" may well be a true uncle and a potential brother-in-law.

The use of the term "brother" for social purposes may also be understood in another way. Among the Nambikwara, there is a special term, sometimes used to designate a sibling of the same sex, the meaning of which is "the other one." This term is applied not only to describe a familial relationship, but is also used to name objects belonging to a class which includes several units (for instance, the pests of the huts or the pipes of the whistles). Friendly groups may also consider themselves to be "brothers" and the exclamation, "You are no more my brother!" may often be heard in discussions between angry adversaries.

This suggests that the term "brother" possesses, in addition to its kinship significance, a very wide meaning, both logical and moral. Nevertheless, when the technical problem of establishing new social relationships is put up to the Indians, it is not the vague "brotherhood" which is called upon, but the more complex mechanism of the "brother-in-law" relationship.

[500] sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with missionaries possible.

621 As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakitisu band, a
622 short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio
[731] is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakitisu and
[595 related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu
583] woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

164 Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be
515 healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no
[573] hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes.
[291] The Wakitisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat,
[164] makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

181 In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast
171 sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

619 several hundred yards off and messengers are sent
438 out to arrange a meeting. When agreement is reached the visiting band enters the camp, the visiting chief kneels on one knee and holding his bow and arrows above his head with his right hand he makes a speech extolling the hosts and their goods and depreciating the things which his band has brought. The host then makes a similar speech, and trading begins.

Important items are traded by the two chiefs representing their respective bands, while small items can be exchanged by individual owners. In all cases, however, the technique of trading is the same. If an individual wants an object he extolls it by saying how fine it is. If a man values an object and wants much in exchange for it, instead of saying that it is very valuable he says that it is no good, thus showing his desire to keep it. "This ax is no good, it is very old, it is very dull," he will say, referring to his ax which the other wants. This argument is carried on in an angry tone of voice until a settlement is reached. When agreement has been reached each snatches the object out of the other's hand. If a man has bartered a necklace, instead of taking it off and handing it over, the other person must take if off with a show of force. Disputes, often leading to fights, occur when one party is a little premature and snatches the object before the other has finished arguing. The term "boca forte" (strong mouth) applies particularly to trading, for a man with a strong mouth gets what he wants and convinces the other that he, too, has made a good bargain. This method of trading contrasts sharply with that practiced among the Upper Xingú tribes where each party places a pile of goods opposite the article he wants, usually without saying a word. If agreement is not reached, each one eventually withdraws his goods.

GM After a satisfactory exchange of goods the two
• 583 bands go hunting and prepare a quantity of food and dance as long as the food lasts. During these meetings marriages are sometimes arranged, but more often, when leaving, some strong man will try to steal the wife of some other man. If a fight should occur in which one man is killed the winner will take not only his wife or wives but his children and property as well.

619 Rev. L. W. Buckman gave the following account which reveals something of the tension between

[p.97(A)]

857 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikĩndurige, b1); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being oyensaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) duredniẽn durẽnie (b1)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ũrige ãĩũngnerage denano inĩra ãĩkira ãĩknira tããta halonoo tatlĩkta ãĩndage hntimbãta ũrrige imãgãra imãgãra (b1)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

[302 314] Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

881 841 278 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Wakítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitânrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

582 585 There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who 584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of 585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (A)]

● 585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

831

1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, id., IX, 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc.cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [553 304] the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. uetnoãdige iochãdige uilikade uelikãdeli'kinere nukeaiore judotige iurosenie nikama iurojotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

• • • • •

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Waklítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitánrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who is to become the husband of a girl just out of seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

●585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

[581] Dúremõdednige (b1), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodu̯inuŝere, b1) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tau̯orõtige, b1). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebi̯iŝere, b1), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amni̯õtige, b1) his old wife to take another (ulamtuni̯õtige, b1) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied. (1)

[171]

> 1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: ".... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
836 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara,

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse [842] (*winsúenditsu*) as the cause of pregnancy (*haldjítsu*). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in 756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would 833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anúnsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this [834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do [847] not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose. [832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages [843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks [824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitânrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (8)]

[581] Dutemõdednige (b1), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monoduinuẽre, b1) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tayorotige, b1). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiriere, b1), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjotige, b1) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjotige, b1) who
●587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

[71]

1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: ".... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
836 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara.

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tayántasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatakáinisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awinisu* (father) and the term *ahakinisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahainusu* and mother's brother *asúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akandnusu*, his younger brother *dawáidnisu*, and his sisters *awáidnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akirdru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asutitu* and *asintu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *dazisu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatasdiserawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*azisu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amezdisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*asúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahainusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Waklítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

[302 Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex 314] from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

881 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine
841 known only to the shamans which is given to girls
278 during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Wakítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitânrbu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

582 There is no special marriage ceremony, for
585 when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who
584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of
585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a
● [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (A)]

621 and two persons whom A1 calls "father" and "mother", A65 (about 50 years old) and a66 (about 50), who live in the home of their "daughter" a63.

Fire 15 (67 to 70). --Four persons form two households: A67 "husband" of a2 and called asoinou by A1 because he is the father of his wife a4, and a68, aseetasu of a2, but called aseinosu by A1 because she is the mother of his other wife. And A69 (about 28 years old), "brother" of A42 and asoinou of A1, married to a70 (about 25), undetermined parentage.

Fire 16 (71 and 72). --A71 (about 30 years old), "brother" of A28 and his wife a72 (about 20 years old), "daughter" of A13 and a14.

Fire 17 (73 to 75). --A73 (about 30 years old), former husband of a12 whom he abandoned, and his two wives a74 and a75 (20 to 25 years old), "sisters" of a5.

• • • •

RULES OF RESIDENCE

591 621 The phenomena of spatial distribution do not seem to have special significance in the essentially nomadic groups. Nevertheless, we shall give the plan of distribution of the families in the nomadic camp (chart I), and in the winter village (chart II) for the restricted group, and the plan of distribution of the families or of the fires in semi-permanent camp for the most numerous combination (chart III). [47]

Fig. 12. --Placement of fires (+) and of family groups (△ : man; ○: woman) in the nomad encampment.

591
621

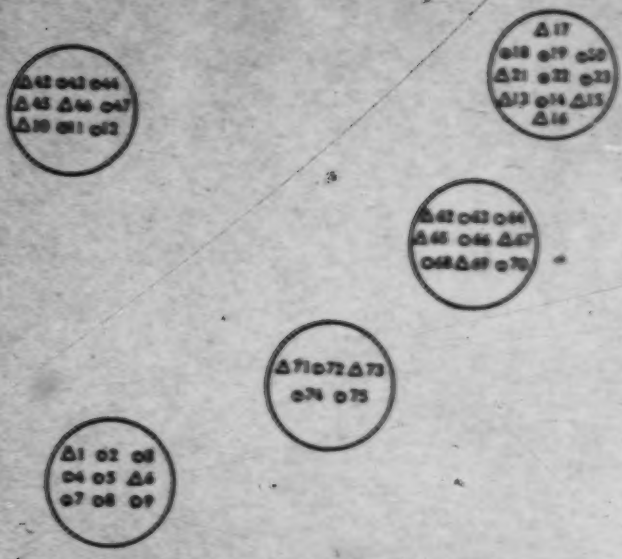


Fig. 13. --Grouping of families in the huts of the winter village.

The examination of these charts calls for several remarks.

(1) The nomadic camp generally obeys fixed rules for the distribution of individuals around the "fires," but not for the distribution of the "fires" in space. Fires 1 to 6 are not distributed in [48] the same way in the nomadic camp (I) and in the general camp (III). In fact, in the latter case, the families arrived one after the other, traveling in groups of two or three, or separately, and came to occupy the available sites. Nevertheless, when the restricted group travels in a single block, its camp is generally in conformance with the distribution given in chart I, which reproduces a camp maintained for one month.

(2) The distribution of the camp fires does not reproduce the distribution of families in the huts of the winter village. However, one will observe that the members of fires 1 and 2, who occupy one and the same hut, camp side by side in chart I, and around the same fire in chart III [49] (but, at this moment, A6 is absent and his family rejoins the fire of his "father"). In the same way, fires 4, 5, and 6, placed side by side in chart I, live together during the winter camping (chart II); but in this latter case, there is a complete separation at the time of the general meeting. It is true that at this moment, A21 has just died, his wife and his baby have rejoined the maternal

[I refers to Fig. 12 and III refers to Fig. 14. --Translator]

591
621

[361]

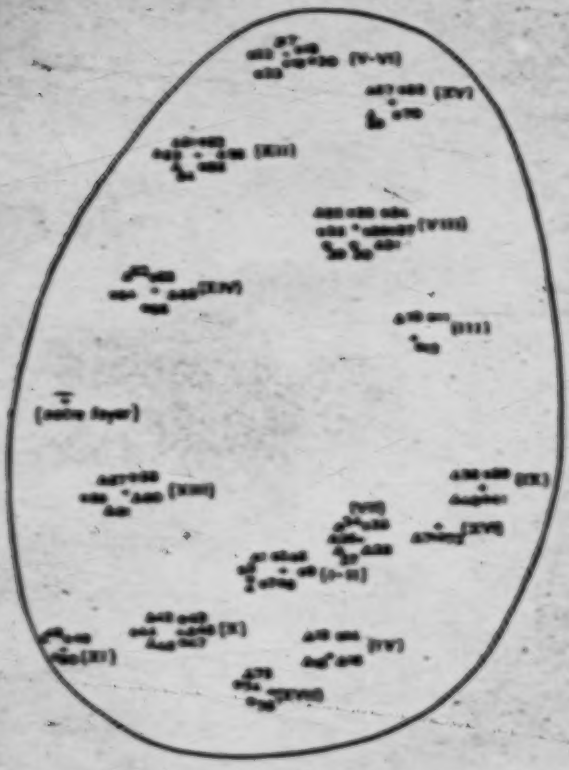


Fig. 14.--Distribution of Families in Temporary Residence.

fire, and the group of six persons has arrived late at the reunion, after an isolated trip. Fires 16 and 17, united at the winter camp (II), are completely isolated in camp (chart III); the same for fires 14 and 15 and for fires 3 and 10.

[24] (3) Since several families join around the same fire, it does not seem possible to deduce any rules of residence, which seems to confirm the impossibility of obtaining from the informants a clear answer to the question of whether the young couples establish themselves separately after marriage, or remain near the parents of the wife or the husband. In two cases, we see the daughters rejoin their parents fire: a12, abandoned by her husband, and a22 at the time of her widowhood. During the winter camp, the household of fire 4 resides with the parents of the husband; and household 6 with the wife's parents (fire 5 in the two cases). Likewise at this time, fire 2 is installed in the hut of the husband's "father." Finally, in two cases, one sees parents, unfit for the economic battle because of age or widowhood, installed at their daughter's fire, as A65 and a68, and

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
151 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarunde, maimãde (b1); mamaindeti (c) oaindesu, nikedetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
151] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tayántasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatahéinisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awínisu* (father) and the term *ahakínisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahaínusu* and mother's brother *asúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akanánusu*, his younger brother *dowáidnisu*, and his sisters *awádnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akiráru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asuétu* and *asínéu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *ásaésu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatanéiserawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*asésu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amesáisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*asúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahaínusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Wakítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

[p. 99 (1)]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. ɨakhũninde ɾteru ɨirokũnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: ɨoɾɾ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hõte ɨãinde miramiraina hõte ɨairɾdnjena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣarisena tãkɣlahẽ tãkela ãɣorĩẽ kãdajena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

601 Fire 6 (19 to 22). --The chief, or rather, it seems, the shaman of
621 group c, is 30 to 40 years old, "brother" of c23. His dispositions are
[759] friendly and mysterious. We shall encounter him farther on (2). He

2. P. 103.

has two wives, c19 and [54] c21, very pretty girls of 17 or 18 years, "sisters" of the dead husband of c23. Here we have, then, a good example of sororal polygyny. The second woman has a little boy of 3 years, C22.

Fire 7 (23 to 25). --The woman, c23, is over 40; she is a widow and seems to enjoy great consideration. Her numerous "brothers" provide for her as well as her children, and like C20, she is apt to receive supernatural revelations (1). She has a son, C25, about 14

1. Cf. p. 101.

years old, and a daughter, c24, about 10. Concerning them, refer to page 34.

Fire 8 (26 and 27). --A young couple of about 18, whose parents must be dead and whom the elders of the group call "grandchildren."

Fire 9 (28 to 30). --C28, about 25 years, is a "son" of C6; his wife, c29 is older than he (over 40); she is called "daughter" by c19 and c21, although they are by far younger than she; her daughter c30 is about 2 years old.

Fire 10 (31 to 33). --c32, about 40 years old, is a younger sister of c23; she has two daughters: the eldest, c31, about 17, is married; the younger, c33, still a baby. The husband and her son-in-law are absent; they are said to be on a trip together. The group sees to the needs of the two women.

It is suitable to add a visitor to this list, C34, about 30 years old.
[574] He is the brother of c12 and, during his stay, he receives the hospitality of household number 4.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

Husbands and Wives

593 To understand well the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another, it is indispensable to keep in mind the fundamental character

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnosu, a1), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[241] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (e2eru, a1, e1t2nde, b1, 2ola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (korai'su, a1, kut3nde, b1), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (katãterisu, a1, nagãde, b1, talĩme, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookesu, a1, lok3ninde, b1), or uaguassu (aradikisu, a1), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, a1, tagere,
[252] b1, taãki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

593 182 462 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms [342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or [415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all [157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 831 462 562 [517] Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, je?ene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an [83] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

593 fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely
831 realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are
462 considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folk-
[83] lore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tágəre u̯írige, b1), a
562 typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second
[198] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

[538] 5. u̯ítnoṣ̂unatúkhne i̯oʔotnuṣ̂utnãdni̯ani deneṣunatukhne. (b1)

The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, a1), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

198 This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact
562 correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect a1, they give words an ending —ṣ̂u instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedi̯utu or —kedi̯uzu.

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[593] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[858] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

595
601 2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiesu aouerelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nukonaitere, which could be a feminine of nukonaiore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkɔ̃lékenore, b1--to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uataʔãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 163 847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.

[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them:

855 8. u̯érisekihĭndage numĭ sekəlai̯ene élamnihĭrə (b1)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ĭtte ŝédeŝedédnege tóodaγige ká ká ká u̯udérige (b1)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯éttu (a1), tau̯étte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikátu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

854 11. kalaj̯odné daẽ j̯oʔdnoherẽ (b1)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nõm tebũ nihiu̯i (b1)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness
●593 that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hõdnj̯ẽ odengenãhi̯en ŝu̯adaʔien tanãhnãdaj̯e. (b1)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862] During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as
855 great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the
593 father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same
[842] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. miĩnde tau̯irétnore ikəlaagetire (b1)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

[736] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
●593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them. Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[842] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children. Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

15. u̯áitento dohonenŝiram kánaram hépatnẽ atátene u̯ejdenki̯athattene u̯aíndonle. (b1)
Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man! Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

595 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of
571 polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called "mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a state of companionship with them, especially with the girls, which also extends to all the children of the group. We have already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke together, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games, such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. Another example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, without ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close, appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys might have in our society. They rarely imply service or attention. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

857 iõndage ʃutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ʃutentere kuaikʒno (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[868] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ʃutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

●593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the
[534] first skeleton of the hut, are called indeleaore; likewise, the double (kalõde) or triple (lutəndione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtiane tãkənaãtiane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[192] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19,cracks bacaiuva

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

The chief admon-

627 [622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Waklítisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

421 [428] [764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Waklítisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *toupté*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurá*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782] 753 [821] 776

Toupté is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lúlukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *toupté* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinénuwa*), who lives with *toupté*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99(B)]

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnaní-ü! Tagnaní-ü! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[521] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, $fa^{2\#}$, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the [511] family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [à vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

The Wakitau do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Parecsi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitau band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
● 594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[142 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
85 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats,
wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[344] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[197] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

In the triple household

115 of A1, she plays the role of the guardian of the home, and she is al-
[395] ways seen occupied in some culinary or craft job. She reveals
157 little voluntarily, but when she decides to do it, her information is clear and precise. It is always to her that one has recourse to settle knotty cases, to complete a vocabulary of kinship, to respond to a systematic interrogation.

115 a3. --Vigorous girl of some twenty years, secondary wife of A1.
157 Her mother (a63), ari'ndesu of A1, akenanosu of a2, is at present married to an asukosu of A1. Her father, dead, was a brother of the father of a4.

She is exuberant, always good-humored, ready to go with her husband on the hardest expeditions, capable of carrying heavy loads. She is a true "force of nature": physically, she is not without [42] charm, she is smiling and full of good health. As an informant she is vague, practically useless.

a4. --*About 17 or 18 years of age, the youngest of the wives of* A1. Her father and her mother (A67 and a68) are living, asounosu and a2einosu of A1, ouensaesu and aseetasu of a2. She is pretty, coquettish and provocative, does not give herself over to any appreciable activity, except on a trip when she becomes the active collaborator of her husband. She talks voluntarily, laughs a great deal, is very curious about our clothing, utensils, manner of eating and living. Totally inefficient as an informant.

a5. --Eight to 9 years. Daughter of A1 and a2. She has a very
[142] marked sub-nasal prognathism, and has, on the left cheek, a sort of small pimply hole, without doubt due to a tropical ulcer. She is a very calm and amiable child, sensitive to our advances, but who, when she is annoyed, shows sudden fits of anger or outbursts of somber humor during which she is unapproachable. The rest of the time she loves our company and collaborates willingly on the ethnographic work.

A6. --About 30 years: he is the son of an older vanished brother of A1; he calls his paternal uncle "father," the wife a2 of the latter, "mother," and the little a5 "sister." From a first marriage with the daughter of his father's sister (a14), now dead, he has two children (a8 and a9). He is at present remarried (to a7). Otherwise he is vain, satisfied with himself, not very intelligent, a very good father and very taken with his young wife with whom he is always found tenderly embraced. He is a verbose informant, but dull and without personality.

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[843] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[858] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

595
601 2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiesu aoperelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nuk-naitere, which could be a feminine of nuk-naiore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

595
601

sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 462 [252 263] established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts. She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and company. [515] Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable jokes. [832 524] In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridnaikitim, a1).

595 182 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover, her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
382 marriage presents a double aspect--the marriage of a man with a woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2 and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of "little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the husband's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous). They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a more or less subordinate society. We have found households comprised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five (A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is proportional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly distinguish (thus: tolitʃige, b1, to cough, and tolitʃiore, b2, to sneeze; kaite, sneeze, and kastʃe, c, spit, tarnikititu, a1, to expel flatus or defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution, ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

[736] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them. Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[842] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children. Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

> 1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

> 15. u̯ãitento dohonenʒiram kãnaram hẽpatnẽ atãtene u̯eidenkiathattene u̯aĩndonle. (b1)
> Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man! Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

595 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of
571 polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called "mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a state of companionship with them, especially with the girls, which also extends to all the children of the group. We have already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke together, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games, such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. Another example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, without ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close, appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys might have in our society. They rarely imply service or attention. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

595
571 piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers:
"Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
854 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives,
take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves,
timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great
success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, be-
side their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among
themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of
play. In certain groups (central and south), the children
manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided
straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights
or contests which they do together, and lead an existence
modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal
day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then
the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the
sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gather-
ing wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they
walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to
play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much
later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious
of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara
life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected
of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting ex-
peditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare
to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to
unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped
branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know
what an important role the women have in the economic life of
the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy
482] in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and
we make the remark:

16. uainuttte ufkɔrage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

uefkuãtnore uainuetuikadeʔena tãjtniene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to
raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582 and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (bl) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutebãdige tamĩndige (bl)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhaʔete. (bl)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kajrobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

1: Levi-Strauss--94 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba 509

T
N
601 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the
171 women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their
582 sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

T
N
595 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the
171 Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; --Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; --P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandtschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

T
N
607 All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between
171 the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikĩndurige, bl); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being ouẽnsaĩkititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednjẽn durẽnje (bl)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Mary," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ãĩrige aĩŝũngnerage denano inŝira ãĩkira ãĩknira tããta halonoo tatlĩkta ãĩndage hntimbãta uĩrige imãgəra imãgəra (bl)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

[End Plate VI]

291
302
301
516
[607]

Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]

The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

411 string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom [726] used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

278 *Nambicuara* arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

411 Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

601 Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-[582] nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but [595] polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality [838] between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

622 The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1931; Sousa, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 and to meet groups too shy to venture forth on the outer fringe. The native band and my own group set out together on a journey supposed to be short; but, because of the animals I had taken, the chief had decided that the usual route through a dense forest could not be used. He led us through the open country, lost his way several times, and we did not reach our destination on the scheduled day. Supplies were exhausted and no game was in sight. The not unfamiliar prospect of a foodless day fell gloomily upon the natives. But, this time, it was the chief's responsibility. The whole project was his own, as well as the attempt to find an easier route. So, instead of trying to discover food, the hungry natives simply lay down in the shadow of the brush and waited for their leader to take them out of this most unpleasant situation. He did not wait or discuss; but, taking the incident as a matter of course, he simply left the camp accompanied by one of his wives. At the camp, the day was spent sleeping, gossiping and complaining. There was no lunch or dinner. But, late at dusk, the chief and his wife reappeared, both heavily laden with baskets filled to the [262] brim. They had hunted grasshoppers the entire day, and, although the expression "to eat grasshoppers" has approximately the same meaning in Nambikuara as the French *manger de la vache enragée*,[5] this food was enthusiastically received, shared and consumed, amidst restored good humor. The following morning, everybody armed himself or herself with a leafless twig and went grasshopper-hunting.

622 I have several times referred to the chief's wives. Polygamy, which is practically the chief's privilege, brings him a moral and sentimental reward for his heavy duties together with the practical means of fulfilling them. In the Nambikuara band, apart from rare exceptions, only the chief and the sorcerer (when these functions are divided between two individuals) may have several wives. The chief's polygamy, however, presents special features. It does not constitute a plural marriage but rather a monogamous marriage to which relations of a different nature are added. I have already mentioned the fact that cross-cousin marriage is the usual pattern among the Nambikuara. Another type of marriage also exists, between a man and a woman belonging to the generation following his own, either a wife's "daughter" (true or classificatory) or a sister's niece. Both forms are not uncommon in South America and, together or separately, they have been re-

[5] Closest English equivalent: "to have a rough time of it, to go through the mill."

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

corded among many tribes. Now, what do we find in the chief's case? There is first a monogamous marriage of the cross-cousin type, that is, where the wife belongs to the same generation as her husband. This first wife plays the same part as the monogamous wife in ordinary marriages. She follows the sexual pattern of the division of labor, taking care of the children, doing the cooking, and collecting and gathering wild food. To this marriage are added one or several unions, which, technically, are true marriages, but of a different type. Usually, the secondary wives belong to a younger generation. The first wife calls them daughters or nieces. Besides, they do not follow the sexual pattern of the division of labor, but share indifferently in men's or women's activities. At the camp, they disdain domestic tasks and remain idle, either playing with the children to whose generation they belong or flirting with their husband, while the first wife keeps busy with the food and the fire. On the contrary, when the chief leaves on an exploration, a hunt, or some other manly task, they will accompany him and bring him their moral and physical help. These somewhat "tomboy" girls, elected by the chief from among the prettiest and healthiest of the group, are to him rather "girl-friends" than spouses. They live on the basis of an amorous friendship which contrasts strongly with the more conjugal atmosphere of the first marriage.

This system exerts a tremendous influence upon the whole life of the group. The periodical withdrawal by the chief of young women from the regular cycle of marriages creates a permanent unbalance within the group, between the number of boys and girls of marriageable age. Young men are the chief victims of that situation and must either remain bachelors for several years or marry widows or old women discarded by their husbands. Thus, the right to plural marriage represents a concession of considerable importance made by the group to its leader. What does it mean from the latter's point of view? There is little doubt that access to young and pretty girls brings him a much appreciated gratification, not so much from the physical side (as the Nambikuara share in the quiet dispositions of most South American tribes), as from the psychological and sentimental one. But, above all, plural marriage, together with its distinctive features, constitutes the technical means and the functional device placed at the chief's disposal by the group to enable him to carry out his exacting duties. Left by himself, he could hardly do more than the others. His secondary wives, freed by their special status from the customary

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 liabilities of their sex, are his helpers, comforters and assistants. They
515 are, at the same time, leadership's prize and instrument. Can it be
182 said, from the native point of view, that the prize is worth the trouble? To answer that question, I shall now have to consider the problem from a broader angle, namely, what does this elementary social structure, the Nambikuara band, teach us about leadership, its basis and its function?

121 There is a first point which does not require great elaboration. Nambikuara data contribute, with many others, to destroy the belief originated by early anthropologists, and temporarily revived by psychoanalysis, that the primitive chief could find his prototype in a symbolical father, and that the simpler forms of the State could progressively have grown out of the family. We have found at the root of the crudest forms of chieftainship a decisive step, which introduced something entirely new in respect to biological relations—and this step consists of *consent*. Consent, we have seen, is at the same time the origin and the limit of leadership. Unilateral relations such as right of age, aristocratic power, or others, may appear in groups having an already complex structure. In simple forms of social organization, such as the one I have tried to describe, they are inconceivable. Here, on the contrary, the relationship between the chief and the group can be seen as a perpetual process of arbitration where the chief's talents and authority on the one hand and the group's ease, cohesion and willingness, on the other, constantly react on and influence each other. If I had the time, and if it were not so far removed from my topic, I would have liked to show what considerable support modern anthropological observations bring, in this respect, to the analysis of the eighteenth century social philosophers. I am well aware of the fact that Rousseau's "social contract," which is the step by which individuals resign their autonomy in favor of the General Will, is entirely different from the nearly contractual relations existing between the chief and his followers. It remains true, however, that Rousseau and his contemporaries displayed a keen sociological feeling when they understood that cultural attitudes and elements such as "contract" and "consent" are not the result of secondary processes, as claimed by their opponents; they are culture's raw materials, and it is impossible to conceive a political or social organization in which they would not already be present. If I understand correctly, the recent analysis, by modern American

000 sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

621 As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakîtisu band, a
622 short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio
[731] is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakîtisu and
[595 related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu
583] woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

164 Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be
515 healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are
[513] always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes.
[291] The Wakîtisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat,
[164] makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

181 In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast
171 sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ing to the children of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers, a man calls all his female cross cousins (to one of whom he is or will be married) "wife," and all his male cross cousins "brother-in-law;" conversely, a woman calls all her male cross cousins (among whom her actual or potential husband is numbered) "husband" and all her female cross cousins "sister-in-law." No terminological difference is made between actual and potential spouses. The members of the next younger generation are similarly divided into "sons" and "daughters" (Ego's own children and parallel nephews and nieces) and "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law" (Ego's cross nephews and nieces), since these are or may be the spouses of his children.

The system is somewhat complicated by secondary distinctions made between elder and younger siblings and by the fact that another kind of marriage ——between a maternal uncle and his niece—is also practised. This new pattern usually appears in the polygynous unions which, in the prevailingly monogamous Nambikuara society, are the privilege of the chief. This point needs some elaboration. Nambikuara polygyny results from the fact that, subsequent to a first marriage having all the characteristics of the common (i.e., the cross cousin) form, a man may contract one or more unions of somewhat different nature. Actually, the position of his new wives is not the same as that of his original one, and, although constituting real marriages, the later unions are nevertheless psychologically and economically different from the first. The atmosphere in which they evolve is less conjugal and more like a kind of amorous friendship. The younger wives cooperate more extensively in the numerous tasks imposed on their husband because of his special social obligations. Furthermore, the activities of these women do not conform as closely as those of the first wife to the general pattern of the sexual division of labor. Finally, they are younger and are classified, in relation to the earlier wife, as "daughters" or "nieces." Such "oblique" unions (that is, between members of different generations) may also take place in monogamous marriages, but less frequently. Although their occurrence among the Nambikuara is an important point in our demonstration, the consequent modifications of the kinship system are not essential for the purposes of this article and we may therefore omit further mention of them. Our present observations will be limited to the special implications of the brother-in-law relationship which is expressed through the reciprocal terms *aɨkkeru* (Eastern dialect), *tarɨiɨ* (Central and Western dialect) or *iɨpa* (Northern dialect).

It must be emphasized immediately that this useful translation of the native term is not in any way accurate. While the *aɨkkeru* is a man's male cross cousin and also his potential brother-in-law, since the persons calling each other *aɨkkeru* (or *tarɨiɨ* or *iɨpa*) call each other's sisters "wife," it is only in particular instances that one or more of the individuals involved is, in fact, the wife's brother or the sister's husband or both. The meaning of the term *aɨkkeru*

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

595 171 Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171 114 The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *cheiouasap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*compérage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *cieur-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171 607 582 One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

---

[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Lafone Quevedo, *Guaraní Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 21, 1919), pp. 421-440; Kirchhoff, *Die Verwandschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Brasil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 189.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 169-170.

855 8. u̯ērisekihīndage numī sekelajene ēlamnihīn̥(bl)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ītte ŝēdeŝēdēdnege tōodaγige kā kā kā u̯udērige (bl)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
●[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯ēttu (a1), tau̯ētte (bl): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikātu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

1: Lévi-Strauss--19 E-6 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

PART I

FAMILY LIFE

KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 Whether the social unit under consideration be the temporary village or the nomadic band, the kinship system of the Nambikwara can as a whole be described as follows.

For any subject, male or female, all the members of his generation are divided into four large groups, that is two male groups [18] and two female groups. If the subject under consideration is a man, all the men of his generation will be divided into brothers and husbands of sisters (or brothers-in-law); while the women are divided into sisters and wives. In the same way, if the subject is a woman, all her female companions will be designated as sisters or as wives of brothers (sisters-in-law); and her male companions will share the names of brothers or husbands. Thus a man calls wife a number of women considerably larger than the number of his true wives, even if he is polygamous. And the woman, even though she is always monogamous, calls probably half of the men of her generation by the name of husband. In the same way brothers and sisters are far more numerous than actual brothers and sisters, that is, blood relatives. These latter are distributed into two sub-groups, the older brothers and the younger brothers in one, the older sisters and the younger sisters in the other. The term used to designate younger (blood) brothers and younger (blood) sisters also serves to designate "brothers" and "sisters" who are not blood relations, whatever their age may be compared to the subject under consideration.

A subject, male or female, calls his blood father father and all the latter's brothers; he calls his own mother mother and all her sisters. Reciprocally, all his "fathers" and all his "mothers" call him by the name of child, son, or daughter.

A single term is likewise used to designate the father of the father (or of the mother), the wife's father, and the mother's brother, while one and the same term serves to designate the mother of the father (or of the mother), the wife's mother, and the father's sister. But, contrary to the preceding case, there exists no reciprocal term. The father (or the mother) of my father and of my mother call me by a term connotating parents to the third generation, while my spouse's father and my mother's brother, on one hand (regularly identified), the mother of my spouse and my father's sister, on the other hand

●60 (regularly identified), call me by a name meaning nephew and son-in-law, niece and daughter-in-law at the same time. Thus spouse's parents and my parents's parents identified when I name them, distinguish themselves when they answer me, since they use different terms as regards me.

Passing from the direct line to the collateral line, a generation is lost, since the same term is used to designate the parents of the spouse or the parents' parents. A grand-nephew is thus theoretically separated from his great-uncles by four levels of kinship, while he is only three degrees away in kinship from his grand-parents, who nevertheless identify themselves with his great-uncles, for the brother of the mother or the sister of the father are identified with the father and the mother of the spouse, as the scheme opposite indicates.

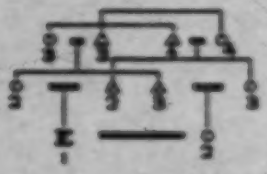


Fig. 1.

[19] Great-uncles (or aunts) thus use a new term to designate their grand-nephews (or nieces), connotating relatives to the fourth degree, while their descendants employ, to call them, the term already used in the direct line, but not yet in the collateral line, serving to designate relatives to the second degree. This last term serves thus, in direct line, to designate the third generation in line of descent, and the third ascending generation in collateral line, equivalent in descending line to the fourth degree. These remarks lead to the conclusion that the Nambikwara make no distinction between generations and degrees of kinship. A difference of one generation is to them equal to a removal of one degree.

That suggested, and within the same generation, all the individuals whom I call husband (or wife) are the sons (or daughters) of the "brothers" (blood or not) of my mother, and of the sisters (blood or not) of my father, that is, of the brothers of my mother (who are at the same time the "brothers-in-law" of my father), or of the sisters of my father (who are at the same time the "sisters-in-law" of my mother). And all the individuals whom I call brothers or sisters are the children of my father's brothers or my mother's sisters, that is, of the "wives" of my father (who are at the same time my "mothers"), or of the "husbands" of my mother (who are at the same time my

601 "mothers"), or of the "husbands" of my mother (who are at the same time my "fathers"). It is seen then that a given individual calls all his parallel cousins "brothers and sisters," and his parallel uncles and aunts "fathers and mothers", while he calls his cross-cousins husbands or wives, and his cross-aunts and uncles "father-in-law and mother-in-law" (identified with grandfather and grandmother, thus, more exactly: parents to the second degree). The confusion between gen-
601 erations and degrees thus makes equally possible the marriage of the
582 brother of the mother or of the father, to the daughter of the sister or of the brother, or of the sister of the father with the son of the brother, since, in these two cases, the parents-in-law will be the grandparents, called thus, by the term of parents to the second degree. These marriages, which we shall call "oblique," since they unite individuals belonging to two consecutive generations, are actually practiced.

601 Below is to be found the list of terms of relationship, as they have just been analyzed in their respective relations (Dialect A 1/2).

1. ahuinosu (a 1); ahuine (a2)..... father, brother of the father, husband of the mother's sister,
2. a?kenosu (a 1); a?ketosu (a2)... mother, sister of the mother, wife of the father's brother.
3. uettu, uetu ..... child.
4. a?kitaru..... son.
5. a?kineru..... daughter.
6. akenanosu ..... older brother.
7. (t)oanosu ..... older sister.
[20]8. alonsu ..... younger brother, son of brother of the father, son of sister of the mother.
9. arindesu ..... younger sister, daughter of brother of the father, daughter of sister of mother.
10. asukosu ..... sister's husband, cross-cousin (masc.) (man speaking).
11. aseetasu ..... brother's wife, cross-cousin (fem.) (woman speaking).
12. asintu ..... sister's daughter (m. s.), brother's daughter (w. s.), son's wife.
13. asineeru ..... sister's son (m. s.), brother's son (w. s.), daughter's husband,

601

14. asoðosu ..... father of the father or of the mother, brother of mother, father of spouse.

15. aʔeinosu ..... mother of the father or mother, sister of father, mother of spouse.

16. asuʔtu ..... son (or daughter) of the son (or of the daughter), brother (or sister) of the father (or mother) of the father (or of the mother).

17. asuʔlisu ..... son (or daughter) of the son (or of the daughter) of the brother (w. s.) or of the sister (m. s.).

18. asiɛtu (a 1); (tʌ) dosu (a2).. wife, daughter of the brother of the mother, daughter of the sister of the father.

19. ouɛtasesu (a 1): (tʌ)nosu (a2).. husband, son of the brother of the mother, son of the sister of the father.

The following scheme shows their utilization in this theoretic group:

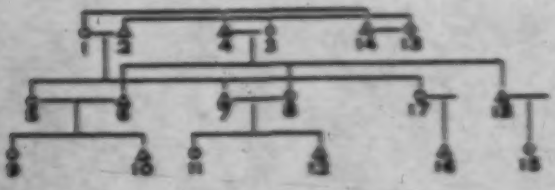


Fig. 2.

[60] As concerns a male subject E 10:

1- 3.	a²ɛ²nosu		
2- 4.	asoŭnosu	rec. :	asuirtu
13-14.	asuĭ'ttu	rec.:	asuɛ̆'tinu
5-17.	a²ke'nosu	rec.:	a²kiraru
6-18.	abu'nosu	rec.:	a²ki'taru
[21] 7.	asŏ'nosu	rec.:	asinɛ̆'ru
8.	a²ɛ'inosu	rec.:	asinɛ̆'ru
9.	ari'ndesu or (t)oŭnosu	rec.:	akenŭnosu or aldosu
11.	asi²tu	rec.:	oyɛ̆'nsaesu
12.	asŭkosu	rec.:	asŭkosu (if the subject chosen is e 9 woman, E12 will be oyɛ̆'nsaesu and e 11 asɛ̆'tasu, rec.: asɛ̆'tasu)
15.	ari'ndesu	rec.:	aldosu
16.	aldosu	rec.:	ari'ndesu

If one does not keep account of the reciprocal use of the terms, normally univocal, aldosu and ari'ndesu in the case of parallel cousins, this nomenclature only includes univocal terms, with the exception of two: asŭkosu and asɛ̆'tasu, and each sex has at its disposition only one of these two reciprocal terms; in other words, a man has only brothers-in-law, while a woman has only sisters-in-law. It will be seen below that as concerns the first term (asŭkosu), it implies particular relations between the men who use it.

The extreme simplicity of the system of course leads to some difficulties of nomenclature when one desires to distinguish degrees of parentage confounded by the system. In the same way its extreme symmetry risks bringing about contradictions when "oblique" marriages bring transfers between generations. To the classificatory nomenclature analyzed above is superimposed--or added--a descriptive nomenclature, which permits, in case of difficulty, placing the individual in the generation with more precision, or according to the degree of kinship which he holds with respect to the subject. This descriptive [55] nomenclature is not currently used, and above all, it never intervenes in naming. But it is consulted each time there is some doubt, and in some cases more frequent usage can be pointed out.

The first difficulty might be produced concerning the distinction of the real husband or wife, compared to the theoretical husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical

601 husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical "fathers" or "mothers," or of true sons or daughters as compared to theoretical "sons" and "daughters." In most cases, the discrimination seems totally superfluous to the Indians, since it is so well accented by the differences of behavior. Sometimes also it seems useless because of the inverse of the preceding, the theoretical wife can become a real wife (for example in case of polygamy, or of remarriage), the theoretical father or mother, or the theoretical son [608] or daughter, can play the role of true father or mother, or of true son or daughter, through the mechanism of adoption. This functions automatically, in the case of the father's death, the child then being [22] [768] taken in and raised by its father's brother. In this case his father's brother, whom he has always called father, becomes for him a real father even though by substitution, and the wife of his father's brother, who is most often his mother's sister, and whom he has consequently always called mother, is from then on treated by him as such, especially if his own mother is dead or has remarried. However, sometimes the Indians wish to sharpen the theoretical character of the name. Then they add to the classifying term a descriptive term, whose approximate meaning is that of "relative" in the most general sense, as,

20. (akit) ʃidniu,

used in the substantive form: above, or in the participial form ʃidnere; or in the exclamatory form, in conversation, ʃidneram.

Thus we have found the following appelations,

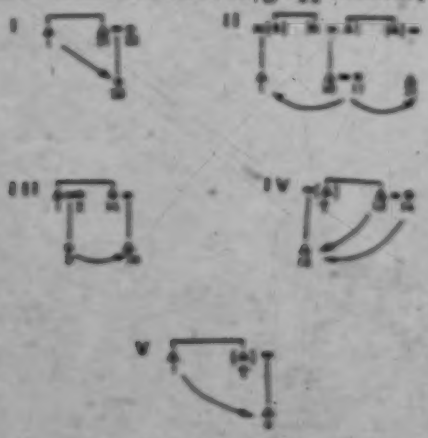


Fig. 3

I. aʃkineru aʃidneram. --II. (t)oyensaeru ajdniu. III. oyensaeru ajdniu (among children). IV. tayettu aʃkiraru ajdneram. --V. akineram (aʃkirara ajdneram).

601 A second difficulty comes up in the designation of parallel cousins. It has been seen above that the same name is used for them which designates the younger sister or the younger brother, whatever their age may be. This [23] usage suggests that the adequate translation of the terms alónsu, akenánosu, arĩndesu, (t)oánosu could be, rather than "elder" and "younger," big brother, big sister, little brother, little sister, with the same ambiguity that exists in our language between the real sense of the adjective and its figurative sense. Be that as it may, one often comes up against a contradictory situation, not only objectively (which does not shock Indian logic, as will be seen in the case of "mothers" younger than their "sons"), but also literally. This is what happens when for example, a woman calls a female cousin arĩndesu who is quite obviously her elder. Then one has recourse to two supplementary terms, sometimes added to classifying terms; but also sometimes replacing them, even when it is a question of designating blood brothers or sisters. These are:

21. toá-nosu : "elder" (to designate a man);

22. toátadosu : "elder" (to designate a woman).

These terms serve to sharpen the respective position, regarding the generation, for those who are:

23. arĩnẽdesu, or

24. aloneénedẽsu,

that is, "one as regards the other of the arĩndesu," or "the alónsu," which is not permissible in certain instances; while two women can be without difficulty:

25. aseteénãdesu

or two men:

26. asukoúnẽdesu,

that is, "the one for the other," aseétasu or asúkosu. Thus we have found women who call their parallel cousins arĩndesu toátadosu, meaning, "my older little sister."

601 Other difficulties appear in the case of oblique marriages. When
512 the mother's brother marries the sister's daughter, the woman's grandparents are at the same time the husband's parents. When the husband marries one or several daughters of his wife's sister, his own parents are simultaneously the parents-in-law and the great-uncles of his wives. Thence the frequent necessity to differentiate more precisely than the classifying terms permit between mother's and the father's sisters, on one side (that is the potential parents-in-law), and the fathers and mothers of the father and mother (that is the eventual
601 parents-in-law of one of the spouses). The [24] following terms, then,

601 are found which complete (or substitute for) the classifying terms: a2éjnosu, asoúnosu, ahuínosu, a2kénosu:

27. arindagresu : "mother's mother";
28. ouensaerosu : "mother's father";
29. aseetagresu : "father's mother";
30. alúdnarusu : "father's father";
31. a2éjndagresu : "sister of the mother's mother."

The etymology of the terms verifies the principal of marriage of cross-cousins. In fact, if one has:

Fig. 4.

it is established that:

arindagresu (or arindakerosu, "little old sister"), is the sister of my father's father;

ouensaerosu (from ouensaesu, "husband") is the husband of my mother's mother;

aseetagresu (or aseetakerosu, "old sister-in-law") is the sister-in-law of my mother's mother;

alúdnarusu (from alónsu, "brother") is the brother of my mother's mother.

Concerning uncles and aunts, their name is sharpened by descriptive terms:

32. akajntagresu, atakarusu: "mother's sister";
33. akaterosu : "mother's brother";
34. auadnosu : "father's sister."

No descriptive term has been found for the father's brother, normally [768] called father (ahuinosu): perhaps this lack is to be explained by his position as father in case of the blood father's death.

On the other hand, the following descriptive terms have been collected in the course of attempts at geneological reconstructions, but it was not possible to determine for certain the levels or degrees of parentage to which they refer. It is possible that they are employed jointly with certain of the preceding terms:

601 35. tarũtarosu : "old brother-in-law" (tarũte [b 1/2] equals asũkosu [a 1/2]);

36. tuĩrarosu : "old husband" (uĩre [b 1/2] equals ouẽnsaesu [a 1/2]);

37. ianẽrosu : ?

38. asoũkerosu : "old grandfather" or "father-in-law";

[25] [764] 39. takaʔkenosu cited with the commentary : "When the takaʔkenosu dies, the alõnsu cut their hair, but not the akenãnosu."

Finally, two terms of relationship express the relations coming from "oblique" marriages and from the division of generations into "elders" and "younger":

40. ajũnkedisu;

41. (t)ãdirikisu.

A man calls the akenanosu of his mother ajũnkedisu (while the term asoũnosu is generally—but not always—reserved for the alõnsu); one and the other are, of course, the asũkosu of his father. The same individual is then called "father-in-law" (asoũnosu) or "husband" (ouẽnsaesu) by the sister of the subject considered, or, if she is married, ajũnkedisu also, the husband then calling him "father" (ahuĩnosu). One sees then that the ajũnkedisu is a man whose daughter or wife I (masculine subject) marry, and whose son my sister marries, if she does not marry the man himself. Thus it is explained that the ajũnkedisu is asũkosu or asoũnosu, to my brother; asũkosu or asineẽru, to my father; akenãnosu or asineẽru, to my mother; ouẽnsaesu or asoũnosu, to my sister; ahuĩnosu, to my wife.

On the other hand, a man calls a woman (t)ãdirikisu who can be arĩndesu or asintu of his father, aseẽtasu or asĩntu of his mother, aseẽtasu or aʔẽnosu of his sister, aekẽnosu of his wife. She is then a woman whom I marry or whose daughter I marry. A woman, in her turn, calls another woman (t)ãdirikisu who is aʔkẽndesu of her husband, that is, a woman whose brother or son she marries.

601 382 One sees that these two names bestow two privileges, or opens a double right: that of the marriage of the mother's brother (and, theoretically, of the father's brother) with his niece; a right belonging essentially to the elder brother; and of the marriage of the sister's son (brother's son) with his aunt. This rule, or rather this possibility is explained on the one hand by the tendency of the Nambikwara towards polygamy, on the other hand, by the scarcity (moreover consecutive) of women. We shall study examples in an instant.

601

Fig. 5.
Left equals ajʼinkedisu; right equals tʼadirikisu.

[26] In the nomenclature of the terms utilized for the description of relationships of parentage, we shall cite [illegible]:

42. asaʼjkeru (a 1/2) yettetere (b 1/2): "widower, widow."
43. koaade (b 1) : "orphan (masc.)";
44. koadare (b 1) : "orphan (fem.)".

* * * *

As we have just seen, the terms ajʼinkedisu and (t)ʼadirikisu appear as tentatives for the solutions of ambiguous situations coming from an oblique marriage. These are only partially successful, since my parents always have the possibility of interpreting, in two different ways, their relationship of parentage concerning my ajʼinkedisu or my (t)ʼadirikisu. Most often, these ambiguities are left without solution, or else one of the two following phenomena happens: each member of the family interprets his relation to the doubtful relative in the way easiest for him, without worrying about the fact that the different names in use might appear grossly contradictory; or else the relative—or the bloc of relatives—in doubt are shifted by one generation or by one degree of proximity as a means of rationalizing the structure. These difficulties appear especially in the case of polygamous unions. These are generally realized in the form of an encroachment of one or several women belonging to the younger (génération inférieure) generation than the one into which they should have—sometimes already have—married normally. Here is a striking illustration, where the complexity of relationships to the younger generation follows an oblique marriage to the older generation.

601

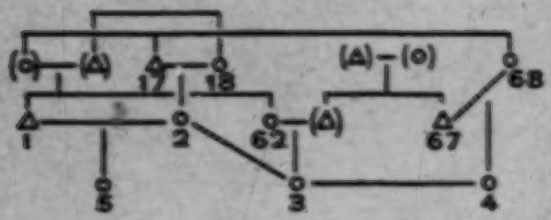


Fig. 6.

This is what happens: A1 married his cross-cousin a2, by whom he has a little daughter a5. Later on, he married two young women: one (a3) whose father is dead; the other, a4, whose father was the brother of the father of a3 and was called "husband" by a2 who also called the mother of a4 "sister-in-law." This established, a4, and a3 are, for A1 and a2, "daughters" or "daughters-in-law." Since A1 married them, they have become, by promotion:

For a2, "little sisters" (arindesu):

[27] For a5 (for whom they should normally have been sisters or sisters-in-law), "mothers" or "mother's sisters";

For A1, wives.

And while his wife a2 continues to give to the parents-in-law of her husband the old name of husband (ouensaesu) and of sister-in-law (aseetasu), he now calls them parents-in-law, that is asothosu and a2ejnosu.

Another case presents the following combination:

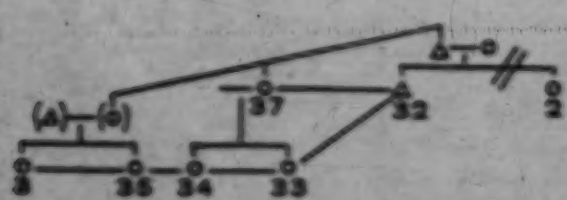


Fig. 7

601
582 A man marries a woman and subsequently her four "daughters" (probably two blood daughters from the preceding marriage, and two parallel nieces). In this case, a2 calls the older wife a2eŋosu, and the four young ones aseetasu, from which one can conclude that A32 has married at the same time his (t)ɨdirikisu and the latter's daughters.

Finally, in this third case:

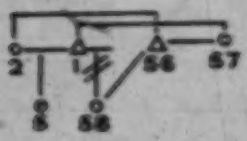


Fig. 8.

Normally, a2 calls a57 aseetasu (wife of her brother), but she disregards the fact that a58 is in the same situation, and keeps for her the name which she gave her before her marriage to A56, of tayɛttu (my child, daughter of her husband). Her own daughter a5 normally calls a57 a2eŋosu (wife of the mother's brother), and a58 tosinsu (older sister), however, she could marry and call the son of her "mother-in-law" husband as well as the son of her "sister."

Thus the Indians treat abnormal situations resulting from polygamous unions in two ways. Either they admit the creation of a new situation and bless it by revising the names (the newly-married wives are promoted to the class of "mothers," and their parents to the class of [28] "parents of the third degree"; the women are then separated in nomenclature from their former brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law and husbands, who become sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law); or else the former names are simply preserved, the practical knowledge of the situation supplanting the impropriety of the language.

601 But these uncertainties, which appear in the case of verbal contradictions, are completely absent in the presence of real contradictions. These latter are admitted as normal consequences of the system, or more exactly, they are not considered as contradictions. Thus:

601

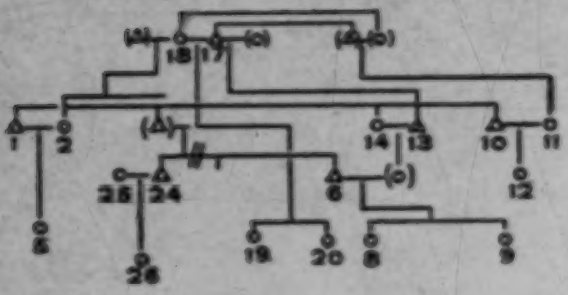


Fig. 9

A17, a man of about 55 years, married a18 (about 50 years) and has by her two daughters, a19 (about 12 years) and a20 (about 6 years). a18 has from a former marriage, a daughter a2 (about 30 years) married to A1 (about 35 years); the latter has taken a son A24 from an older dead brother; this son, himself married and the father of a baby, is about 26 years old. A17 and a18 are then "asoúnosu" and "aé'inosu". The daughter a2 of a18 is a "a2kénosu," mother of a daughter of 8 or 9 years, a5. Under these conditions, the two little girls a19 and a20 are likewise "mothers," and they are called "a2kénosu" by:

a5 : their contemporary [feminine];
A6 : their elder [masculine] (about 25 years);
a12 : their elder [feminine] (about 22 years);
A24 : their elder [masculine] (about 26 years);

and consequently they are called "grandmother" by:

a8 : their contemporary [feminine] (about 6 years);
a9 : their junior [feminine] (about 3 years);

the daughters of A6; and, in fact, a2, who is a "mother," normally calls them "little sisters."

601 184 [29] The system of parentage of the central, southern, and western groups (dialects b 1 and b2) does not present any fundamental difference as concerns the preceding. The degrees of parentage distinguished are less numerous; on the contrary, one finds quite a great variety of terms used to designate a set degree. The fact that the informants use several terms to qualify their situation as concerns a certain subject suggests that these terms are often synonyms, even though their etymological sense is not always perfectly clear.

601 Grandparents are most often singled out among themselves, and
184 distinguished from the parents of the spouse, which does not happen in system a (1 or 2); also, the son (or daughter) of the brother (or the of the sister) of the father (or of the mother) are sometimes designated by different terms. The groups studied are not dense enough to be able to make a base for a theory of the system in force. Solutions of replacement intervene frequently, and the preferential forms of marriage found are not adequate for generalizations, due to an insufficient number of cases. But the preceding considerations suggest that prefer-
[512] ential unions, choosing also among certain categories of cross-cousins, could formerly have been in force.

Finally, the names for brothers (and sisters), elder and younger, are more changeable than in system a (1 or 2); and one sees appear a new term designating the brother or the sister of the other sex. This
[77] disorganization of vocabulary can be interpreted as resulting from the influence of the northern system (dialect c), where we shall see later on that it tends more and more to assimilate the system of groups b.

Here is the vocabulary of parentage used, with references to group a (1/2): [Note: m.s. = man speaking; w.s. = woman speaking; m.w.s. = man or woman speaking.]

Dialect a 1/2		Dialect b 1/2	
ahuĩnoss	1.	(ta)mĩnde	(my) father, father's brother.
	2.	ẽinde.....	father (equals man).
	3.	uãjre	father (used to designate absent father, or father of a third person, or the father's brother.
	4.	(ta)mĩnlaore	father's brother (equals other father).
	5.	(ta)mindẽdnere	father (father's brother when he substitutes for dead father).
aʒkẽnoss	6.	(ta)nãde	(my) mother, mother's sister.
	7-8.	(ta)nãdẽlaore, ndãore.....	mother (other mother; for the mother's sister and the mother of a third).

601
184

	9.	denaúdnere	mother (wife of the father's brother. cf. 5)
[30] pettu	10.	pette	child.
	11.	namade	small child, baby.
aʔkiʔaru	12.	nkiʔaende	son.
	13.	ɛ́ingire	son (= little man).
	14.	nikilaúdnere	son (used by the father's brother to the brother's son).
aʔkiʔneru	15.	iʔnkeninde	daughter.
	16.	deɛ́ingire	daughter (= little woman).
	17.	inkɔ̃niúdnere	daughter (adopted).
(t)oánosu	18.	tõaãde	older sister.
	19.	kirúnde	older sister (?).
ariʔndesu	20.	(t)õaniuiniʔkere	younger sister.
	21.	nliʔnde	brother or sister of opposite sex.
akenánosu	22.	(t)õuatãde	older brother.
alónsu	23.	(t)akanaãde	younger brother.
asiʔesu	24.	(t)rére, ndeére	(my) spouse, wife.
ouénsaesu	25.	(t)uirére	(my) spouse, husband.
	26.	étende	husband (equals man).
	27.	uirsere	husband (when he is absent, or the husband of another).
asúkosu	28.	(t)árute	cross-cousin (masc.), sister's husband (m. s.).
aseétasu	29.	(ta)déúere	cross-cousin (fem.), brother's wife (w. s.).
asinoéru	30.	(t)ssirare	sister's son, daughter's husband (m. s.).
	31.	(t)asiniñde	brother's son, daughter's husband (w. s.).
	32.	(ta)uriʔnde	daughter's husband.
asiʔntu	33.	siʔdare 34. uikiãde	brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.) son's wife.
asoúnosu	35.	ndukuʔnde	
	36.	(ta)kúnde	mother's father, father of spouse.
	37.	ʃoúnde 38. (ta)ʃúnde	father of father or of the mother.

601
184

aʔeihosu	39.	hiʔiʔnde	mother of spouse.
	40.	ʔiruʔnde	mother of the father or of the mother.
asuiʔttu	41.	asuiʔte	son (daughter) of the son (or daughter), sister of father (brother of mother) of father or of mother.
asueʔlise	42.	asuiʔarore	children of the son or of the daughter of the brother (w.s.), children of the son or of daughter of the sister (m.s.).

[31] Descriptive terms:

	43.	ueʔkuaʔnde	44. (ta)uiʔdnere... child of a third person, adopted child.
	45.	ioʔne	adolescent. (masc.)
	46.	tiʔne	adolescent. (fem.)

(For orphan, masculine or feminine, widower, widow, see above, p. 26.)

* * * *

We go now to the system of parentage of the northern group (dialect c):

1. uʔinko..... father.
2. hiʔmi..... father's brother.
3. naʔuko..... mother, mother's sister.
4. asiʔtaba..... father's sister.
5. koʔka..... mother's brother, father of the spouse, father of the father or of the mother.
6. ʔiʔko..... wife of the mother's brother, mother of the spouse, mother of the father or of the mother.
7. taʔta..... son, sister's son (w.s.), son of a "wife" (m.s.).
8. taʔtero..... daughter, sister's daughter (w.s.), daughter of a "wife" (m.s.).
9. aʔtinu..... son or daughter of the sister (m.s.).
10. taʔmero..... son or daughter of the brother (w.s.).
11. iʔja..... older brother or sister.
12. saʔʔni..... younger brother or sister.
13. iʔtta..... wife, daughter of the father's sister, daughter of the mother's sister.

601
184

14.	tiimo.....	husband, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother.
15.	jopa.....	sister's husband, wife's brother (m. s.).
16.	ŝiuitta.....	brother's wife, husband's sister (w. s.).
17.	ŝiauitte.....	daughter's husband, (f. p.), daughter's husband, "wife's" husband (m. s.).
18.	ŝinaiŝo.....	brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.), when she is at the same time wife of the son (m. w. s.) or wife of the younger brother (m. s.).
19.	ŝiuŝi.....	daughter's children.
20.	ŝoeŝo.....	son's child, or of the daughter when the latter is married to an uncle.
21.	zoa.....	child (married to an uncle).

[32] This vocabulary of relationships apparently does not offer any affinity linguistically with that of dialects a and b; and the structure of the system also seems different. Without doubt the fundamental principle—the marriage of cross-cousins—remains the same. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to refer to the list of relatives designated by the terms tiimo and iatta. Again one finds the division of members of the same generation into sisters and wives (m. s.), or brothers and husbands (w. s.) on one side, and on the other, sisters and wives of brothers (w. s.), or brothers and husbands of sisters (m. s.). But the distinction here is more confused, since it is accompanied by an absence of symmetry concerning the designation of the brothers and sisters of parents, and the children of the brothers and sisters of the subject. Instead of finding the first divided into fathers and mothers, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, and the second into children, and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, we have a more complicated terminology. The name of the father's sister (asjataba) differs from that of the wife of the mother's brother (ŝiiŝo), although they are habitually confused in a system of marriage among bilateral cross-cousins. There is also a special name for the father's brother. But, if this latter is a younger brother who has one of his nieces, he will be called brother-in-law (jopa) by his brother's son, his nephew. Even more delicate is the naming of nephews and nieces because the symmetry carried on by the other systems between the children of brother (of a brother) and the children of sister (of a sister) fades out giving way to a new symmetry, this time between the children of sister (of a sister), and the children of the wife (classificatory) of the brother, who are called by the same name. Moreover, the children

601 born respectively from a brother and from a sister receive different
154 names according to whether they are the sons or daughter of a brother (of a sister), or sons or daughter of a sister (of a brother). Finally, it is no longer normally possible to identify the son-in-law (ṯjaṷi'tte) and the daughter-in-law (ṣinai'ṡo) with the nephew or the niece (cross-), and the ṡiuṡi, soeṡo (the same difference as the aṣṷi'ttu, aṣṷi'te, and aṣṷelisu or aṣṷiarore of the preceding systems) do not correspond exactly to relatives of the third generation, or to the third degree.

601 These contrasts are clarified when one studies the forms of mar-
154 riage actually practiced. Of eight marriages, five are "horizontal,"
582 that is uniting a husband and wife coming from the same classificatory generation, and three are "oblique," the husband coming from the generation of his wife's mother:

C1 = c2 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal);
C4 = c5 : husband's brother and wife's sister (horizontal);
C6 = c7 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C12 = c13 : mother's older brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C16 = c17 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C20 = c8 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C20 = c21 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C29 = c28 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal).

[33] In the absence of genealogical facts, one can even suppose that two of the marriages above, classed as "horizontal," are probably oblique, given the considerable difference in age between the husband and wife (C20 = c8, c21); such is often the case of children issued from "oblique" marriages. But even disregarding this possibility, the proportion of "oblique" relationships rises when one passes from marriages as such to the classificatory relationship of husband and wife. Thus C6, for example, calls "wife":

c2 : wife's sister;
c5 : sister of father's wife;
c7 : his own wife;
c8 : sister of father's wife;
c13: wife's sister;
c17: wife's sister;
c21: sister of father's wife;
c24: wife's sister;
c31: wife's sister;

there are actually three horizontal relationships and six oblique (directly or indirectly, through the already oblique position of the intermediary).

We have seen above that the "oblique" marriage is not unknown in the eastern, central, southern and western groups. But it is not so frequent there, and above all, the system of names does not take account of it. The problems resulting from this form of marriage are, then, resolved in two ways: either they preserve the names which have become contradictory, or they displace one or several individuals from the category of kinship to another. The method of the northern system is entirely different, for this is the system whose structure is accommodated to marriage between persons of different generations. (1) This new character is shown by a clearer distinction, 601 ● 582 134

> 1. For the theoretical interpretation, it will be compared with the Miwok and Ao Naga systems, as we have analyzed them in another work. (Les structures élémentaires de la parenté, ch. 17 and 22.)

within each generation, between the "elder" and the "younger"; in place of four terms distinguishing the relative age and sex, there are only two, jaja and sabani, which refer to age and apply indifferently to both sexes. Moreover, the term sabani tends to have the general meaning of "young" or "little," and succeeds in specifying, from this point of view, whatever the kinship relationship is (2) implying

> 2. Cf. below, p. 37, text No. 1.

thus that the quality of sabani is equivalent to displacement to another generation. And actually, even though the older brother and the younger brother can equally claim to marry their sister's daughter, the older brother, even when married to his niece, will continue to be called jaja by [34] his wife's mother. On the other hand, in the same situation the younger brother sometimes passes to the rank of sjauitte; he is no longer considered as a brother, but as a son-in-law. Moreover, if the term ŝjauitte normally means a "horizontal" son-in-law, that is a cross-nephew married to a daughter, it is significant that a man calls ŝjauitte his younger brother, who has married a niece, and even a "wife"; and that a woman designates a younger brother married to a daughter in the same way, as has just been seen. Nevertheless, a man calls his cross-cousins (fem.) and his sisters' daughters indiscriminately jatta (wife), while distinguishing the husbands of his "wives" as ŝjauitte (horizontal son-in-law), sabani (or ŝjauitte, replacing sabani) and jaja.

601 It might be considered that these differences as regards the other
184 systems are purely formal. They bring on, however, some important
582 consequences. The preferential marriage between mother's brother and sister's daughter must introduce asymmetry between the children of the brother and those of the sister, thus justifying the use of different names in the two cases. For the same reason, one sees a shift of a classificatory generation appear between a woman who has married an uncle, and that of her parallel cousins. Here is a striking example:

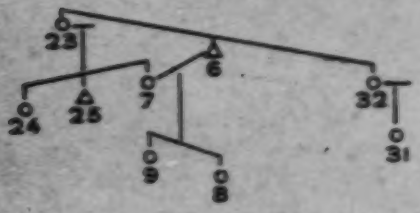


Fig. 10.

c23 calls C6 (in reality, sabáni) ŝiaui'tte; thus her daughter c24 calls him tji'mo (husband), since he is married to her sister, c7, and their brother C25 calls him jópa for the same reason. For c23, her granddaughters (and nieces at the same time) c8 and c9 are ŝiuŝi, called taátero by the sister of the mother c24, and aiŝinu by the brother of the mother C25. But if one looks at it from the point of view of c31, the essential fact is not, as in the preceding cases, that C6 has married a daughter or a sister (here, a niece or a parallel cousin), but that he is the mother's brother. Consequently, she calls him koó'ka (father-in-law), and she calls the wife of C6 ŝji'ko (mother-in-law), and the children of the latter become her ŝjui'tta (sisters-in-law).

A double conclusion can be drawn from this analysis. In the first place, it must be remembered that in systems a and b the term for "older brother or sister" also means parallel cousins. Now we have just established that in the system of group c the parallel cousin can actually be displaced to a younger generation, and that such is the case when the marriage is of the "oblique" type. It may, therefore, be that the oblique marriage has occupied a more important place in systems a and b than is the case today. The second point is that the kinship system of group b, with its use of a special term for the brother or sister of the opposite sex, and its distinction [35] between the parents of spouses and the grandparents, takes an intermediary position

601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between 582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups 187 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system. This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern 114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

551 names of the adults without too much difficulty. When the latter
124 found out our secret meetings, the children were harshly reprimanded, and the source of our information cut off. However, during a moment of great confidence one day, A1 gave us the names of her parents and great-grandparents, so that at the end of the account the list of proper names covers a total of five generations:

551 1. Mother of the mother of A1 ..... Arigudadusu.
601 2. Father of the father of A1 ..... Itītilisu, Irīgudusu.
3. Mother of the father of A1 ..... Etuaugluglusu.
4. Father of the mother of A1 ..... Iglu̯ikulusu.
5. Father of A1 ..... Arakudadusu.
6. Mother of A1 ..... Tuuuarusu.
7. A1 ..... (missing)
8. a2 ..... Guenderesu.
9. a3 ..... Uaiterekaneru.
10. a4 ..... Uaarakaneru.
11. Mother of a4 ..... Uaarasu.
12. Father of a4 ..... Nisuanirusu.
13. a5 ..... Guenderekineru.
[39] 14. A6 ..... Tairiisu.
15. a7 ..... Nariisu, Niāniaikinere.
16. a8 ..... Tairikineru.
17. a9 ..... Tairikineru.
18. A10 ..... Nikloerekinēdetu.
19. a11 ..... Seliitirokaisu.
20. a12 ..... Seliitikineru.
21. A13 ..... Tareesakaresu.
22. a14 ..... Njoselese.
23. A15 ..... Nikākitasu.
24. A16 ..... Njoselesekiraru.
25. A17 ..... Kajākaresu.
26. a18 ..... Sonaasakaresu.
27. a19 ..... Sonaasakaneru.
28. a20 ..... Sonaasakarikiritasu, Kjatorekineru.
29. A21 ..... Karlolesu.
30. a22 ..... Itatānjēdetu, Idonerekineru.
31. a23 ..... Kjedikitasu, Kuētitōdesukineru, Karlokineru.

601
621

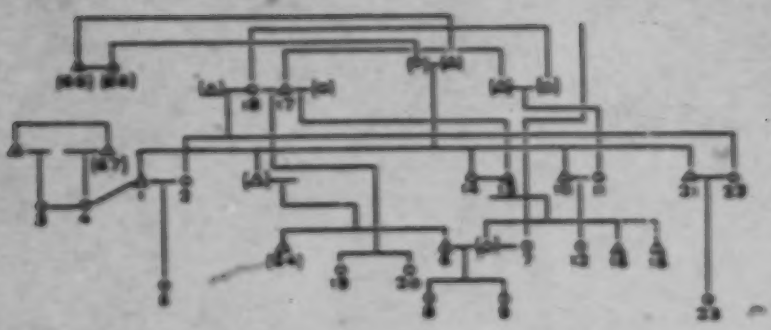


Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622 A1. --The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years,
115 married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and
157 a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531
212

1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

We shall
621 comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its
[578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for
621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

115 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The
157 chief, B1, is 30 to 36 years old, and one of the most intelligent
622 Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent
601 in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnʔẽ nj̃ãnajne héni niho ãmdednj̃ẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often
[177] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the
area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
[538] seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from
group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments
made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately
the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the
aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instru-
ment.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40
years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years,
b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the
latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18,
sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son"
also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years
old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of
oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl
of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1;
he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors
of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster,
they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of
b2, thus tasuite of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1,
thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of
B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
574 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their
hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was
comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of
B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt
of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the
children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

621 generation is composed of b26, wife of 825 (about 20 years); of the
579 husband of b29, 828 (about 23); of the wife, b22, of 821 (same age);
601 of his brother 824 (20 years), both children of a deceased sister of
818; and of a widower of about 40 years, 830, brother of 815 and of
b2, who had been married to a sister of 81. The young generation
is represented by only two children, b23, about 7 years, daughter
of 821 and b22, and b31, about 10 years, daughter of 830, mother dead.
For the whole picture of genealogical relationships, the reader should
refer to Figure 15.

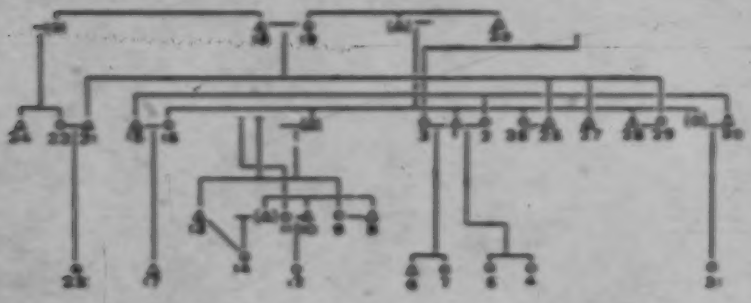


Fig. 15.

601
621

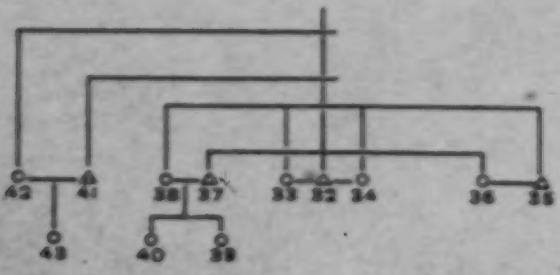


Fig. 16.

621 [53] Western group, dialect b2: tajate, lakõnde (b1/2);
601 soqal'nte (c).

We shall limit ourselves to giving the genealogical scheme of the composition of this little group (Figure 16), found, only for several days, toward the line of the division of the waters which separate the basins of the Roosevelt and the Gi-Parana (Tres Buritis). Its members seem to be the survivors of a formerly important group, the tajte.

Northern group, dialect c: sabãne (c); tamajnde (b1/2); toãtesu (a 1/2).

[N7] We have not been able to establish the genealogical composition of this group for reasons of linguistic difficulties (dialect c does not seem to spring from the same family as the others) and because of the consecutive impossibilities which we encountered in determining the true position in the system of individuals designated by the same term. We shall thus content ourselves with an analysis by households.

Fire 1 (1 to 3). --C1, about 30 years, and his wife c2, 25 years; he, "brother" of C6, she, "daughter" of c23; their son, C3, is about 10 years old.

Fire 2 (4 and 5). --C4, 40 years, is the younger brother of C20 and of c23; his wife c5, 25 to 30 years, is called "wife" by C6, "older sister" by c21, and "daughter" by c23.

Fire 3 (6 to 10). --We have already analyzed (1) the kinship

1. Pp. 33 to 35.

situation of C6, of his wife c7 (both are 30), and of their children c8 and c9 (6 to 8 years); the younger brother of the wife, C10, about 10 years, lives with them.

Fire 4 (11 to 14). --C11 is 50 odd years old; he is called "elder brother" by C6, C4, C15, C20, and c23; his wife c12, about 35 years, is "daughter" of c23; the young brother of the latter, C14, about 17 years, unmarried, lives with them as well as their daughter of 7 years, c13.

Fire 5 (15 to 18). --C15, about 30 years, is called "younger brother" by C20 and c23; his wife c16 is "daughter" of c23; she has a young brother C17, about 12 years, and a baby of some 20 months, c18.

1:Lévi-Strauss--48 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

601 621 [754] Fire 6 (19 to 22). --The chief, or rather, it seems, the shaman of group c, is 30 to 40 years old, "brother" of c23. His dispositions are friendly and mysterious. We shall encounter him farther on (2). He

2. P. 103.

has two wives, c19 and [54] c21, very pretty girls of 17 or 18 years, "sisters" of the dead husband of c23. Here we have, then, a good example of sororal polygyny. The second woman has a little boy of 3 years, C22.

Fire 7 (23 to 25). --The woman, c23, is over 40; she is a widow and seems to enjoy great consideration. Her numerous "brothers" provide for her as well as her children, and like C20, she is apt to receive supernatural revelations (1). She has a son, C25, about 14

1. Cf. p. 101.

years old, and a daughter, c24, about 10. Concerning them, refer to page 34.

Fire 8 (26 and 27). --A young couple of about 18, whose parents must be dead and whom the elders of the group call "grandchildren."

Fire 9 (28 to 30). --C28, about 25 years, is a "son" of C6; his wife, c29 is older than he (over 40); she is called "daughter" by c19 and c21, although they are by far younger than she; her daughter c30 is about 2 years old.

Fire 10 (31 to 33). --c32, about 40 years old, is a younger sister of c23; she has two daughters: the eldest, c31, about 17, is married; the younger, c33, still a baby. The husband and her son-in-law are absent; they are said to be on a trip together. The group sees to the needs of the two women.

[577] It is suitable to add a visitor to this list, C34, about 30 years old. He is the brother of c12 and, during his stay, he receives the hospitality of household number 4.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

Husbands and Wives

593 To understand well the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another, it is indispensable to keep in mind the fundamental character

462 like the women, but from the shoulder (adiuisi'kititu, al), and frequently lightening the load by dragging the strap in the left hand, which they explain by saying that they need to watch out for possible game. And they naturally do not neglect collecting and gleaning whenever the occasion is presented or necessity is felt. In like manner, the women normally aid their husbands (especially the polygamous wives) in their work in the gardens. Both sexes cut down wood, the men for constructing huts or shelters and for making bows, arrows, spears and clubs, etc., and the women, more often, for the fire wood. Above all, and when she is not occupied by her own work, the woman aids her husband in all the tasks that are his. She holds his implements, gives them to him when he asks for them, supports the end of the arrow or the wood of the bow while he repairs or polishes them, or begins to twist the cord while he finishes the wooden part. She does the retouching and finishes the work. This frequent and always harmonious collaboration gives the impression that the sexual division of labor is much less strict among the Nambikwara than it is commonly, and sometimes one might even think it non-existent. This is not so; but the rule is constantly made flexible or masked by the unity of the couple.

601 As we have shown in studying the kinship system all the classifi-
602 catory contemporaries of an individual belonging to a different sex are divided by him into husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters. We have found no term which designates the actual spouse, and allows one to distinguish him in conversation from the classifying spouse. A man calls his wife or wives, and his cross-cousins (fem.) indiscriminately asjesu, as the woman designates her husband and her cross-cousins (masc.) by the same term ouensaesu. But, of course, behavior is very different in the two cases. It has just been seen to what extent relationships are close and active between true husband and wife. As regards his potential wives, a man does not adopt any particular attitude, and the relationships do not seem to be either [59] [Table: Sexual Division of Labor] more or less intimate than those which he carries on with his sisters (the same remark is true as regards the relationship of a woman with her potential husbands and her brothers). In these two cases, the relationships are characterized by [60] great reserve, the individuals involved do not pay much attention to one another and rarely address one another except for definite reasons. But it is a question here of a mass attitude, conditioned by usage, rather than of an over-all picture of conscious and stylized reactions. The Indians do not seem to perceive

[Text continues on p. 67]

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[823] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[859] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

595
601 2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiesu a2ouerelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nuk naitere, which could be a feminine of nuk naiore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

1:Levi-Strauss--68 E-S (1908-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

595
601

sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
263] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably claimed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[532 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridna(kititu, a1).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

855 8. ṉẽrisekihĩndage numĩ sekwiajene ẽlamnihĩ (bl)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. ṉĩtte ĵẽdeĵẽdẽdnege tõodaṛige kã kã kã ṉudẽrige (bl)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
● [601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word taṉẽttu (a1), taṉẽtte (bl): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikãtu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

621 instead that all the Sabanê men were for them tartîte, or that all
605 the Tarundê men were jôpa. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group. It is called "Sabanê" or "Tarundê." It is thus in the function of the relationship of tartîte or jôpa (antikoxo, al) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution: one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its corrolaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
[582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of

1. See p. 39.

marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited

N
601 up to the present time. We do not pretend to found a dualistic theory of organization (2) on these limited observations whose

2. This point has been developed before; cf. "Dual organization etc.," loc. cit.

character remains anecdotal. However, we are indeed in the presence of one of those cases where "the fundamental traits of the clan organization are found, in a certain measure, to be preformed in tribes destitute of clan (3)." It would suffice, to

3. R. H. Lowie, "Family and Sib," American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 28-40.

satisfy the exigencies of dualistic organization, that the new group should settle down, and maintain the memory of its ambiguous origin by continuing to avoid confusing the two sets of fires.

N Finally, this system manifests, under a new aspect, this preponderance of men which we have called attention to as [illegible] regards inter-individual relationships. It is through the men that alliances of groups are decided, as also eventually, their wars.

• • • •

000 The preceding remarks have perhaps another interest: that of suggesting an interpretation of observations of a sociological character which one finds scattered in the ancient literature relating to South America.

N T 601 171 One should first note some striking analogies between certain traits of the Nambikwara kinship system and those which can be attributed to the family organization of the ancient Tupi of the Brazilian shore. It will be seen later that, on the metaphysical plan, there are not only themes common to the two cultures, but that such religious terms of the Nambikwara vocabulary have an evident Tupi origin. Each time that we are to describe the small incidents of the daily life of the Nambikwara, the temptation is almost irresistible [80] to quote Jean de Léry and Yves d'Evreux, for it is so true that the same words of these old authors can literally be applied to one cultuer, later by four centuries. But it is in the kinship system that the resemblances are the clearest: the two cultures invoke

1: Lévi-Strauss--91 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambikwara SP17
Tupi-Kawahib SP9

the three same fundamental principles: distinction of the brothers and sisters of the parents into parallel uncles and aunts called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross-uncles and aunts called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law"; preferential marriage between cross-cousins, with the concomitant assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; finally avuncular marriage, which seems to have been the rule among the ancient Tupi, in the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. (1)

1. There should be added the distinction of brothers and sisters into "elder" and "younger."

The first principle springs directly—and the other two indirectly—from an important text of Anchieta which we shall quote here:

"But in speaking of relationships they never use this word eté (true) because since they call the brothers of their fathers father,' and the sons of their brothers 'son,' and the sons of the uncles, brothers of the fathers, 'brother,' in order to declare who is their true father or son, they say xeruba xemoñangara, 'my father who begot me' and in the case of the son, xeraira xeremimoñanga, 'my son whom I begot'; and thus never did I hear the Indian call his wife xeremireco eté, but rather simply xeremireco or xeraicig, 'mother of my children'; nor did I ever hear a woman call her husband xemenete, 'true husband,' but rather simply xemena or xemembira ruba, 'father of my children'; which terms they use for men with whom they are living as well as for their recognized husbands; and if the husband ever calls one of his wives xeremireco eté, he means 'my most esteemed or dearest wife,' who often is the last one he has taken." (2)

2. "Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brazil," Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brazileiro, Vol. VIII, 1846, I (2nd Series), pp. 254-262; p. 259.

This text offers a supplementary interest. It shows that the Tupi, like the Nambikwara, were not stopped by the problem of the distinction between real parents and classificatory parents. In the two cases, the need of special terms was not felt, and one is limited to referring, when necessary, to physiological considerations. (3)

4. Cf. before, p .[sic]

1: Lévi-Strauss--BE E-5 (1930-1939)1948 SP17 Nambikwara SP17
Tupinambá SP9

The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins among the Tupi, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico eîê, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces--and very attractive women they are--do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [61] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Taraçoaj, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden. The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others. With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

T
N
601 receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children
171 are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born
[illegible] of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and
532 just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraïb of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers, and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85;
Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

T
N
60 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the
171 women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their
582 sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

T
N
595 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the
171 Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; —Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; —P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandtschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63 , 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

T
N
607 All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between
171 the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

N
T
607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
N [838] which make up for the absence of an available sister.
T
N We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
171 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
582 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
607 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the
601 second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarúte or jópa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouasap (Yves d'Évreux) or cotonassap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

N
171
601

1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

171
●601

two types of solidarity, the one, mechanical and expressed by the term brother, and the other, organic, expressed by the term brother-in-law. We have alluded to this above, p. 71.

114
601 One might object that the old authors might have interpreted doubtful observations in the light of European facts. As we shall propose [84] the name of competage to designate an institution which we believe to be authentically Indian, it will be useful to stop for a moment at this aspect of the problem.

Without doubt the facts analyzed above, and the European institution of competage [compatemity]offer striking analogies. At the beginning, the godfather and the godmother were connected with one another, and both of them to the parents of the child, by the mystic bonds of sponsorship. But the relationship soon became secularized in all the small rural communities, or, more exactly, everywhere where the family grouping takes precedence over the extended social group. The relationship is then employed to establish an artificial kinship line, or even, as happens among the Nambikwara to translate in kinship terms a simple phenomenon of spatial contiguity. (1) The strangers, the newcomers, are adopted

1. This derivation is well brought to light by etymology: in English, god-sib becomes gossip.

thanks to the reciprocal usage of the appellations of godfather and godmother which they receive from—and return to—their contemporaries. On the other hand, the stranger usually assimilates himself by taking a wife in his new community, and the terms godfather and brother-in-law become synonyms so rapidly that the men allied by marriage only call one another by the first. In the villages of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the godfather or "compadre" is an actual or potential brother-in-law. That in certain regions of Central or South America the analogy between the Indian and European institutions has aided the first to establish and modernize itself is not doubtful. Thus, in Mexico, the primitive institution of the moste, that is, obligation, for the heads of families to exchange presents periodically now functions in the framework of the relations of "compadres," the Spanish term offering a convenient translation of the ancient Otomi. (2)

2. Jacques Soustelle, La famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique central, Paris, Institut D'Ethnologie, 1937.

114 But the formal analogy of the two institutions should not disguise
601 their truly opposite characters. In the Latin-Mediterranean society the bond, formerly mystic and now social, of compérage, can be
[71] transformed by marriage into an actual kinship line. Among the ancient Tupi, and among the Nambikwara, it is, on the contrary, the concrete kinship which furnished its model to a type of bond utilized to establish wider relationships.

That having been posed, there are two reasons why our authors could not have elaborated a pseudo-Indian institution after a European model. In the first place, men as familiar with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry, could not have likened a relationship whose first consequence, and the probable object, was to permit new types of marriage, to the relationship between godfather, godmother and relatives who observed very severe enforcement [85] of the prohibitions of marriage, especially since the thirteenth century. At the time when they were writing, the question had actuality, since it was set down in the program of the Council of Trent, where the ancient rules had to be a little softened. But we have a more decisive argument. From the arrival of the first missionaries, the two institutions, European and Indian, must have evolved side by side, especially among the baptized Indians. But neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted Christian sponsorship in terms of Indian compaternity. On the contrary, and more logically since the newly introduced institution carried restrictions regarding marriage, they treated it as a modality of the relationship of paternity. They likened the godfather to a classificatory father: "Thus, they (the children who come to receive baptism) regarded their godfathers as their real fathers and called them Cherou, meaning "my father," the French called them Cheaire, which means "my son," and the little girls Cheagire, "my daughter"... (1)

1. Yves d'Evreux, l. c., II, 1, p. 234.

607 We believe we have assembled enough information concerning the fundamental character of the relationship between brothers-in-law in the South American society so that the nucleus of an original institution of compaternity can be seen in it which appears still living among the Nambikwara. The documents here presented suggest (2)

2. An English version of these observations has been published under the title: "The social use of kinship

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

621 people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves 121 with such questions as the type of political organization in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

[361] Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the 621 gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It 601 does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between [602] two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The [582] Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[1] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown 602 by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage system functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive 621 narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss. "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brasilian Indians." American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1943.

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tayántasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatahdínisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awínisu* (father) and the term *ahakínisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahaínusu* and mother's brother *asúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akandnusu*, his younger brother *daudídnisu*, and his sisters *auádnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akiráru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asultu* and *asíntu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *dazésu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatasdiserawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*azésu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amezdisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*asúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahaínusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Waklítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

121 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 177 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ing to the children of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers, a man calls all his female cross cousins (to one of whom he is or will be married) "wife," and all his male cross cousins "brother-in-law;" conversely, a woman calls all her male cross cousins (among whom her actual or potential husband is numbered) "husband" and all her female cross cousins "sister-in-law." No terminological difference is made between actual and potential spouses. The members of the next younger generation are similarly divided into "sons" and "daughters" (Ego's own children and parallel nephews and nieces) and "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law" (Ego's cross nephews and nieces), since these are or may be the spouses of his children.

The system is somewhat complicated by secondary distinctions made between elder and younger siblings and by the fact that another kind of marriage ——between a maternal uncle and his niece—is also practised. This new pattern usually appears in the polygynous unions which, in the prevailingly monogamous Nambikuara society, are the privilege of the chief. This point needs some elaboration. Nambikuara polygyny results from the fact that, subsequent to a first marriage having all the characteristics of the common (i.e., the cross cousin) form, a man may contract one or more unions of somewhat different nature. Actually, the position of his new wives is not the same as that of his original one, and, although constituting real marriages, the later unions are nevertheless psychologically and economically different from the first. The atmosphere in which they evolve is less conjugal and more like a kind of amorous friendship. The younger wives cooperate more extensively in the numerous tasks imposed on their husband because of his special social obligations. Furthermore, the activities of these women do not conform as closely as those of the first wife to the general pattern of the sexual division of labor. Finally, they are younger and are classified, in relation to the earlier wife, as "daughters" or "nieces." Such "oblique" unions (that is, between members of different generations) may also take place in monogamous marriages, but less frequently. Although their occurrence among the Nambikuara is an important point in our demonstration, the consequent modifications of the kinship system are not essential for the purposes of this article and we may therefore omit further mention of them. Our present observations will be limited to the special implications of the brother-in-law relationship which is expressed through the reciprocal terms *asúkosu* (Eastern dialect), *tarúiç* (Central and Western dialect) or *iópa* (Northern dialect).

It must be emphasized immediately that this useful translation of the native term is not in any way accurate. While the *asúkosu* is a man's male cross cousin and also his potential brother-in-law, since the persons calling each other *asúkosu* (or *tarúiç* or *iópa*) call each other's sisters "wife," it is only in particular instances that one or more of the individuals involved is, in fact, the wife's brother or the sister's husband or both. The meaning of the term *asúkosu*

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

is consequently much wider than "brother-in-law" as we understand it, including as it does approximately half the masculine members of a man's generation; the rest, of course, receive the name "brother" (consanguineous or classificatory). It should be noted that in the Nambikuara kinship system men alone have brothers-in-law and, conversely, women alone have sisters-in-law.

Only in the case of brothers-in-law are the Nambikuara conscious of a link between a special type of behavior and the position occupied by a kinsman in the relationship system. Generally speaking, there are no rules of avoidance or of privileged familiarity between particular kinds of relatives. The relations with the spouse's parents do not differ substantially from those with the parallel uncle and aunt and, although it is true that relations between consanguineous or classificatory siblings are rather reserved, the natives are unable to define this diffuse behavior. As a matter of fact, while siblings and parallel cousins do not avoid each other, they do not joke or even talk together unless there is a special reason for doing so. Sisters-in-law, on the contrary, comport themselves very freely. They laugh and joke together and render each other small services, such as rubbing each other's back with urucu paste. And, more especially, exceptional relations are revealed when one passes to the brothers-in-law.

We have already mentioned the partial polygyny which exists in the group. The chief or shaman periodically withdraws several of the youngest and prettiest women from the regular cycle of marriages; consequently, young men often find it difficult to marry, at least during adolescence, since no potential spouse is available. The resulting problem is solved in Nambikuara society by homosexual relations, which receive the rather poetical name *tamindige ki'dndige*—"sham love." Relations of this kind are frequent among young men and are more publicly displayed than heterosexual ones. Unlike most adults, the partners do not seek the isolation of the bush, but settle close to the camp fire in front of their amused neighbors. Although the source of occasional jokes, such relations are considered childish and no one pays much attention to them. We did not discover whether the partners aim at achieving complete sexual gratification or whether they limit themselves to such sentimental effusions and erotic behavior as most frequently characterize the relations between spouses. In any event, the point is that homosexual relations occur only between *male cross cousins*.

We never learned whether or not the same relations continue to exist between adult cross cousins; it does not seem likely. Nevertheless, the freedom and demonstrativeness displayed by brothers-in-law toward one another are not characteristic of the relations between brothers or between the members of any other class of relatives. One often sees among the Nambikuara (who, in fact, like to indulge in expressions of affection) two or three men, married and

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units.

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires.

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men.

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast.

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter.

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two:

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

115 and only reveals her happy nature on occasions of songs and dances where
157 she excels. One always sees her occupied by some craft work which she seems to prefer—shaping or polishing disks of shells, drilling them through or filing them, rubbing earrings or bracelets. She talks little, letting herself be completely absorbed by her work. She is a wife and mother, and a remarkable informant for all details of the material culture.

a12. --Daughter of the preceding two, approximately 22 years; she is the wife of A73 who abandoned her to live with two women a74 and a75. Because of this, she returned to the charge of her parents, the more so because she is pregnant. She is placid, smiling and apathetic. She is separated from collective life by her condition
[164] and by a painful eye infection which struck her first among the members of her group of which several were later attacked by the epidemic.

A13. --About 40 years of age. Son of A18, "brother," consequently, of a2, "brother-in-law" of A1, whose older sister a14 he married. Always joyful, active and docile, he is the confidence man of A1, his preferred messenger, the companion he chooses for all complicated undertakings. He is industrious, a [44] not affected in his attitudes, and, as an informant, compliant, very verbose and not always clear or comprehensive.

a14. --About 40 to 45 years. Wife of the preceding, blood sister of A1, mother of A16. She is influential, active, diligent, at first quite rude, but in reality pleasing and competent. She exercises real authority over the other women of the group by her spirit of initiative and her pep. She is the grandmother of a8 and of a9 whom she feeds and whom she cares for frequently. Not only is she a good informant, but she sometimes takes didactic initiative. She loves songs and dances.

[608] A15. --About 15 years. He is an orphan; his father was the brother of A13 who took him in. A gentle, tranquil, rather timid boy.

A16. --7 or 8 years; son of A13 and of a14, "husband" of a5. He is a lively and curious child; his mother rarely refuses him anything, and he tyrannizes her willingly. She is very proud of him and overlooks many of his whims. One day she came to ask us to teach him to read. The attempts are not very encouraging. He looks upon the lessons as a game and refuses to learn the letters as determined forms; for him they are interchangeable, and he attributes to them in turn all the sounds which he has in his vocabulary.

115 A17. --Between 50 and 55 years, he is the dean of the group; he
157 is conscious of this and gets a certain pride from having around him
● 602 only "sons" or "daughters," "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law,"

115 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He is physically robust,
157 amiable, happy and talkative; very much inclined toward erotic
602 jokes. He gives information willingly, with an extreme good will and a tireless volubility. But his explanations are not always clear, and it is necessary to let oneself be guided by his slightly incoherent fantasy.

115 a18. --About 45 years; wife of the preceding, mother of a2 and
157 a22. She is a serious woman, industrious, devoted to her husband and children. She laughs little, talks to herself, and is always busy with some task. Her bits of information are rare, but solid.

a19. --About 10 years. Daughter of the two preceding. She is a very pretty girl, still a child who yet scarcely shows the first signs of puberty. She has in the group a position as "mother," as does her little sister a20. She is a brutal and sometimes violent child, who adopted towards us an attitude confined to hostility. Her language is crude and she gets involved willingly in the most daring pranks. This attitude is at least partially explained, as will be seen farther on, by her age situation.

[45] a20. --Little girl of 5 or 6 years, sister of the preceding: her contemporaries and even some adults call her "mother." She is perfectly insufferable; pretentious, affected, continually greedy for presents or distractions.

A21, a22, a23. --It is difficult to characterize these three individuals who lived, during nearly the whole time of our visit, in an almost absolute state of silent segregation. The baby a23 is not yet weaned, and the state of couvade was to end at the end of our stay. We shall describe later on the operations which sanction return to communal life. A21, 35 to 40 years, is the brother of A1; a22, about 18 years, the sister of a2. A21 was to die by drowning during one of our absences. The baby is 12 to 18 months old.

621 As we have said before, the restricted group such as it has just been described, is temporarily united with other similar bands, or is temporarily swelled by other family groups. Thus to the 6 "fires"(1)

602 1. As the following analysis shows, the family group—that is the restricted group—of the Nambikwara is rather difficult to define. The empiric notion of the hearth seems to us the most clear and practical. It defines the grouping of the individuals who come together in the evening and sleep around the same fire. In group a1 (restricted) studied previously, there are

602 from this point of view, six fires, namely: I (1 to 5); II (6 to 9); III (10 to 12); IV (13 to 16); V (17 to 20); VI (21 to 23).

621 comprising the stable group are added intermittently:

Fire 7 (24 to 28). Five individuals, including: A24, "son" (of an elder brother) of A1 (20 to 25 years), husband of a25 (18 to 20 years), their baby a26 (about 2 years), the father A27 (about 50 years) of a25, and the brother A28 (about 12 years) of the latter.

Fire 8 (29 to 37). --Eight individuals including: A32, chief of the group comprised of fires 7, 8 and 9. About 40 years of age, asukosu of A1; his five wives, a33, a34, a35, a36, "sisters" of each other (18 to 25 years), and their "mother" a37 (about 40 years), besides the 3 children of this latter, a30 and A31 (8 to 11 years) and a29 (about 2 years).

Fire 9 (39 to 41). --Four individuals, that is, two households, whose kinship relationships are obscure. A38 (about 50), "brother" of a2, and his wife a39 (about 45), "sister" of A1; and A40 (about 30), "brother" of A1, and his wife a41 (about 30), "sister" of a2, the two latter "father" and "mother" of a5.

Fire 10 (42 to 47). -- Six persons, including: A42 (about 30 years old), asukosu of A1; his two wives, the one a43 (about 35 years old), "sister" of A1, and the other a44 (about 18 years old), "niece" of A1, and three children, A45 and A46 (9 to 12) and a47 (2 to 3 years).

[46] Fire 11 (48 to 50). --Three individuals: A48, "brother" of A1 and "husband" of a2 (about 35 years old), his wife a49 (about 35 years old), "wife" of A1 and "sister" of a2. They are consequently "father" and "mother" of a5, and their child a50 is her "sister" (3 to 4 years old).

Fire 12 (51 to 56). --Six persons: A51 (about 40 years old), "brother" of A1 and ajukedisu of a2, his wife a52, "sister" of a2 (about 40), and four children, a53 (14 years old) and A54, a55 and A56 (6 to 10 years old).

Fire 13 (57 to 61). --Five persons: A57 (about 45), brother of A69, and asukosu of A1, "older brother" of a2; his two wives, one a58, "sister" of A1, the other a59, his "daughter" (20 to 30 years old), and two children, A60 and A61 (3 and 7 years old), both "husbands" of a5.

Fire 14 (62 to 66). --Five persons: A62 (about 42 years old), asukosu of a1 and akenshosu of a2, his wife a63, "sister" of A1 and of a58, and mother of a3 (about 40 years old), their child a64 (about 5)

462 like the women, but from the shoulder (adiuisi'kititu, a1), and fre-
[462] quently lightening the load by dragging the strap in the left hand, which they explain by saying that they need to watch out for possible game. And they naturally do not neglect collecting and gleaning whenever the occasion is presented or necessity is felt. In like manner, the women normally aid their husbands (especially the polygamous wives) in their work in the gardens. Both sexes cut down wood, the men for constructing huts or shelters and for making bows, arrows, spears and clubs, etc., and the women, more often, for the fire wood. Above all, and when she is not occupied by her own work, the woman aids her husband in all the tasks that are his. She holds his implements, gives them to him when he asks for them, supports the end of the arrow or the wood of the bow while he repairs or polishes them, or begins to twist the cord while he finishes the wooden part. She does the retouching and finishes the work. This frequent and always harmonious collaboration gives the impression that the sexual division of labor is much less strict among the Nambikwara than it is commonly, and sometimes one might even think it non-existent. This is not so; but the rule is constantly made flexible or masked by the unity of the couple.

601 As we have shown in studying the kinship system all the classifi-
602 catory contemporaries of an individual belonging to a different sex are divided by him into husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters. We have found no term which designates the actual spouse, and allows one to distinguish him in conversation from the classifying spouse. A man calls his wife or wives, and his cross-cousins (fem.) indiscriminately asjesu, as the woman designates her husband and her cross-cousins (masc.) by the same term ouensaesu. But, of course, behavior is very different in the two cases. It has just been seen to what extent relationships are close and active between true husband and wife. As regards his potential wives, a man does not adopt any particular attitude, and the relationships do not seem to be either [59] [Table: Sexual Division of Labor] more or less intimate than those which he carries on with his sisters (the same remark is true as regards the relationship of a woman with her potential husbands and her brothers). In these two cases, the relationships are characterized by [60] great reserve, the individuals involved do not pay much attention to one another and rarely address one another except for definite reasons. But it is a question here of a mass attitude, conditioned by usage, rather than of an over-all picture of conscious and stylized reactions. The Indians do not seem to perceive

[Text continues on p. 67]

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[143] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[858] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

595
601

2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiesu aiouerelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nukonajtere, which could be a feminine of nukonajore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

855 8. u̯ērisekihīndage numī sekəlajene ēlamnihīn (bl)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ītte ṣ̂ēdeṣ̂edēdnege tōodayige kā kā kā u̯udērige (bl)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯ēttu (a1), tau̯ētte (bl): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikātu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

603 611 On the other hand, grandparents behave toward their descendants so as to show the permanence of the filial line. a14 takes special care of her granddaughters (daughter's daughters), orphaned by the mother, a8 and a9. She feeds them, bathes them, and the baby spends her days near her, and often the nights. When the group travels, she is the one who carries her when she can no longer walk. But above all, when a piece of game has been brought in by a hunter, one sees in the choice of beneficiaries, outlined in the heart of the group, the limits of a unit greater than the conjugal family, and whose reality appears only rarely in daily circumstances.

224 602 Thus, when a boa sucuri (irftasu, a1: Eunectes murinus) has been brought in one day by A17, he gives the tripe to his daughter a19, who passes it on to her sister a22; the latter divides it between a12 and a5 (her "daughters") and reserves a portion for herself; at the same time A17 cuts the body into portions which he gives to A13, A1, A21, and of which he keeps part. Here, the division is almost coextensive with the restricted group. But, in more serious circumstances (1), the division of

1. P. 106 sq., cessation of menses (état de marge).

an irara (inihfnukilesu, a1; Mustela sp.) by A21 gives rise to the following distributions:

A quarter to a18 (wife's mother);
A quarter to a2 (wife's elder sister);
A quarter to a14 (brother's wife);
A foot to a19 (wife's younger sister);
A half-head to A17 (wife's mother's husband).

[75] He consumes the rest with his wife and baby, and the beneficiaries divide their share with spouse and children. Thus in the heart of the group there is outlined an even more restricted unit:

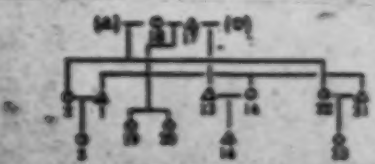


Fig. 17.

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS OR COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseétasu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (astikosu, a1; tarúte, b1), or more exactly (since the name astikosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

3: Lévi-Strauss Σ-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

621 people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves 121 with such questions as the type of political organisation in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

[36] Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the 621 gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It 60 does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between [60] two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The [58] Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[1] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown 602 by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage system functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive 621 narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss. "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians." American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1942.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

relationship from becoming really operative in the constitution of the band. It can be said that, inside the band as well as between the different bands which are the offspring of the same temporary village, everybody is everybody's kin, in pretty much the same fashion.

Why then the splitting-up process? Two different considerations must be brought forth to answer this question. From an economic point of view, the scarcity of wild food resources and the subsequent high square-mileage needed to feed one individual during the nomadic period make the division into small bands almost compulsory. The real question is not why there is a division but rather on what basis it takes place. I have said that this is done by free choice, but this freedom is not arbitrary. There are, in the initial group, several men acknowledged as leaders (who likely acquired this reputation from their behavior during the nomadic life) and who make the relatively stable nuclei around which the different aggregates center. The importance, as well as the permanence of the aggregate through successive years, depend largely upon the ability of each of these leaders to keep his rank and eventually to improve it. Thus, it may be said that leadership does not exist as a result of the band's needs, but, instead, that the band receives its shape, its size, and even its origin, from the potential leader who antedates it.

There is, however, a continuous function of leadership, although not permanently assumed by the same individual. Among the Nambikuara, chieftainship is not hereditary. When a chief grows old, or is taken ill, and when he does not feel able to fulfill his heavy duty any more, he himself designates his successor. "This one—this one will be the chief . . ." he says. It seems likely that this autocratic power to insure one's own succession is more apparent than real. We shall emphasize later on the small amount of authority enjoyed by the chief and, in this case as in many others, the final decision is probably preceded by a careful survey of public opinion, the designated heir being, at the same time, the one with the greater support from the members of the band. The appointment of the new chief is not only limited by the wishes or disapproval of the band; it needs also to correspond to the plans of the individual to be chosen. Not seldom, does the offer of leadership meet with a vehement refusal: "I don't want to be the chief." Then a new choice must be made. As a matter of fact, chieftainship does not seem to be coveted by many people, and the general attitude of the different chiefs I happened to know was less to brag about their

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

is consequently much wider than "brother-in-law" as we understand it, including as it does approximately half the masculine members of a man's generation; the rest, of course, receive the name "brother" (consanguineous or classificatory). It should be noted that in the Nambikuara kinship system men alone have brothers-in-law and, conversely, women alone have sisters-in-law.

Only in the case of brothers-in-law are the Nambikuara conscious of a link between a special type of behavior and the position occupied by a kinsman in the relationship system. Generally speaking, there are no rules of avoidance or of privileged familiarity between particular kinds of relatives. The relations with the spouse's parents do not differ substantially from those with the parallel uncle and aunt and, although it is true that relations between consanguineous or classificatory siblings are rather reserved, the natives are unable to define this diffuse behavior. As a matter of fact, while siblings and parallel cousins do not avoid each other, they do not joke or even talk together unless there is a special reason for doing so. Sisters-in-law, on the contrary, comport themselves very freely. They laugh and joke together and render each other small services, such as rubbing each other's back with urucu paste. And, more especially, exceptional relations are revealed when one passes to the brothers-in-law.

We have already mentioned the partial polygyny which exists in the group. The chief or shaman periodically withdraws several of the youngest and prettiest women from the regular cycle of marriages; consequently, young men often find it difficult to marry, at least during adolescence, since no potential spouse is available. The resulting problem is solved in Nambikuara society by homosexual relations, which receive the rather poetical name *tamundigi ki'ondige*—"sham love." Relations of this kind are frequent among young men and are more publicly displayed than heterosexual ones. Unlike most adults, the partners do not seek the isolation of the bush, but settle close to the camp fire in front of their amused neighbors. Although the source of occasional jokes, such relations are considered childish and no one pays much attention to them. We did not discover whether the partners aim at achieving complete sexual gratification or whether they limit themselves to such sentimental effusions and erotic behavior as most frequently characterize the relations between spouses. In any event, the point is that homosexual relations occur only between *male cross cousins*.

We never learned whether or not the same relations continue to exist between adult cross cousins; it does not seem likely. Nevertheless, the freedom and demonstrativeness displayed by brothers-in-law toward one another are not characteristic of the relations between brothers or between the members of any other class of relatives. One often sees among the Nambikuara (who, in fact, like to indulge in expressions of affection) two or three men, married and

115 a7. --A pretty woman of some twenty years, perhaps less; young
157 wife of A6. Her parents are living and reside, she says, in the village. She is asintu of A1 and a2, arindesu of a3 and a4, asecetasu of a5. She is stupid, egotistical, interested only in herself. She considers herself very seductive, which appears to be (from the Indian point of view, of course) very exaggerated. She systematically refuses to show the slightest interest in the two daughters of her husband, conducts herself very amorously as concerns him.

115 a8 and a9--About six and two years, daughters of the first mar-
855 riage of A6 and daughters of the deceased daughter of a14. The two
157 children are practically left to themselves. Their stepmother does not bother with them; their father takes care of them when his manly tasks and his wife permit him the time. Their grandmother is their
[603] chief aid and it is to her that they run when they hurt themselves, are hungry, thirsty or afraid. But she herself is absorbed by the cares of her sons, of her stepson (A15) and of her husband. And very often the baby is neglected for entire days, covered with ashes and filth, unless some woman of the group, seized by pity or simply [43] disgusted, takes her and gives her a bath. Most often it is her big sister, precociously mature, who takes care of her, carries her, even though she is scarcely any bigger, feeds her and cleans her up. Both are charming children, gay and hungry for caresses like those who are habitually deprived of them. Their lot is a great worry for the
[181] community. Under this regime of a hard life constantly absorbed by the small tasks, each one of which is hard work, one can with difficulty accept other cares than one's own. And these neglected children are a perpetual source of irritation, of which they are often the victims, even when taken care of. Many times we wondered if we should not take charge of the youngest of the children. They would have given her to us gladly. uThe baby was so cute that we would have been tempted if the perspective of seeing ourselves having a quarrel on the return trip with the Service for the Protection of the Indians had not, very reasonably, dissuaded us.

115 A10. --About 40 years. He is alonsu of A1, ajunkedisu of a2,
157 ahuinosu of a5, married to a11. His parents are dead. He is amiable and grinning, he suffers from a hernia which he hides under a piece of cloth hanging from his waist. His activity is considerably decreased. He is little interested in our work and not very eager to understand our questions and give us information.

a11. --About 40 years. Wife of A10. She is a "sister" of a2, a "wife" of A1, a "mother" of a5. She is dark, eager and industrious,

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. i̯akhūninde ī́teru u̯irokūnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: u̯oṣī́, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hōte u̯ā̯inde miramirai̯na hōte u̯airī́dni̯ena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣariṣena tākəlahẽ tākela āɣoriṣẽ kā̃dai̯ena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

603 611 On the other hand, grandparents behave toward their descendants so as to show the permanence of the filial line. a14 takes special care of her granddaughters (daughter's daughters), orphaned by the mother, a8 and a9. She feeds them, bathes them, and the baby spends her days near her, and often the nights. When the group travels, she is the one who carries her when she can no longer walk. But above all, when a piece of game has been brought in by a hunter, one sees in the choice of beneficiaries, outlined in the heart of the group, the limits of a unit greater then the conjugal family, and whose reality appears only rarely in daily circumstances.

224 602 Thus, when a boa sucuri (irɨtasu, al: Eunectes murinus) has been brought in one day by A17, he gives the tripe to his daughter a19, who passes it on to her sister a22; the latter divides it between a12 and a5 (her "daughters") and reserves a portion for herself; at the same time A17 cuts the body into portions which he gives to A13, A1, A21, and of which he keeps part. Here, the division is almost coextensive with the restricted group. But, in more serious circumstances (1), the division of

1. P. 106 sq., cessation of menses (état de marge).

an irara (inihɨnuklesu, al; Mustela sp.) by A21 gives rise to the following distributions:

A quarter to a18 (wife's mother);
A quarter to a2 (wife's elder sister);
A quarter to a14 (brother's wife);
A foot to a19 (wife's younger sister);
A half-head to A17 (wife's mother's husband).

[75] He consumes the rest with his wife and baby, and the beneficiaries divide their share with spouse and children. Thus in the heart of the group there is outlined an even more restricted unit:

Fig. 17.

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 ●603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
OR
COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseétasu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (asúkosu, a1; tarúte, b1), or more exactly (since the name asúkosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
OR
COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseétasu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (asúkosu, a1; tarúte, b1), or more exactly (since the name asúkosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582] and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
●605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (b1) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutebãdige tamĩndige (b1)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhasi?ete. (b1)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kajrobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

●605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"--which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarûte--can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted
621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern
182
184

1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or-
[[91]] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
[197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
●605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarũte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jõpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

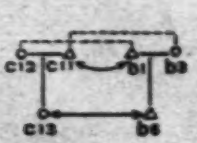


Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

621 instead that all the Sabané men were for them tarũte, or that all
605 the Tarundé men were jõpa. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group: it is called "Sabané" or "Tarundé." It is thus in the function of the relationship of tarũte or jõpa (asũkosu, al) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution; one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its correlaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
[582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of

1. See p. 39.

marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
OR
COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseétasu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (asúkosu, a1; tarúte, b1), or more exactly (since the name asúkosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
OR
COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseétasu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (astikosu, a1; tarite, b1), or more exactly (since the name astikosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582 and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (b1) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutehãdige tamĩndige (b1)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
●607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhaĩ?ete. (b1)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kajrobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

1: Lévi-Strauss--94 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba SO9

TN 601 171 582 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I, LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

TN 595 171 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; —Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; —P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandtschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

TN 607 171 All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

I: Lévi-Strauss--95 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba 509

T 607 171 customs of the country, which is to have Chetonasaps or hosts or godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this hospitality or godfathership is very strict among them: for they actually consider you their children while you live with them, they go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks

4. Voyage dans le nord du Bresil. Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

of the "French who were lodged by godfathership in these villages."(5)

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

T 582 The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is

6. Loc. cit. II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also, Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

to be noted that these words Atourassap and Coton-assap differ, for the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named." The "Coton-assap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding, privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner, who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a N T 607 171 theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.

[83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi. All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way. The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services N of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists [338] among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

N
T
607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
N [138] which make up for the absence of an available sister.
T
N We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
171 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
582 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
607 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the
601 second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarúte or jópa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouasap (Yves d'Évreux) or coton-assap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

N
171
601

1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

But the formal analogy of the two institutions should not disguise their truly opposite characters. In the Latin-Mediterranean society the bond, formerly mystic and now social, of compérage, can be transformed by marriage into an actual kinship line. Among the ancient Tupi, and among the Nambikwara, it is, on the contrary, the concrete kinship which furnished its model to a type of bond utilized to establish wider relationships.

That having been posed, there are two reasons why our authors could not have elaborated a pseudo-Indian institution after a European model. In the first place, men as familiar with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry, could not have likened a relationship whose first consequence, and the probable object, was to permit new types of marriage, to the relationship between godfather, godmother and relatives who observed very severe enforcement [85] of the prohibitions of marriage, especially since the thirteenth century. At the time when they were writing, the question had actuality, since it was set down in the program of the Council of Trent, where the ancient rules had to be a little softened. But we have a more decisive argument. From the arrival of the first missionaries, the two institutions, European and Indian, must have evolved side by side, especially among the baptized Indians. But neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted Christian sponsorship in terms of Indian compaternity. On the contrary, and more logically since the newly introduced institution carried restrictions regarding marriage, they treated it as a modality of the relationship of paternity. They likened the godfather to a classificatory father: "Thus, they (the children who come to receive baptism) regarded their godfathers as their real fathers and called them Cherou, meaning "my father," the French called them Cheaire, which means "my son," and the little girls Cheagire, "my daughter"... (1)

1. Yves d'Evreux, l. c., II, 1, p. 234.

We believe we have assembled enough information concerning the fundamental character of the relationship between brothers-in-law in the South American society so that the nucleus of an original institution of compaternity can be seen in it which appears still living among the Nambikwara. The documents here presented suggest (2)

2. An English version of these observations has been published under the title: "The social use of kinship

607 terms among brazilian indians," American Anthropologist Vol. 45, No. 3, 1943. In an interesting article dedicated to the Tupi system ("Notas sobre a interpretacão sociologica de alguns designativos de parentesco do Tupi-Guarani," Etnografia e lingua Tupi-Guarani, No. 9, São Paulo, 1946), J. Philipson reproaches me for having limited the relationship of compaternity to South America, and he invokes the example of numerous tribes of North America. That is to attribute too much ignorance to me: it is indeed certain that there exist, in the entire world, innumerable cases of special relationships between brothers-in-law, both cordial and hostile. But by including pell-mell all of these examples, one would fall back into errors of the old comparative sociology. By the term "compaternity" I have wished to identify a precise complex institution, where there come together in correlation a particular kinship system, well defined rules of marriage, and certain traditional psychological attitudes. It is possible, and even reasonable, that one could find this uniformity in other regions of the world. But none of the examples mentioned by Philipson reveal this clearly.

its vast distribution in indigenous America of former times.

Part II

SOCIAL LIFE

128 It is obviously impossible, when one studies the existence of small nomadic bands all of whose members are related among themselves or from one band to the other, by a kinship relationship, to trace a clear line of separation between family life and social life. Many traits which come from the latter have been pointed out in the preceding pages. We shall not examine then in this chapter, more than certain aspects of the social life which concern the collective whole, either in its own existence or in its relations with neighboring groups.

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
48
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

[End Plate VI]

291
302
301
516
•[607]

Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]

The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

121 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 177 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ing to the children of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers, a man calls all his female cross cousins (to one of whom he is or will be married) "wife," and all his male cross cousins "brother-in-law;" conversely, a woman calls all her male cross cousins (among whom her actual or potential husband is numbered) "husband" and all her female cross cousins "sister-in-law." No terminological difference is made between actual and potential spouses. The members of the next younger generation are similarly divided into "sons" and "daughters" (Ego's own children and parallel nephews and nieces) and "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law" (Ego's cross nephews and nieces), since these are or may be the spouses of his children.

The system is somewhat complicated by secondary distinctions made between elder and younger siblings and by the fact that another kind of marriage ——between a maternal uncle and his niece—is also practised. This new pattern usually appears in the polygynous unions which, in the prevailingly monogamous Nambikuara society, are the privilege of the chief. This point needs some elaboration. Nambikuara polygyny results from the fact that, subsequent to a first marriage having all the characteristics of the common (i.e., the cross cousin) form, a man may contract one or more unions of somewhat different nature. Actually, the position of his new wives is not the same as that of his original one, and, although constituting real marriages, the later unions are nevertheless psychologically and economically different from the first. The atmosphere in which they evolve is less conjugal and more like a kind of amorous friendship. The younger wives cooperate more extensively in the numerous tasks imposed on their husband because of his special social obligations. Furthermore, the activities of these women do not conform as closely as those of the first wife to the general pattern of the sexual division of labor. Finally, they are younger and are classified, in relation to the earlier wife, as "daughters" or "nieces." Such "oblique" unions (that is, between members of different generations) may also take place in monogamous marriages, but less frequently. Although their occurrence among the Nambikuara is an important point in our demonstration, the consequent modifications of the kinship system are not essential for the purposes of this article and we may therefore omit further mention of them. Our present observations will be limited to the special implications of the brother-in-law relationship which is expressed through the reciprocal terms *asúkosu* (Eastern dialect), *tarúiẹ* (Central and Western dialect) or *iópọ* (Northern dialect).

It must be emphasized immediately that this useful translation of the native term is not in any way accurate. While the *asúkosu* is a man's male cross cousin and also his potential brother-in-law, since the persons calling each other *asúkosu* (or *tarúiẹ* or *iópọ*) call each other's sisters "wife," it is only in particular instances that one or more of the individuals involved is, in fact, the wife's brother or the sister's husband or both. The meaning of the term *asúkosu*

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

607 is consequently much wider than "brother-in-law" as we understand it, including as it does approximately half the masculine members of a man's generation; the rest, of course, receive the name "brother" (consanguineous or classificatory). It should be noted that in the Nambikuara kinship system men alone have brothers-in-law and, conversely, women alone have sisters-in-law.

602 687 Only in the case of brothers-in-law are the Nambikuara conscious of a link between a special type of behavior and the position occupied by a kinsman in the relationship system. Generally speaking, there are no rules of avoidance or of privileged familiarity between particular kinds of relatives. The relations with the spouse's parents do not differ substantially from those with the parallel uncle and aunt and, although it is true that relations between consanguineous or classificatory siblings are rather reserved, the natives are unable to define this diffuse behavior. As a matter of fact, while siblings and parallel cousins do not avoid each other, they do not joke or even talk together unless there is a special reason for doing so. Sisters-in-law, on the contrary, comport themselves very freely. They laugh and joke together and render each other small services, such as rubbing each other's back with urucu paste. And, more especially, exceptional relations are revealed when one passes to the brothers-in-law.

607 838 We have already mentioned the partial polygyny which exists in the group. The chief or shaman periodically withdraws several of the youngest and prettiest women from the regular cycle of marriages; consequently, young men often find it difficult to marry, at least during adolescence, since no potential spouse is available. The resulting problem is solved in Nambikuara society by homosexual relations, which receive the rather poetical name *tamindige ki'dndige*—"sham love." Relations of this kind are frequent among young men and are more publicly displayed than heterosexual ones. Unlike most adults, the partners do not seek the isolation of the bush, but settle close to the camp fire in front of their amused neighbors. Although the source of occasional jokes, such relations are considered childish and no one pays much attention to them. We did not discover whether the partners aim at achieving complete sexual gratification or whether they limit themselves to such sentimental effusions and erotic behavior as most frequently characterize the relations between spouses. In any event, the point is that homosexual relations occur only between *male cross cousins*.

We never learned whether or not the same relations continue to exist between adult cross cousins; it does not seem likely. Nevertheless, the freedom and demonstrativeness displayed by brothers-in-law toward one another are not characteristic of the relations between brothers or between the members of any other class of relatives. One often sees among the Nambikuara (who, in fact, like to indulge in expressions of affection) two or three men, married and

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

tarûtę ialdsiętę

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces, In the course of our field-work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabânę* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarûndę* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

6: Le i-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

571 607 A more fundamental problem raised by the union of the two groups, namely the nature of the relations to be established between their respective members, was solved by the common statement that all the male members of the Sabáne group were to be acknowledged as the "brothers-in-law" (*tarútę*) of the male adults of the Tarúndę group, and, conversely, that the latter were to be acknowledged as "brothers-in-law" (*iópą*) by the former. Consequently, all the "wives" belonging to one group became the "sisters" of the "husbands" of the other, and the "sisters-in-law" of the latters' wives; and all children of both sexes in one group became the potential spouses of the children in the other. As a result, these two groups will be welded into a single consanguineous unit within two generations.

The conscious and systematic nature of this solution cannot be doubted. When asked for their kinship relation to any male adult of the allied group, the male informants, irrespective of the group to which they themselves belonged, never gave a different answer, but always emphasized that the question was meaningless since all the Sabáne men were their *tarútę*, or all Tarúndę men their *iópą*. On the other hand, no one seemed to have a clear idea of the exact relationship between the women, the children, or the adults and the children of the two groups. Occasionally the correct theoretical relationship could be deduced; more frequently only the group name was given in reply to our queries: She is calling the other one "Sabáne"—or "Tarúndę." Thus it may be assumed that the system was conceived of and applied according to (and exclusively according to) the *tarútę* (or *iópą*) relationship. This inference is rather important because, of course, the same result could have been achieved by other means.

If the sole aim of the system had been to ensure inter-marriage, it could have been brought about equally well in two other ways; perhaps we should say that two different interpretations might have been made of the same phenomenon. In the first place, the women might have been regarded as "sisters-in-law"; or, in the second place, all the men of one group and all the women of the other might have entered a brother-sister relationship. In both cases the result would have been the same as in the accepted interpretation, in which, indeed, these relationships are implied though not expressed. Nevertheless, the solution itself was actually based on the relationship between the male and his allied collaterals, the consequences of which must now be examined.

571 607 583 Two of the three possible interpretations implied the consideration of women; only one was purely masculine, and it is the latter which was adopted by the natives. The reason for the choice is obvious since the problem to be solved was a purely political one, concerning the chieftainship, which is exercised by men, rather than the normal mechanism of filiation, the pattern of which seems to be matrilineal. In a simple system of cross cousin marriage, such as that of the Nambikuara, the brother-in-law may be either the matri-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units.

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires.

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men.

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast.

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter.

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two:

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 21), p. 28.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

595 171 Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171 114 The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *chetouasap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*compérage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *atour-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171 607 582 One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Lafone Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST. Vol. 21, 1919), pp. 421–440; Kirchhoff. *Die Verwandschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Bresil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 109.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 169–170.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sisters. Cross cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross cousins. (The same holds for the giving of a daughter by a father.) The potential or actual brothers-in-law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of the brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikuara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations.

We may now summarize our observations. The ancient Tupi acknowledged two forms of marriage; namely, cross cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practised in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by his sister's husband. In both cases the marriage is the result of an agreement between cross cousins, actually or potentially brothers-in-law—which is the definition we retained as a suitable translation of the Nambikuara terms *tarûtę* and *iópą*. Now, this special "brother-in-law" relationship could be established, under the name of *chetouasap* (Evreux) or *coton-assap* (Léry), between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie, or else only more remotely related, or even between strangers (as was the case of the French and the Indians). The reason for such a step was to ensure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. One recognizes here the same process described in the analysis of the relations between the newly joined groups, Sabánę and Tarúndę.[22]

[22] The widespread South American custom of using kinship terms to express social relationships is attested to by Von den Steinen (*Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), who was called "elder brother" by the Bakairi and "maternal uncle" by the Mehinaku. We have just established the equivalence of the terms "maternal uncle" and "brother-in-law" in a system of cross cousin marriage combined with avuncular marriage. Regarding the use of the term "elder brother," two observations should be made. First, in a kinship system such as that of the Bororo, not far distant from the Xingu, each generation is to some extent split into two layers, the elder half being assimilated to the younger half of the generation above and the younger half to the elder half of the generation below. In such a system an "elder brother" may well be a true uncle and a potential brother-in-law.

The use of the term "brother" for social purposes may also be understood in another way. Among the Nambikuara, there is a special term, sometimes used to designate a sibling of the same sex, the meaning of which is "the other one." This term is applied not only to describe a familial relationship, but is also used to name objects belonging to a class which includes several units (for instance, the posts of the huts or the pipes of the whistles). Friendly groups may also consider themselves to be "brothers" and the exclamation, "You are no more my brother!" may often be heard in discussions between angry adversaries.

This suggests that the term "brother" possesses, in addition to its kinship significance, a very wide meaning, both logical and moral. Nevertheless, when the technical problem of establishing new social relationships is put up to the Indians, it is not the vague "brotherhood" which is called upon, but the more complex mechanism of the "brother-in-law" relationship.

601 husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical "fathers" or "mothers," or of true sons or daughters as compared to theoretical "sons" and "daughters." In most cases, the discrimination seems totally superfluous to the Indians, since it is so well accented by the differences of behavior. Sometimes also it seems useless because of the inverse of the preceding, the theoretical wife can become a real wife (for example in case of polygamy, or of remarriage), the theoretical father or mother, or the theoretical son
[608] or daughter, can play the role of true father or mother, or of true son or daughter, through the mechanism of adoption. This functions automatically, in the case of the father's death, the child then being [22]
[768] taken in and raised by its father's brother. In this case his father's brother, whom he has always called father, becomes for him a real father even though by substitution, and the wife of his father's brother, who is most often his mother's sister, and whom he has consequently always called mother, is from then on treated by him as such, especially if his own mother is dead or has remarried. However, sometimes the Indians wish to sharpen the theoretical character of the name. Then they add to the classifying term a descriptive term, whose approximate meaning is that of "relative" in the most general sense, as,

20. (akit) ʌjdnisu,

used in the substantive form above, or in the participial form ʌjdnere; or in the exclamatory form, in conversation, ʌjdneram.

Thus we have found the following appelations,

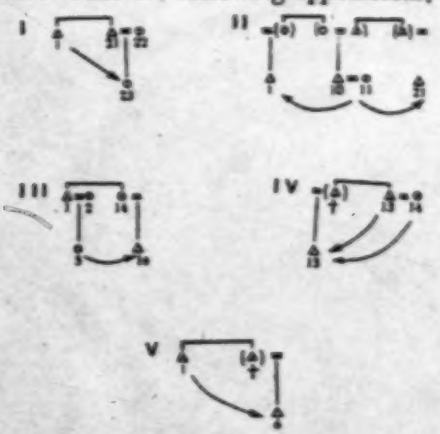


Fig. 3

I. aʔkineru ajdneram. --II. (t)oyensaesu ajdnisu. III. oyensaesu ajdnisu (among children). IV. tayettu aʔkiraru ajdneram. --V. akineram (aʔkirara ajdneram).

115 and only reveals her happy nature on occasions of songs and dances where
157 she excels. One always sees her occupied by some craft work which she seems to prefer—shaping or polishing disks of shells, drilling them through or filing them, rubbing earrings or bracelets. She talks little, letting herself be completely absorbed by her work. She is a wife and mother, and a remarkable informant for all details of the material culture.

a12. --Daughter of the preceding two, approximately 22 years; she is the wife of A73 who abandoned her to live with two women a74 and a75. Because of this, she returned to the charge of her parents, the more so because she is pregnant. She is placid, smiling and apathetic. She is separated from collective life by her condition
[164] and by a painful eye infection which struck her first among the members of her group of which several were later attacked by the epidemic.

A13. --About 40 years of age. Son of A18, "brother," consequently, of a2, "brother-in-law" of A1, whose older sister a14 he married. Always joyful, active and docile, he is the confidence man of A1, his preferred messenger, the companion he chooses for all complicated undertakings. He is industrious, a [44] not affected in his attitudes, and, as an informant, compliant, very verbose and not always clear or comprehensive.

a14. --About 40 to 45 years. Wife of the preceding, blood sister of A1, mother of A16. She is influential, active, diligent, at first quite rude, but in reality pleasing and competent. She exercises real authority over the other women of the group by her spirit of initiative and her pep. She is the grandmother of a8 and of a9 whom she feeds and whom she cares for frequently. Not only is she a good informant, but she sometimes takes didactic initiative. She loves songs and dances.

● [608] A15. --About 15 years. He is an orphan; his father was the brother of A13 who took him in. A gentle, tranquil, rather timid boy.

A16. --7 or 8 years; son of A13 and of a14, "husband" of a5. He is a lively and curious child; his mother rarely refuses him anything, and he tyrannizes her willingly. She is very proud of him and overlooks many of his whims. One day she came to ask us to teach him to read. The attempts are not very encouraging. He looks upon the lessons as a game and refuses to learn the letters as determined forms; for him they are interchangeable, and he attributes to them in turn all the sounds which he has in his vocabulary.

115 A17. --Between 50 and 55 years, he is the dean of the group; he
157 is conscious of this and gets a certain pride from having around him
602 only "sons" or "daughters," "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law,"

● 608

[For information on compérage, which is also a type of artificial kin relationship including siblings-in-law, see category 607.]

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarunde, maimãde (b1); mamaindeti (c) oaindesu, nikodetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[181 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
191] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

855 8. u̯érisekihíndage numí sekalajene élamnihíṛ (b1)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ítte ŝédeŝedédnege tóodaγige ká ká ká u̯udérige (b1)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯éttu (a1), tau̯étte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikátu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

857 nuts for her sister a20 and eats them with her. When they are
182 satisfied, they give the rest to a8, who cracks them, in turn, for her little sister.

857 The relationships between children giving each other the names husband and wife are more obscure, and we have not succeeded in forming a clear concept of them. We have pointed out a slight taboo exists concerning the expression of this kinship relationship. However, generally, the young "husbands" or "wives" do not manifest any special behavior toward one another, either positive or negative. Nevertheless, we have encountered indisputable cases where the young potential spouses conduct themselves as true spouses. In the evening they leave the family fire and carry burning pieces of wood to light their fire in a corner of the camp. The witnesses pay scarcely any attention to this action. For example, someone will make the remark:

18. u̯ĩtnau̯ri u̯ĩraj̯re tiʒahete u̯ĩrajena norẽteu̯ii etlĩtere (bl).
The children are taking fire to make a fire, they blow to make flames.

[72] and the young "husband" says to his potential wife:

19. tadoõtaku̯i niku̯itũteraui̯ etʔere aituruu̯i u̯atadahaki (bl)
Bend down! Stir the fire, carry! Look (for more). Put it there!

857 After this, they install themselves near their fire and give
864 themselves over, insofar as it is within their means, to all the erotic acts that they have seen their elders practice. The incident is greeted by the adults with indifference, or, at the most, with amused smiles: u̯ẽtnõ taminusere, "there are the children having little sexual relations," they say in passing. We have only verified these practices in a haphazard way among the young children (5 to 7 years). They seem to be absent among those nearer puberty, but, in the latter case, a lacuna appears in our observations, due to the lack of subjects for comparison.

857 As regards strangers, the attitude of children is quite variable.
609 Certain ones manifest fear and hostility for a long time:

20. tau̯ẽtte ʔiina jaʔirina unjena (bl)
My child is frightened, he is ashamed, he doesn't move.

sometimes explained by a surprising external detail:

herãkʔlou̯i ũ̂ĩ̂ena (bl)
he is afraid of glasses.

Others (or the same ones after several days or weeks of acclimatization) are curious, friendly, eventually mystifying. Thus,

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nɛ̃iuɥenãgheẽ nɛ̃uɥẽeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehẽna ɥĩtte ɥĩkɛrage, "the woman caresses the baby," or ɥãiɥuẽtte ɥĩkɛrage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation,
521 they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. from the children.--Analyst]

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 526 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [284] al whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

648 609 Also, the attitude of two bands who know that they are neighbors is very significant. They fear the clash of contact, and at the same time they desire it. In fact, they cannot meet one another accidentally, for for several weeks they watch the vertical smoke from the campfire which rises, perfectly discernable at some twenty kilometers, into the middle of the clear sky of the cold season. It is one of the most impressive spectacles of the Nambikwara territories when towards evening this smoke suddenly fills a horizon which one had thought deserted. Is the band which approaches friend or foe? They do not know, and they discuss at length their course of conduct. For days or weeks they avoid one another by maintaining a reasonable distance between the fires, then one day, according to whether the contact appears inevitable, desirable, or necessary, the women and children scatter in the bush and the men leave to face the unknown. We attended one of these "encounters" (nakohatige, b1). A long conversation is entered upon (deinihotige, b1) between the two bands reduced to their masculine elements, or more exactly, the leaders undertake, in turn, a sort of prolonged monologue, composed of exclamations, uttered one after another, in a tone at the same time plaintive and tearful, where the voice rises and trails off in nasal fashion at the end of each word. The group animated by warlike intentions exposes its grief. The peaceful protest their good intentions. It was not possible for us to reconstruct the word for word translation of this discourse. However, we give here the Indian text, insofar as we have been [92] able to get it, and its approximate translation, for the purpose of showing the construction and specific tone:

[537] 36. One group begins: niaroéndigẽ ninökuẽ. -"We are very irritated! you are our enemies!" And, after a series of exclamations of this type, the other replies: ia orauẽ touadeẽ nuhaigiʔin nukanaetiẽ nukanaini nukenitenohin moladeringuin nagataʃiniot endiguẽ. -- "We are not irritated! We are your brothers! We are friends! Your friends! True friends! We can understand one another." (b1)

After having exchanged these peaceful protestations, the groups reform and a common encampment is organized, each group preserving its individuality and gathering together its fires, and sometimes songs and dances are organized in the course of which each group disparages its own exhibition to the profit of that of the other group:

648 37. tamaĩn ãtne munãitiere munãitienãitiore njanĩ (bl)
609 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
201 In one case which we witnessed, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tõhé tõhé kãhé kãhé muniniti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take--commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

181 Caduveo, perhaps remindful of their slave-owning past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The
171 Arawak-speaking Terena and Paressí, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Bacairí and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
576 and impolite even to rudeness. On many occa-
● 609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "razzberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paressí consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

[p.65(A)]

302 Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads,
[431] they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set
ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani
as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in
Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)
The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

603 On the other hand, grandparents behave toward their descendants
611 so as to show the permanence of the filial line. a14 takes special care of her granddaughters (daughter's daughters), orphaned by the mother, a8 and a9. She feeds them, bathes them, and the baby spends her days near her, and often the nights. When the group travels, she is the one who carries her when she can no longer walk. But above all, when a piece of game has been brought in by a hunter, one sees in the choice of beneficiaries, outlined in the heart of the group, the limits of a unit greater then the conjugal family, and whose reality appears only rarely in daily circumstances.

224 Thus, when a boa sucuri (irɨtasu, a1: Eunectes murinus) has
602 been brought in one day by A17, he gives the tripe to his daughter a19, who passes it on to her sister a22; the latter divides it between a12 and a5 (her "daughters") and reserves a portion for herself; at the same time A17 cuts the body into portions which he gives to A13, A1, A21, and of which he keeps part. Here, the division is almost coextensive with the restricted group. But, in more serious circumstances (1), the division of

1. P. 106 sq., cessation of menses (état de marge).

an irara (inihɨnuklesu, a1; Mustela sp.) by A21 gives rise to the following distributions:

A quarter to a18 (wife's mother);
A quarter to a2 (wife's elder sister);
A quarter to a14 (brother's wife);
A foot to a19 (wife's younger sister);
A half-head to A17 (wife's mother's husband).

[75] He consumes the rest with his wife and baby, and the beneficiaries divide their share with spouse and children. Thus in the heart of the group there is outlined an even more restricted unit:

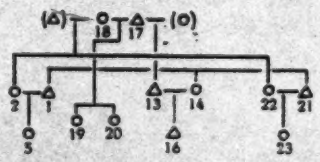


Fig. 17.

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnanî-i! Tagnaní-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[521] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the [511] family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [à vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

291 Around the waist both men and women wear a buritî cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a lenth of buritî fiber from the front of the belt.

302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 13) 1/1

619 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar
621 to the band territory. The Waklítisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*waklisu*) in their territory. The Elótasu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*toku*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitánhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tantu*. The Chiwáisu are bee people from the word *waisu*, bee. The Hégndisu are buritî fruit (*héeru*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as it is told among the Waklítisu band, can be sum-
773 marized as follows:

> Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *yahaindurukatsu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *oklihâitlisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *oklihâitlisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the piuva bow and taught them how

1/1 [Cat. 116, p. 123.—Analyst] [p. 96 (A)]

619 773 to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them the flute (*wáinrhu*), and taught them how to sing and dance. *Oklihâitlisu* is thus the culture hero of the Nambicuara. In human form he looks like a Nambicuara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucú. Yet today people no longer see *oklihâitlisu*, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

622 Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklítisu band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicuara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*alúnsu*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *alunsáidnara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicuara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicuara believe, depends upon the *alunsáidnara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

619 Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicuara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Inter-
[582] marriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chiwáisu
438 and Hégndisu obtain pots from the Western
619 Nambicuara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pots they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicuara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

[p. 96 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

619 438 several hundred yards off and messengers are sent out to arrange a meeting. When agreement is reached the visiting band enters the camp, the visiting chief kneels on one knee and holding his bow and arrows above his head with his right hand he makes a speech extolling the hosts and their goods and depreciating the things which his band has brought. The host then makes a similar speech, and trading begins.

Important items are traded by the two chiefs representing their respective bands, while small items can be exchanged by individual owners. In all cases, however, the technique of trading is the same. If an individual wants an object he extolls it by saying how fine it is. If a man values an object and wants much in exchange for it, instead of saying that it is very valuable he says that it is no good, thus showing his desire to keep it. "This ax is no good, it is very old, it is very dull," he will say, referring to his ax which the other wants. This argument is carried on in an angry tone of voice until a settlement is reached. When agreement has been reached each snatches the object out of the other's hand. If a man has bartered a necklace, instead of taking it off and handing it over, the other person must take if off with a show of force. Disputes, often leading to fights, occur when one party is a little premature and snatches the object before the other has finished arguing. The term "boca forte" (strong mouth) applies particularly to trading, for a man with a strong mouth gets what he wants and convinces the other that he, too, has made a good bargain. This method of trading contrasts sharply with that practiced among the Upper Xingú tribes where each party places a pile of goods opposite the article he wants, usually without saying a word. If agreement is not reached, each one eventually withdraws his goods.

619 583 After a satisfactory exchange of goods the two bands go hunting and prepare a quantity of food and dance as long as the food lasts. During these meetings marriages are sometimes arranged, but more often, when leaving, some strong man will try to steal the wife of some other man. If a fight should occur in which one man is killed the winner will take not only his wife or wives but his children and property as well.

619 Rev. L. W. Buckman gave the following account which reveals something of the tension between

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

619 the bands. In 1937, the Kitánhlu band met a small group of Chiwáisu out hunting and attempted to trade with them. As the Chiwáisu were the smaller group, the Kitánhlu evidently tried to rob them. In the fight several Chiwáisu were killed. These bands did not meet again until 1941, but the Chiwáisu prowled around the Kitánhlu camp stealing what they could and trying to revenge their fallen comrades. In 1941, both bands happened to meet in Campos Novos, and the old quarrel was renewed. In the Chiwáisu camp there was a child which had been born to a Kitánhlu woman married to a Chiwáisu. A Kitánhlu took the child away by force saying that it belonged to his band. The Chiwáisu retaliated by shooting down a Kitánhlu. A fight followed in which the Chiwáisu were driven out after losing several of their band. For several years the Chiwáisu remained away and were attacked by the Saláunsu, a wild tribe living to the north of the Nambicuara. In the last few years, a temporary peace has been arranged by the Chiwáisu bringing presents of wax and honey to the Kitánhlu.

648 Except at telegraph stations, mission stations, and at the two Indian Posts, the Nambicuara have few contacts with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranxe. The Paressí consider the Nambicuara as their inferiors, and, as far as is known, the two peoples do not intermarry. The Iranxe hold themselves aloof from both tribes.

The efforts of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios to improve the lot of the Nambicuara have not been very successful. Part of this lack of success is, no doubt, due to the poor agricultural possibilities in the region. The Tolosa Post is situated in a barren region where it is difficult to grow sufficient food to maintain more than two or three families. The Nambicuara visit Tolosa, but after the food supply is consumed they move on. The other factor which makes it difficult to settle the Nambicuara in permanent villages is that they are hunters and shifting agriculturists. Lack of good agricultural land does not altogether explain this nomadic pattern of existence. Like the Caduveo who have excellent farming land the Nambicuara persist in continuing their traditional form of economy.

In contrast to the Paressí, who have become satisfactory employees of telegraph stations, mining camps, and mission stations, the Nambicuara

648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

• 649 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterized by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The relations with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Salúnsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

721

726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any holes in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's enemies and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Elótasu reaches puberty she will return to the

534 *kadinsu*, the nose flute, *maitātsu*, and the five-tube panpipe, *dūtu*. The nose flute which is about 4 inches in diameter is made by sticking two round pieces of gourd together with rosin. Three holes are made on one side, two holes providing finger stops, while air from one nostril is blown across the other. These flutes do not appear to have any ritual significance.

771 In reviewing the religious symbolism of the Nambicuara it appears that the following conclusions can be drawn. The *oklikáitisu* myth explains the origin of the Eastern Nambicuara and their rights to the territory which they now occupy. *Tauptá*, although not the cause of illness, explains why people die. *Tauptá* and *dihnínuwa* also account for the existence of shooting stars and the presence of rain. *Ulurá* appears to represent the ever-present forces of destruction inherent in the physical environment. Within the framework of these ultimate forces the Nambicuara carry on their struggle for existence assisted by and opposed by the members of their own kind. The security of the band depends upon the close cooperation of the kinsmen acting under the guidance of the chief. The *wáinrhu* flutes provide a supernatural sanction for the powers of the chief and thus help in enforcing and maintaining band solidarity. The flutes, furthermore, are a symbol of the common ancestry of the Eastern Nambicuara in that they relate the bands to the culture hero. The ghosts of the ancestors (*ayánkadisu*), like the living members of the band, must be well-treated in order to avoid danger to children and the perpetuation of the band.

619 But actual day-to-day danger to the individual comes from the members of other bands. Disputes over women and quarrels arising from the exchange of goods, as we have seen, lead to bloodshed and death. In the ultimate analysis each [621] band defends itself as a sovereign unit by force. The danger arising from the constant tension and suspicion between the bands is symbolized by the *anúnsu* who bring illness, who create the storms which destroy the houses and fields, and who threaten the band with starvation by making hunting difficult. As direct attack by other bands is met with the physical forces of the band, so spiritual attack by the *anúnsu* of other bands is met by the assistance of one's own *anúnsu*. They help the shamans to draw out the evil objects

[p. 102 (A)]

•619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anânsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (*winsûendîtsu*) as the cause of pregnancy (*halâjitsu*). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anânsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklîtisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do
[847] not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks
[824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitânrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102(B)]

601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system.
This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

●621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

[36] Eastern group, dialect a1: oakletosu (a1); yalhere (b1); yaliririte (c).

621 [161] This group, comprising 23 persons divided into six families, was found in the region of the Papagaio River (Utiarity) upon the occasion of one of its excursions in the nomad period. As we learned later, it was part of quite an important Indian community localized in several villages or camp sites in an unexplored zone of the right bank of the Juruena River, where we went, traveled and lived with them. The dry season and the period of nomadism does not seem to have been the only reason for the isolation of the group; some differences re- [22] lating to command had seemingly provoked a break, grouping a certain number of individuals around an active and ambitious chief. We have, undoubtedly, been called on to play a semi-conscious role in this fight. We shall return to this point when we treat of command. However, the encounters of the group with other bands belonging to the same community have always been cordial. The meeting with a first band approximately restored the population of the winter vil- [161] lage; and the strength of a neighboring village, found later on, increased the number to 75 persons, the largest number of Indians that we saw united in eight months.

As will be seen by the genealogical chart opposite, the restricted group is composed of four generations, the oldest reduced to two individuals, the following being composed of "husbands" and "wives," "brothers," "sisters," "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law." The third and the fourth, finally, constitute a complex mixture of children, sometimes at an early age, considered as "children" or "relatives," and of adults classed as "brothers," "sisters," "husbands," and "wives," and shifted to a generation younger than their normal one because of their situation as children of older brothers.

Before giving several quick pieces of information about each of the members of the group from the point of view of his situation in the kinship system and of his individual psychology, it is necessary to stop for a moment at the question of proper names.

• • • •

551 Proper names are never pronounced among the Nambikwara. A very strict prohibition forbids them and raises a nearly insoluble problem for the notation of genealogies, even though the taboo does not seem to be as rigorous for the dead as for the living. Nevertheless, one [37] never hears a proper name, and individuals call one another

601
621

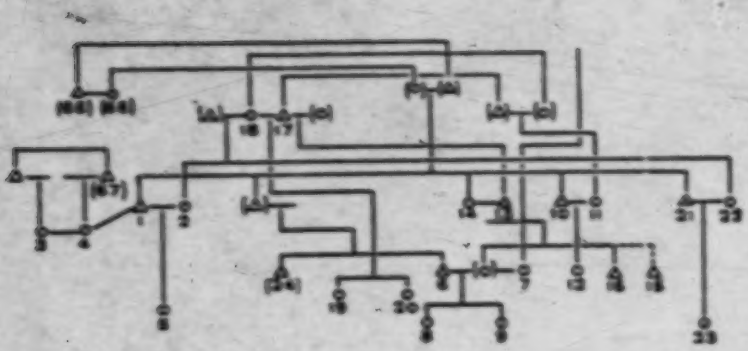


Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622
115
157 A1. --The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years, married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531
212

1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

115 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He is physically robust,
157 amiable, happy and talkative; very much inclined toward erotic
602 jokes. He gives information willingly, with an extreme good will and a tireless volubility. But his explanations are not always clear, and it is necessary to let oneself be guided by his slightly incoherent fantasy.

115 a18.--About 45 years; wife of the preceding, mother of a2 and
157 a22. She is a serious woman, industrious, devoted to her husband and children. She laughs little, talks to herself, and is always busy with some task. Her bits of information are rare, but solid.

a19.--About 10 years. Daughter of the two preceding. She is a very pretty girl, still a child who yet scarcely shows the first signs of puberty. She has in the group a position as "mother," as does her little sister a20. She is a brutal and sometimes violent child, who adopted towards us an attitude confined to hostility. Her language is crude and she gets involved willingly in the most daring pranks. This attitude is at least partially explained, as will be seen farther on, by her age situation.

[45] a20.--Little girl of 5 or 6 years, sister of the preceding: her contemporaries and even some adults call her "mother." She is perfectly insufferable; pretentious, affected, continually greedy for presents or distractions.

A21, a22, a23.--It is difficult to characterize these three individuals who lived, during nearly the whole time of our visit, in an almost absolute state of silent segregation. The baby a23 is not yet weaned, and the state of couvade was to end at the end of our stay. We shall describe later on the operations which sanction return to communal life. A21, 35 to 40 years, is the brother of A1; a22, about 18 years, the sister of a2. A21 was to die by drowning during one of our absences. The baby is 12 to 18 months old.

621 As we have said before, the restricted group such as it has just been described, is temporarily united with other similar bands, or is temporarily swelled by other family groups. Thus to the 6 "fires"(1)

602 1. As the following analysis shows, the family group--that is the restricted group--of the Nambikwara is rather difficult to define. The empiric notion of the hearth seems to us the most clear and practical. It defines the grouping of the individuals who come together in the evening and sleep around the same fire. In group a1 (restricted) studied previously, there are

602 from this point of view, six fires, namely: I (1 to 5); II (6 to 9); III (10 to 12); IV (13 to 16); V (17 to 20); VI (21 to 23).

621 comprising the stable group are added intermittently:

Fire 7 (24 to 28). Five individuals, including: A24, "son" (of an elder brother) of A1 (20 to 25 years), husband of a25 (18 to 20 years), their baby a26 (about 2 years), the father A27 (about 50 years) of a25, and the brother A28 (about 12 years) of the latter.

Fire 8 (29 to 37). --Eight individuals including: A32, chief of the group comprised of fires 7, 8 and 9. About 40 years of age, asukosu of A1; his five wives, a33, a34, a35, a36, "sisters" of each other (18 to 25 years), and their "mother" a37 (about 40 years), besides the 3 children of this latter, a30 and A31 (8 to 11 years) and a29 (about 2 years).

Fire 9 (39 to 41). --Four individuals, that is, two households, whose kinship relationships are obscure. A38 (about 50), "brother" of a2, and his wife a39 (about 45), "sister" of A1; and A40 (about 30), "brother" of A1, and his wife a41 (about 30), "sister" of a2, the two latter "father" and "mother" of a5.

Fire 10 (42 to 47). -- Six persons, including: A42 (about 30 years old), asukosu of A1; his two wives, the one a43 (about 35 years old), "sister" of A1, and the other a44 (about 18 years old), "niece" of A1, and three children, A45 and A46 (9 to 12) and a47 (2 to 3 years).

[46] Fire 11 (48 to 50). --Three individuals: A48, "brother" of A1 and "husband" of a2 (about 35 years old), his wife a49 (about 35 years old), "wife" of A1 and "sister" of a2. They are consequently "father" and "mother" of a5, and their child a50 is her "sister" (3 to 4 years old).

Fire 12 (51 to 56). --Six persons: A51 (about 40 years old), "brother" of A1 and ajikediu of a2, his wife a52, "sister" of a2 (about 40), and four children, a53 (14 years old) and A54, a55 and A56 (6 to 10 years old).

Fire 13 (57 to 61). --Five persons: A57 (about 45), brother of A69, and asukosu of A1, "older brother" of a2; his two wives, one a58, "sister" of A1, the other a59, his "daughter" (20 to 30 years old), and two children, A60 and A61 (3 and 7 years old), both "husbands" of a5.

Fire 14 (62 to 66). --Five persons: A62 (about 42 years old), asukosu of a1 and akeasukosu of a2, his wife a63, "sister" of A1 and of a58, and mother of a3 (about 40 years old), their child a64 (about 5)

621 and two persons whom A1 calls "father" and "mother", A65 (about 50 years old) and a66 (about 50), who live in the home of their "daughter" a63.

Fire 15 (67 to 70). --Four persons form two households: A67 "husband" of a2 and called asoũnosu by A1 because he is the father of his wife a4, and a68, aseẽtasu of a2, but called aẽinosu by A1 because she is the mother of his other wife. And A69 (about 28 years old), "brother" of A42 and asũkosu of A1, married to a70 (about 25), undetermined parentage.

Fire 16 (71 and 72). --A71 (about 30 years old), "brother" of A28 and his wife a72 (about 20 years old), "daughter" of A13 and a14.

Fire 17 (73 to 75). --A73 (about 30 years old), former husband of a12 whom he abandoned, and his two wives a74 and a75 (20 to 25 years old), "sisters" of a5.

• • • •

RULES OF RESIDENCE

591 621 The phenomena of spatial distribution do not seem to have special significance in the essentially nomadic groups. Nevertheless, we shall give the plan of distribution of the families in the nomadic camp (chart I), and in the winter village (chart II) for the restricted group, and the plan of distribution of the families or of the fires in semi-permanent camp for the most numerous combination (chart III). [47]

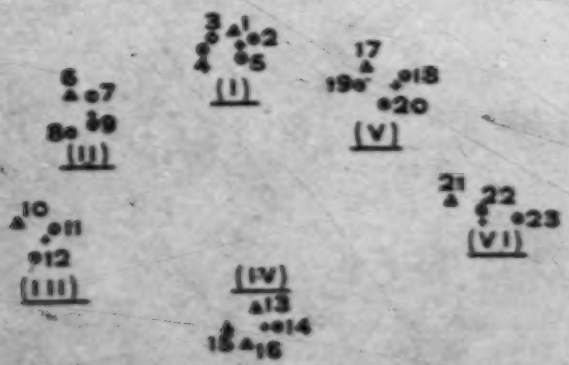


Fig. 12. --Placement of fires (+) and of family groups (▲ : man; ○: woman) in the nomad encampment.

591
●621

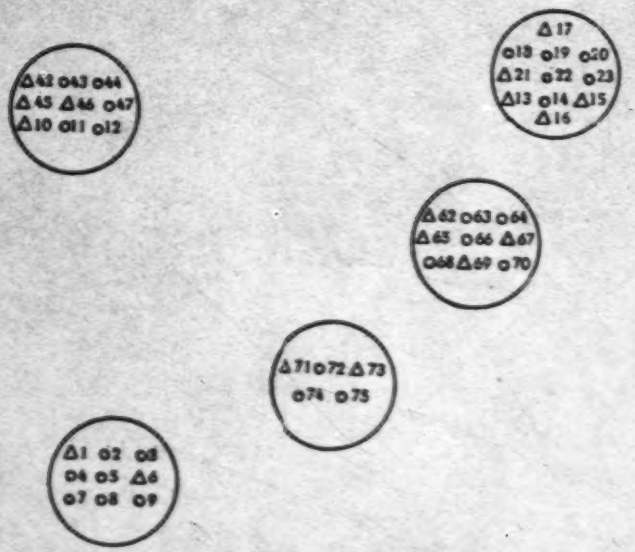


Fig. 13. --Grouping of families in the huts of the winter village.

The examination of these charts calls for several remarks.

(1) The nomadic camp generally obeys fixed rules for the distribution of individuals around the "fires," but not for the distribution of the "fires" in space. Fires 1 to 6 are not distributed in [48] the same way in the nomadic camp (I) and in the general camp (III). In fact, in the latter case, the families arrived one after the other, traveling in groups of two or three, or separately, and came to occupy the available sites. Nevertheless, when the restricted group travels in a single block, its camp is generally in conformance with the distribution given in chart I, which reproduces a camp maintained for one month.

(2) The distribution of the camp fires does not reproduce the distribution of families in the huts of the winter village. However, one will observe that the members of fires 1 and 2, who occupy one and the same hut, camp side by side in chart I, and around the same fire in chart III [49] (but, at this moment, A6 is absent and his family rejoins the fire of his "father"). In the same way, fires 4, 5, and 6, placed side by side in chart I, live together during the winter camping (chart II); but in this latter case, there is a complete separation at the time of the general meeting. It is true that at this moment, A21 has just died, his wife and his baby have rejoined the maternal

[I refers to Fig. II and III refers to Fig. IV. --Translator]

591
621

[361]

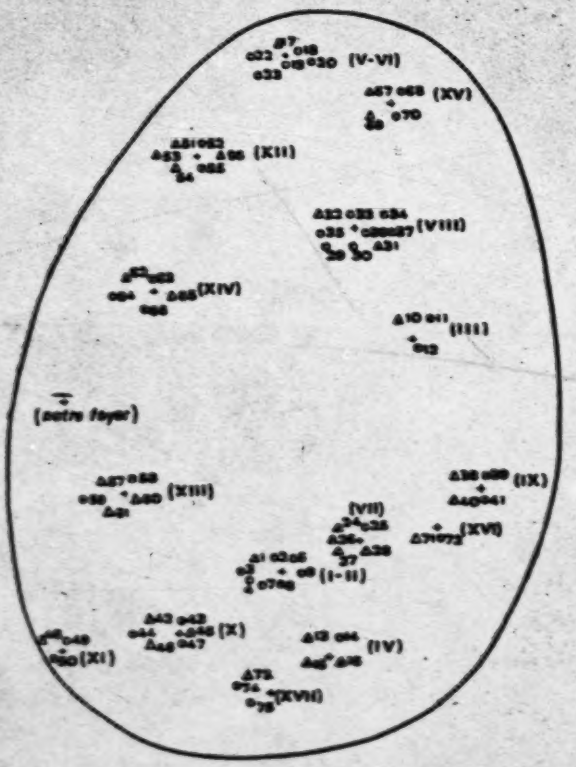


Fig. 14. --Distribution of Families in Temporary Residence.

fire, and the group of six persons has arrived late at the reunion, after an isolated trip. Fires 16 and 17, united at the winter camp (II), are completely isolated in camp (chart III); the same for fires 14 and 15 and for fires 3 and 10.

[29] (3) Since several families join around the same fire, it does not seem possible to deduce any rules of residence, which seems to confirm the impossibility of obtaining from the informants a clear answer to the question of whether the young couples establish themselves separately after marriage, or remain near the parents of the wife or the husband. In two cases, we see the daughters rejoin their parents fire: a12, abandoned by her husband, and a22 at the time of her widowhood. During the winter camp, the household of fire 4 resides with the parents of the husband; and household 6 with the wife's parents (fire 5 in the two cases). Likewise at this time, fire 2 is installed in the hut of the husband's "father." Finally, in two cases, one sees parents, unfit for the economic battle because of age or widowhood, installed at their daughter's fire, as A65 and a66, and

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarũnde, maimãde (b1); mamãindeti (c) oãindesu, nikõdetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
131] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

621 We shall comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

[578] without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

621 115 157 622 601 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnʔẽ njãnajne heni niho ãmednjẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often

[77] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the
area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
[531] seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from
group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments
made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately
the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the
aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instru-
ment.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40
years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years,
b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the
latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18,
sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son"
also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years
old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of
oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl
of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1;
he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors
of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster,
they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of
b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1,
thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of
B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
574 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their
hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was
comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of
B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt
of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the
children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

621 574 601 generation is composed of b26, wife of B25 (about 20 years); of the husband of b29, B28 (about 25); of the wife, b22, of B21 (same age); of his brother B24 (20 years), both children of a deceased sister of B18; and of a widower of about 40 years, B30, brother of B15 and of b2, who had been married to a sister of B1. The young generation is represented by only two children, b23, about 7 years, daughter of B21 and b22, and b31, about 10 years, daughter of B30, mother dead. For the whole picture of genealogical relationships, the reader should refer to Figure 15.

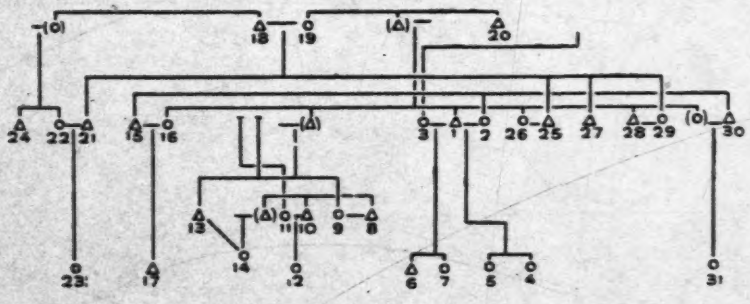


Fig. 15.

601 621

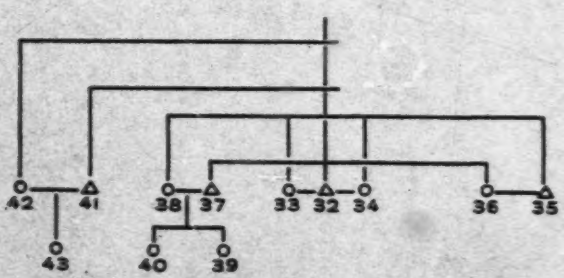


Fig. 16.

621 601 [53] Western group, dialect b2: tajate, lakõnde (b1/2); soyaĩnte (c).

We shall limit ourselves to giving the genealogical scheme of the composition of this little group (Figure 16), found, only for several days, toward the line of the division of the waters which separate the basins of the Roosevelt and the Gi-Parana (Tres Buritis). Its members seem to be the survivors of a formerly important group, the tajte.

Northern group, dialect c: sabane (c); tamajnde (b1/2); toãtesu (a 1/2).

[197] We have not been able to establish the genealogical composition of this group for reasons of linquistic difficulties (dialect c does not seem to spring from the same family as the others) and because of the consecutive impossibilities which we encountered in determining the true position in the system of individuals designated by the same term. We shall thus content ourselves with an analysis by households.

Fire 1 (1 to 3). --C1, about 30 years, and his wife c2, 25 years; he, "brother" of C6, she, "daughter" of c23; their son, C3, is about 10 years old.

Fire 2 (4 and 5). --C4, 40 years, is the younger brother of C20 and of c23; his wife c5, 25 to 30 years, is called "wife" by C6, "older sister" by c21, and "daughter" by c23.

Fire 3 (6 to 10). --We have already analyzed (1) the kinship

1. Pp. 33 to 35.

situation of C6, of his wife c7 (both are 30), and of their children c8 and c9 (6 to 8 years); the younger brother of the wife, C10, about 10 years, lives with them.

Fire 4 (11 to 14). --C11 is 50 odd years old; he is called "elder brother" by C6, C4, C15, C20, and c23; his wife c12, about 35 years, is "daughter" of c23; the young brother of the latter, C14, about 17 years, unmarried, lives with them as well as their daughter of 7 years, c13.

Fire 5 (15 to 18). --C15, about 30 years, is called "younger brother" by C20 and c23; his wife c16 is "daughter" of c23; she has a young brother C17, about 12 years, and a baby of some 20 months, c18.

601 Fire 6 (19 to 22). --The chief, or rather, it seems, the shaman of
621 group c, is 30 to 40 years old, "brother" of c23. His dispositions are
[756] friendly and mysterious. We shall encounter him farther on (2). He

2. P. 103.

has two wives, c19 and [54] c21, very pretty girls of 17 or 18 years, "sisters" of the dead husband of c23. Here we have, then, a good example of sororal polygyny. The second woman has a little boy of 3 years, C22.

Fire 7 (23 to 25). --The woman, c23, is over 40; she is a widow and seems to enjoy great consideration. Her numerous "brothers" provide for her as well as her children, and like C20, she is apt to receive supernatural revelations (1). She has a son, C25, about 14

1. Cf. p. 101.

years old, and a daughter, c24, about 10. Concerning them, refer to page 34.

Fire 8 (26 and 27). --A young couple of about 18, whose parents must be dead and whom the elders of the group call "grandchildren."

Fire 9 (28 to 30). --C28, about 25 years, is a "son" of C6; his wife, c29 is older than he (over 40); she is called "daughter" by c19 and c21, although they are by far younger than she; her daughter c30 is about 2 years old.

Fire 10 (31 to 33). --c32, about 40 years old, is a younger sister of c23; she has two daughters: the eldest, c31, about 17, is married; the younger, c33, still a baby. The husband and her son-in-law are absent; they are said to be on a trip together. The group sees to the needs of the two women.

It is suitable to add a visitor to this list, C34, about 30 years old.
[574] He is the brother of c12 and, during his stay, he receives the hospitality of household number 4.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

Husbands and Wives

593 To understand well the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another, it is indispensible to keep in mind the fundamental character

605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"--which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarũte--can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted 621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern 182 184

1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or- [91] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
[197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarûte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jôpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

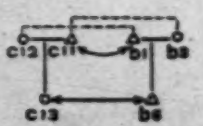


Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

621 instead that all the Sabané men were for them tarûte, or that all
605 the Tarundé men were jôpa. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group: it is called "Sabané" or "Tarundé." It is thus in the function of the relationship of tarûte or jôpa (asûkosu, al) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution; one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its correlaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
[582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of

1. See p. 39.

marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited

622 discovering grains or fruits, [87] groves of piquy (a type of fir), of
[824] caju (Anacardium sylvestre), the heads of streams frequented by small game, where to lead his group, always searching for means of subsistence. His role is also that of maintaining internal discipline and of opposing the bad intentions of recalcitrants:

29. odnanienuatanie hutanto igalagatiene (b1)
Lazy one, I order you, that is enough, to work!

The only sanction at his disposition is that of obtaining the agreement of his companions to expell one who has become guilty of a fault (1) or who shows himself to be rebellious to collective life.

1. Cf. below, p. 111.

But that is only possible in the case where a single member of the group shows lack of discipline. The chief should show a continual talent which is more closely related to electoral politics than to the exercise of power, to maintain his group, and if possible, to enlarge
622 it by new adherents. The nomadic band in fact represents a fragile
621 unit. If the authority of the chief becomes too demanding, if he monopolizes too great a number of women, if he is not capable in periods of need of resolving the food problems, discontent is created, individuals or families break away, and go to attach themselves to a related band whose affairs seem to be better conducted—better nourished thanks to the discovery of a hunting or collecting site, or richer because of barter with neighboring groups, or more powerful after victorious wars. The chief then finds himself at the head of a too restricted group, incapable of facing daily difficulties, or whose women are exposed to being carried off by stronger neighbors, and he is obliged to renounce his command in order to join a more happy faction with his faithful followers; the Nambikwara society is thus in a state of perpetual flux. Groups form, are broken up, grow and disappear and, in several months' time sometimes the composition, number and division of bands become unrecognizable. All of these transformations are accompanied by intrigues and conflicts, by rises and falls, the whole being produced at an extremely rapid rhythm.

622 In exchange for the authority which they recognize in him, his companions are very demanding in regard to their chief; and if a decision made by him places the group in some difficulty, he is left alone to find means of surmounting it. We remember a trip undertaken by mutual consent, rendered more difficult than had been thought by the necessity of discovering a new itinerary along which our mules

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Gardening exists only during the rainy season and does not free the Nambikuara from wandering during the seven months of the dry season, looking for wild roots, fruits and seeds, small animals such as lizards, snakes, bats, spiders and grasshoppers and, generally speaking, anything which may prevent them from starving. As a matter of fact, their geographical surroundings, which are located in the northwestern part of the state of Mato Grosso and include the headwaters of the Tapajos, Rio Roosevelt and Rio Gi-Parana, consist of a desolated savanna with few vegetal resources and still less game.

Had I approached my subject from a point of view other than the one outlined above, I could not have avoided a long discussion in South American cultural history, aimed at clearing up this apparent primitiveness, on the question as to whether the survival of early conditions of life in South America is genuine or whether we should consider it as a more recent—although undoubtedly pre-columbian—result of culture clashes and processes of acculturation. Whatever the answer may be, it cannot substantially change our problem: whether tarriant or recessive, the Nambikuara society *functions*, in the present, as one of the simplest forms of human society to be conceived. We shall not seek information from the particular history which kept them in their exceptionally crude organization or brought them back to it. We shall only look at the experiment in social anthropology which they now enact under our very eyes.

This holds especially true in respect to their social and political life. For if we do not know what was the material culture of the Nambikuara forty years ago (they were discovered only in 1907), we do know that their numbers became tremendously reduced after their contact with white civilization. General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who discovered and studied them, first stated that their number was about 20,000. This was around 1915. I take this figure as greatly exaggerated, but even if reduced by one half, it considerably exceeds the present number which is hardly more than 2,000. Epidemics have taken care of the difference. What does this mean, from the point of view of our study? During the dry season, the Nambikuara live in nomadic bands, each one under the leadership of a chief, who, during the sedentary life of the rainy months, may be either a village chief or a person of position. General Rondon wrote that, at the time he was exploring the country, it was not rare to see bands averaging two or three hundred individuals. Now, sixty or seventy

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

621 people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves 121 with such questions as the type of political organization in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

[361] Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the 621 gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It 601 does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between [602] two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The [512] Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[1] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown 602 by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage sys- 621 tem functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss. "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians." American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1943.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

relationship from becoming really operative in the constitution of the band. It can be said that, inside the band as well as between the different bands which are the offspring of the same temporary village, everybody is everybody's kin, in pretty much the same fashion.

Why then the splitting-up process? Two different considerations must be brought forth to answer this question. From an economic point of view, the scarcity of wild food resources and the subsequent high square-mileage needed to feed one individual during the nomadic period make the division into small bands almost compulsory. The real question is not why there is a division but rather on what basis it takes place. I have said that this is done by free choice, but this freedom is not arbitrary. There are, in the initial group, several men acknowledged as leaders (who likely acquired this reputation from their behavior during the nomadic life) and who make the relatively stable nuclei around which the different aggregates center. The importance, as well as the permanence of the aggregate through successive years, depend largely upon the ability of each of these leaders to keep his rank and eventually to improve it. Thus, it may be said that leadership does not exist as a result of the band's needs, but, instead, that the band receives its shape, its size, and even its origin, from the potential leader who antedates it.

There is, however, a continuous function of leadership, although not permanently assumed by the same individual. Among the Nambikuara, chieftainship is not hereditary. When a chief grows old, or is taken ill, and when he does not feel able to fulfill his heavy duty any more, he himself designates his successor. "This one—this one will be the chief . . ." he says. It seems likely that this autocratic power to insure one's own succession is more apparent than real. We shall emphasize later on the small amount of authority enjoyed by the chief and, in this case as in many others, the final decision is probably preceded by a careful survey of public opinion, the designated heir being, at the same time, the one with the greater support from the members of the band. The appointment of the new chief is not only limited by the wishes or disapproval of the band; it needs also to correspond to the plans of the individual to be chosen. Not seldom, does the offer of leadership meet with a vehement refusal: "I don't want to be the chief." Then a new choice must be made. As a matter of fact, chieftainship does not seem to be coveted by many people, and the general attitude of the different chiefs I happened to know was less to brag about their

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

are to be cultivated; and, generally speaking, he will organize the occupations according to the seasons' needs and possibilities. 622

These rather versatile duties, it should be pointed out from the start, are not facilitated by any fixed power or recognized authority. Consent is at the origin of leadership, and consent, too, furnishes the only measure of its legitimacy. Disorderly conduct (according to the native standards) and unwillingness to work on the part of one or two discontented individuals may seriously jeopardize the chief's program and the welfare of his small group. In this eventuality, however, the chief has no coercivitive power at his disposal. The eviction of the bad people can take place only in so far as the chief is able to make public feeling coincide with his own opinion. Thus, he must continuously display a skill belonging more to the politician trying to keep hold of his fluctuating majority than to an over-powering ruler. Furthermore, he does not only need to keep his group together. Although the band lives practically alone and by itself during the nomadic period, the existence of the other bands is not forgotten. It is not enough to do well; the chief must try—and his people count on him for that—to do better than the others. [627]

No social structure is weaker and more fragile than the Nambikuara band. If the chief's authority appears too exacting, if he keeps too many women for himself (I shall later analyse the special features of the chief's polygamy), or if he does not satisfactorily solve the food problem in times of scarcity, discontent will very likely appear. Then, individuals, or families, will separate from the group and join another band believed to be better managed. For instance, this band may get better fare from the discovery of new hunting or gathering emplacements; or it may have become richer in ornaments or implements, through trade with neighboring groups, or more powerful as a result of a successful war expedition. The day will come when the chief finds himself heading a group too small to face the problems of daily life, and to protect his women from the covetousness of other bands. In such cases, he will have no alternative but to give up his command and to rally, together with his last followers, a happier faction. Therefore, Nambikuara social structure appears continuously on the move. The bands take shape, then disorganise, they increase and they vanish. Within a few months, sometimes, their composition, number and distribution cannot be recognised. Political intrigues within the same band and conflicts between bands impose their rhythm upon these fluc- 621 627

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[621] 622 tuations, and the ascent or decline of individuals and groups follow each other in a rather surprising manner.

How will the chief be able to overcome these difficulties? The first instrumental force of his power lies in his generosity. Generosity —an all important feature of chieftainship among most primitive peoples, especially in America—plays an outstanding part even on those crude cultural levels where worldly goods are limited to the most primitive weapons and tools, coarse ornaments made of feathers, shells and bones, and raw materials, such as lumps of resin and wax, hanks of fiber and splinters of bamboo for arrow-making. There cannot be great economic distinctions between families each of which can pack [462] all of its belongings in the baskets carried along by the women during [556] the long travels of the dry season. But, although the chief does not seem to fare better, in this respect, than the others, he must always have at hand surpluses of food, tools, weapons, ornaments which, while being small indeed, acquire great value because of the scarcity which is the prevalent condition. When an individual, a family or the band itself needs or covets something, the chief is called upon to secure the desired article. Generosity is the quality, much speculated on, which is expected of a new chief. Generosity is the string constantly struck which makes the general consent to one's leadership sound clear or out of tune. There is little doubt that, in this respect, the chief's ability to give is exploited to the utmost. Band chiefs used to be my best informants, and, well aware of their difficult position, I liked to reward them liberally; but I seldom saw one of my many gifts remain in their hands for more than a few days. Each time I took leave of a band, after a few weeks or a few months, its members had time to become the happy hoarders of axes, knives, beads, and so on. As a rule, however, the chief was exactly as poor as at my first arrival. Everything he had received from me (and this was considerably more than the average) had already been squeezed out of him. This collective greediness not seldom drives the chief to an almost desperate position; then the refusal to give plays about the same part, in this primitive democracy, as the threat to resign followed by a vote of confidence in a modern parliament. When a chief reaches the point where he must say: "To give away is over! To be generous is over! Let another be generous in my place!", he must, indeed, be sure of his power and prestige, for his rule is undergoing its severest crisis.

Ingenuity is but the intellectual form of generosity. A great deal

000 sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

621 As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakiltisu band, a
622 short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 13 individuals, of which Julio
[731] is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakiltisu and
[595 related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu
583] woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

164 Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be
515 healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no
[513] hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes.
[291] The Wakiltisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat,
[164] makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

181 In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast
171 sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

101 are their enemies whom they call the Salundé or Salãosú, probably the Apiões whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[197] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into an Eastern and a Western group. Both the
131 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are
101 dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elótasu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Suina River; the Waklítisu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwáisu now including the Hégndisu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindisu on the Kabishí River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Táondisú and Suédndisu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Waklítisu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Waklítisu, Elótasu, and Kitánhlu the Iritoa; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwáisu and Hégndisu are called the Manduca by the local people, and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoa and Manduca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability
621 has arisen from the changes in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite
621 conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the Eastern Nambicuara are as follows: Waklitisu, 18; Kitânhlu, 45, Elôtasu, 17; Chiwâisu, 50. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half [164] as many exist today. It must be remembered that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires do Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hisipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Noticia published in 1746, he mentions the Caviro Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres de Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1800 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixí, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26–51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Paressí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically competent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, 648 small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tolosa on the upper Cravarí River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyreneus de Sousa between Campos Novos and

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes
262 reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.[2]

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Uti-
[131 133] arity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this
132 period the grass withers, the livestock of the white
221 men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, par-
[224] ticularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[805] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season
805 (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon
221 the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadíduñsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'owadjüsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *áhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *casúru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadüsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
621 has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

[1] [i.e., a fish poison — A.] [p. 87 (B)] [2] [See cat. 116, pp. 124-126. — Analyst]

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiósu*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *siónsu*. At present the
342 Waklítisu band has one house (*sísu*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
[513] gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinedónkleru*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sikáentsu*).
342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*siotéutsi*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
415 furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
000 carried by the women. The Waklítisu do not

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

●621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
859 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
[252 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
262 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

291 Around the waist both men and women wear a buriti cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a lenth of buriti fiber from the front of the belt.

302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 13) 1/A

619 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar
621 to the band territory. The Waklítisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*waklísu*) in their territory. The Elótesu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*toku*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitánhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tontu*. The Chiwáisu are bee people from the word *waisu*, bee. The Hégudisu are buriti fruit (*héeru*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as
773 it is told among the Waklítisu band, can be summarized as follows:

Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *yaheándurukatsu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *oklikáitlisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *oklikáitlisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the pluva bow and taught them how

1/A [Cat. 116, p. 123.—Paralysis] [p. 96 (A)]

648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

619 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterized by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The relations with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on
721 the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Salúnsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any holes in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's anúnsu and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Elótasu reaches puberty she will return to the

[p. 98(B)]

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tayántasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatahéinisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awínisu* (father) and the term *ahakínisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahaínusu* and mother's brother *asúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akanánusu*, his younger brother *dawáidnisu*, and his sisters *awádnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akiráru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asuétu* and *asíntu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *dazésu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatasáiserawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*azésu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amezáisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*asúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahaínusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Waklítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

[p. 99 (1)]

534 *kadinsu*, the nose flute, *maitêtansu*, and the five-tube panpipe, *dûtu*. The nose flute which is about 4 inches in diameter is made by sticking two round pieces of gourd together with rosin. Three holes are made on one side, two holes providing finger stops, while air from one nostril is blown across the other. These flutes do not appear to have any ritual significance.

771 In reviewing the religious symbolism of the Nambicuara it appears that the following conclusions can be drawn. The *oklihâitlisu* myth explains the origin of the Eastern Nambicuara and their rights to the territory which they now occupy. *Tauptû*, although not the cause of illness, explains why people die. *Tauptû* and *dihnînuwa* also account for the existence of shooting stars and the presence of rain. *Ulurû* appears to represent the ever-present forces of destruction inherent in the physical environment. Within the framework of these ultimate forces the Nambicuara carry on their struggle for existence assisted by and opposed by the members of their own kind. The security of the band depends upon the close cooperation of the kinsmen acting under the guidance of the chief. The *wâinrhu* flutes provide a supernatural sanction for the powers of the chief and thus help in enforcing and maintaining band solidarity. The flutes, furthermore, are a symbol of the common ancestry of the Eastern Nambicuara in that they relate the bands to the culture hero. The ghosts of the ancestors (*ayânkadisu*), like the living members of the band, must be well-treated in order to avoid danger to children and the perpetuation of the band.

619 But actual day-to-day danger to the individual comes from the members of other bands. Disputes over women and quarrels arising from the exchange of goods, as we have seen, lead to bloodshed and death. In the ultimate analysis each
● [621] band defends itself as a sovereign unit by force. The danger arising from the constant tension and suspicion between the bands is symbolized by the *anânsu* who bring illness, who create the storms which destroy the houses and fields, and who threaten the band with starvation by making hunting difficult. As direct attack by other bands is met with the physical forces of the band, so spiritual attack by the *anânsu* of other bands is met by the assistance of one's own *anânsu*. They help the shamans to draw out the evil objects

[p. 102 (A)]

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

tordię ialdsiętę

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our field-work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabãnę* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarãnãę* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

342 In order to erect one of these screens, which the muleteers call "little hunting huts" [maloquinhas de caça], and which are found scattered between the Juruena and Doze de Outubro rivers, the Indians begin by clearing the ground thoroughly. Then they plant two large leafy branches into the earth, one at each end of a straight line, and bend them at the top over a crosspiece held by two forked stakes sunk into the ground in front.

They complete the covering with straw or with grass rooted up for the occasion, the earth still clinging to its roots.

Inside--or rather beneath--the shelter, a small fire is lit.

Each screen covers an area of approximately two to four square meters. If the Indians are numerous, each family group erects its own shelter. The structure is actually a good representative of what German ethnologists call Windschrim [windscreen].

The Indians of the groups farther north (Tagnani, Tawite) do not build their temporary shelters in the same way.

As a general rule, their provisional dwelling is simpler: it consists of one or more leaves of the babassu or some other palm [225] which are stuck into the ground. This is not a windscreen, but a mere shade against sun or rain squalls.

361 These [latter] Indians, incidentally, live in a region of extensive forests and thick bush which affords adequate protection against the rain; whereas the others inhabit an area consisting largely of fields and scrubland. Another instance of the geographic environment conditioning human behavior.

[421] The Cocozu Nambicuara call their village sicũ, while the Anunze call it chicẽ. These words have the general meaning of "dwelling place": they signify either "house" or "village."

We do not know with certainty how they build their permanent dwellings.

[343] The women alone take part in the building of a hunting shelter; they cut down the necessary branches, while the children help by gathering the grass and straw which serve to complete the roof.

They change their dwelling place frequently. While following the trail that brought us to the Juina River village where we spent the night, we passed several former sites of the village.

[36] Eastern group, dialect a1: oakletosu (a1); ualiere (b1); ualiririte (c).

621 This group, comprising 23 persons divided into six families, was
[161] found in the region of the Papagaio River (Utiarity) upon the occasion of one of its excursions in the nomad period. As we learned later, it was part of quite an important Indian community localized in several villages or camp sites in an unexplored zone of the right bank of the Juruena River, where we went, traveled and lived with them. The dry season and the period of nomadism does not seem to have been the only reason for the isolation of the group; some differences re-
[622] lating to command had seemingly provoked a break, grouping a certain number of individuals around an active and ambitious chief. We have, undoubtedly, been called on to play a semi-conscious role in this fight. We shall return to this point when we treat of command. However, the encounters of the group with other bands belonging to the same community have always been cordial. The meeting with a first band approximately restored the population of the winter vil-
[161] lage; and the strength of a neighboring village, found later on, increased the number to 75 persons, the largest number of Indians that we saw united in eight months.

As will be seen by the geneological chart opposite, the restricted group is composed of four generations, the oldest reduced to two individuals, the following being composed of "husbands" and "wives," "brothers," "sisters," "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law." The third and the fourth, finally, constitute a complex mixture of children, sometimes at an early age, considered as "children" or "relatives," and of adults classed as "brothers," "sisters," "husbands," and "wives," and shifted to a generation younger than their normal one because of their situation as children of older brothers.

Before giving several quick pieces of information about each of the members of the group from the point of view of his situation in the kinship system and of his individual psychology, it is necessary to stop for a moment at the question of proper names.

• • • •

551 Proper names are never pronounced among the Nambikwara. A very strict prohibition forbids them and raises a nearly insoluble problem for the notation of genealogies, even though the taboo does not seem to be as rigorous for the dead as for the living. Nevertheless, one [37] never hears a proper name, and individuals call one another

601
621

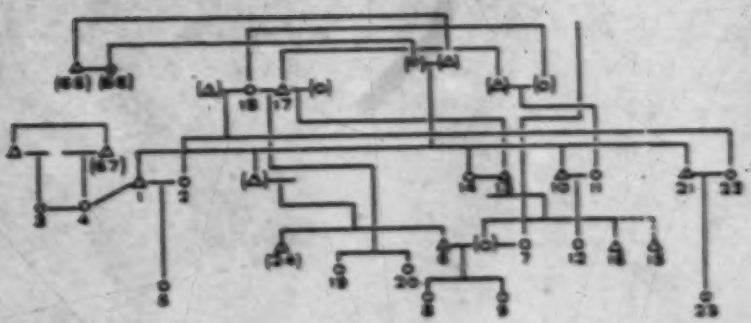


Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622
115
157 A1. --The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years, married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531
212

1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

531
212 Besides, they called the act of writing: iekariukediutu (a1), that is "make lines," which for them had an esthetic interest:

(3) Kihikagnere mūliene (b1).
It is nice to make lines.

[177] The drawings reproduced in Figure 19 thus constitute a cultural innovation inspired by our own drawings.

622 confers; also [41] he asked us for a note pad and a pencil, and we
115 are likewise equipped when we travel together. He does not com-
157 municate to me verbally the information that I ask of him, but traces on his paper some wavy lines and presents them to me as though I should read his response. But he himself is half duped by his comedy. Each time that his hand finishes a line, he examines it anxiously, as if the significance should miraculously spring forth, and each time, the same chagrined disillusion is painted on his face. But he doesn't give in. And it is silently understood between us that his scrawl possesses a meaning which I pretend to understand. Naturally, the verbal commentary follows almost immediately, and excuses me from having to demand some very necessary clarifications. When we discuss command, we shall return to certain aspects of this semi-mystification.

He is a valuable informant who understands the problems, perceives the difficulties, and is interested in the work; but his functions absorb him often, and he disappears for whole days on a hunting expedition, a survey of itinerary or a localization of ripe seed or fruit trees. On the other hand, his wives often call him to tender love games in which he lets himself be voluntarily involved.

In a general way, his attitude shows a logic, a continuity of purpose, very exceptional among the Nambikwara who are often unstable and temperamental. Placed in other conditions and with other means at his disposal, he might be a valuable organizer. And he is, after all, alone responsible for the destinies of his group, which he conducts with competence, although in a sometimes utopian spirit.

The father and the mother of A1 are dead. But his father's brother and mother's sister, whom he calls ahuinosu and ahenosu live in the same village (A65 and a66).

115 a2. --About 30 to 35 years. The eldest of the wives of A1, mother of a5, daughter of a18 and a new dead father. She is serious industrious, a little reserved in social relations. In the triple household

We shall
621 comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its
[578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for
621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:
115 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The
157 chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent
622 Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent
601 in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnẽ ẽ ejãnajse heni niho ãmdednjẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often
[77] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
● 622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the
area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
537 seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from
539 group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments
made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately
the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the
aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instru-
ment.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40
years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years,
b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the
latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18,
sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son"
also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years
old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of
oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl
of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1;
he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors
of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster,
they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of
b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1,
thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of
B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
579 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their
hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was
comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of
B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt
of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the
children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

622 Each band recognizes the leadership of a chief (johéru, a1/2; ṷilikāde, b1/2; ṷelikápara, c). He commands the group, or more exactly the group of adult men who are his "companions" (nukaṇájore, b1/2). These see to it that the orders are carried out by their wives, who are rarely consulted. The women conform to the decisions of the men, but they do not, in the collective plane, execute them directly. They take part in this only inside their family group, within the limits of sexual division of labor such as we have previously described it. The tasks of the chief are diverse. The principal and most permanent consist of the administration of the group. It is the chief who decides the seasonal occupations at the beginning of the nomadic period,

27. ṷilikákumaniene ájtnaseneje (b1)
the chief commands: everybody on their way!

the moment and place where they will camp for the rains, the gardening work and choice of plantations, the construction of huts, the itineraries of trips and times of stopping, hunting expeditions, gathering or collecting trips, the conduct to be observed as regards neighboring groups. His role is generally summed up by the formula:

28. ṷilikā nádaṇa éenate (b1)
the chief walks ahead. (1)

1. Thus, the philosophy of power does not seem to have been modified among the Brazilian Indians since the far-away day when, upon the occasion of an encounter made at Rouen, Montaigne made this statement: "Concerning what I asked him as to the fruits which he received from the superiority which he enjoyed among his people (for he was a Capitan and we sailors named him King), he told me that it was to be the first to march to war..." (Essais, éd. de la Pléiade, Paris, 1939, Ch. 31 "Des Cannibales").

He also goes away much more frequently than his companions, for [24] one or more days, accompanied by one or two of his polygamous wives who assist him in his enterprises, (2) with the purpose of

2. See above, p. 60 f.

622 discovering grains or fruits, [87] groves of piquy (a type of fir), of
623 caju (Anacardium sylvestre), the heads of streams frequented by small game, where to lead his group, always searching for means of subsistence. His role is also that of maintaining internal discipline and of opposing the bad intentions of recalcitrants:

29. odnanjenuatanje hutanto igalagatjene (b1)
Lazy one, I order you, that is enough, to work!

The only sanction at his disposition is that of obtaining the agreement of his companions to expell one who has become guilty of a fault (1) or who shows himself to be rebellious to collective life.

1. Cf. below, p. 111.

But that is only possible in the case where a single member of the group shows lack of discipline. The chief should show a continual talent which is more closely related to electoral politics than to the exercise of power, to maintain his group, and if possible, to enlarge
622 it by new adherents. The nomadic band in fact represents a fragile
621 unit. If the authority of the chief becomes too demanding, if he monopolizes too great a number of women, if he is not capable in periods of need of resolving the food problems, discontent is created, individuals or families break away, and go to attach themselves to a related band whose affairs seem to be better conducted—better nourished thanks to the discovery of a hunting or collecting site, or richer because of barter with neighboring groups, or more powerful after victorious wars. The chief then finds himself at the head of a too restricted group, incapable of facing daily difficulties, or whose women are exposed to being carried off by stronger neighbors, and he is obliged to renounce his command in order to join a more happy faction with his faithful followers; the Nambikwara society is thus in a state of perpetual flux. Groups form, are broken up, grow and disappear and, in several months' time sometimes the composition, number and division of bands become unrecognizable. All of these transformations are accompanied by intrigues and conflicts, by rises and falls, the whole being produced at an extremely rapid rhythm.

622 In exchange for the authority which they recognize in him, his companions are very demanding in regard to their chief; and if a decision made by him places the group in some difficulty, he is left alone to find means of surmounting it. We remember a trip undertaken by mutual consent, rendered more difficult than had been thought by the necessity of discovering a new itinerary along which our mules

622 and oxen for carrying could pass. The provisions of manioc proved to be insufficient and one morning the little band found itself without anything to eat. Our own attempts to kill some animal were in vain, and the worst [88] bad humor began to reign, the chief of the group being obviously held responsible for an affair which we, he and I, had contrived. In place of undertaking a hunting or collecting expedition, each one decided to go to sleep in the shade of shelters, and they left the chief alone to find the solution to the problem. He disappeared, accompanied by one of his wives (his first wife a2,
[222 415] contrary to usual procedure; but a3 and a4 shared the general irritation) and toward evening both were seen reappearing, their heavy baskets filled with grasshoppers which they had spent the entire day
[262] catching. Although grasshopper pie is not a particularly esteemed dish, everyone ate with good appetite and found his good humor again. They took up the journey again the next morning.

But other things than these exceptional relief measures are expected of the chief. He must sing and dance willingly and well, and be capable of animating the collective life. He must organize the work in the most reasonable way in order to eliminate useless fatigue and effort. Thus on the eve of a departure, B1 recites for us his order of march:

30. mãdorige mãdohadhudne hajtehãdige nãnjehnile
ɥietnonãnahara jãnehara kanahani'ndeere hinkanaha
iinaamnje akeena iinãmnje ihikaro ihikaro. (b1)
When it is hot, one is tired, one is hungry, the children walk badly; when one marches at dawn, one marches well, at dawn, one should march, change routes, march; on the way! on the way!

He must also win over his companions by numerous gifts. According to B1, who gives in willingly to the servitude of power, generosity plays a fundamental role in determining the degree of popularity which the new chief will enjoy, and the companions indulge in all sorts of speculations:

31. ɥilikã aheni ajnire tunun?entutnaɥilikã agnhahare
tunurjani (b-1)
The chief is leaving; the one who will come will give me a great deal.--"Chief! Be generous! Give to me!"

The presents thus anticipated consist of food or objects which the chief will have made himself with the assistance of his polygamous wives, or that he will have procured by good exchanges with neighboring bands, or which might come from war booty. Often, it seems,

622 he is incapable of satisfying increasing demands, and must refuse firmly:

32. hi'nde hota agnare hota (b1)
The giving is finished! Being generous is finished!

[89] or must even pose the question of confidence:

33. duhi'ri (gi) dnjẽ tununadjẽ tunun'lentine haknerejane (b1)
Go away! Giving is done with! Let another be generous (in my place)!

622 However it evidently depends on his ability and moderation whether
648 or not these refusals keep the demands of his companions within reasonable limits or provoke discontent and resulting ruptures. Under these conditions, the relationships which the chief succeeds in cementing with the outside world—other Nambikwara bands and neighboring tribes—have extreme importance. The chief has traveled widely. Within the limits of his territory, he has visited tribes different from his own and which his companions know only through his commentaries. We ourselves have had the impression of being used for political purposes: we have told above what the reactions of A1 were as regards writing. (1) He wished on this basis to attempt a vast operation, and

1. See above, p. 40 f.

he united several related bands under the pretext of meeting us, begging us without explanation to postpone the exchange of objects with the Indians. This enigmatic attitude lasted till the day when, assembling all his guests in a circle, he exhibited a piece of paper covered with wavy lines, and made a pretense of reading to each individual the nature and importance of the present which I was supposed to give to each one. All that with my complicity, obviously stupefied and immediately acquired. The Indians were even more impressed. The plan, such as we were able to understand it, consisted of fortifying his power by presenting himself as the sponsor and protector of the white visitor, whose secrets he was reputed to know at the same time. But the card of civilization thus played is assuredly vain. Six months later, we found A1 at the head of a severely reduced group and without illusion as to the failure of his vast projects. He watched us leave with real sadness, as though he were losing, with us, the last vestige of his prestige.

622 The charges of leadership being presented under such unattractive colors, one might ask what makes an individual accept them. It was not possible for us to determine exactly what the modalities are to be

622 named chief. One single point is clear: his functions are not hereditary. When the acting chief falls ill or becomes too old to carry on his charge, he points out from among the members of the group the one who will be his successor, doubtless influenced in his choice by collective opinion. He makes the decision public by the formula: hej̄ u̯ilikā̃de (b1): "this one will be chief," and thus the continuity of power is assured:

34. u̯ilikaa dorerige tjahi'liki'herage nlaure u̯ilikā̃de (b1)
When the chief dies, another chief comes in his place.

[90] But it happens that the person in question caring little for the heavy responsibilities which await him, declines the honor which has just been done him:

35. ūtnjane ūtnu̯ilikā ílikādnere (b1)
I do not wish to take the place of the chief.

and it is necessary to proceed to a new choice. What are then the motives which might determine the acceptance? Sexual preoccupations certainly play a role. If the newly elected is young, in place of going through a long period of celibacy or of being forced to marry an old woman, he will find himself in the privileged position of having several companions. If he is already married, he can add to his wife the youngest and prettiest among the available women of the group, or among those who will be conquered in war, and eventually obtain those whom he would desire and who would be already married.

C20, having lost his wives through illness or for some other reason, found himself a bachelor. He then took his young wife (c21) [92] from another husband, under the pretext that the latter was "too young to have a wife." Undoubtedly his liking of responsibility must equally be taken into consideration, his sense of leadership, ambition, and his desire for a fuller existence than that of normal life. The only two chiefs with whom we had any real personal contacts (A1 and B1) were both individuals of particularly lively spirit and, in giving to the term the sense which it might possess in these societies, more cultivated than their companions. (1)

1. The Indian theory of command has been the object of a more detailed study: C. Lévi-Strauss, Chief and chieftainship among a primitive tribe: The Nambikwara of Northwestern Matto Grosso. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1944.

1: Lévi-Strauss--105 E-6 (1938-1949)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern 526 Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [285] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [94] a1 whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

[721 [532] collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as [537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ĵednãẽ ṷõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ṷalaṷriĵenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. [242 535] Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[757]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622 [756 [759] is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

[147]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

he was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[301] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (am?), [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananás River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarindé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
[678] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

756 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of
279 naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

* * * * * *

622 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman,
756 plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations.
796 The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuára SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being presaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

relationship from becoming really operative in the constitution of the band. It can be said that, inside the band as well as between the different bands which are the offspring of the same temporary village, everybody is everybody's kin, in pretty much the same fashion.

Why then the splitting-up process? Two different considerations must be brought forth to answer this question. From an economic point of view, the scarcity of wild food resources and the subsequent high square-mileage needed to feed one individual during the nomadic period make the division into small bands almost compulsory. The real question is not why there is subdivision but rather on what basis it takes place. I have said that this is done by free choice, but this freedom is not arbitrary. There are, in the initial group, several men acknowledged as leaders (who likely acquired this reputation from their behavior during the nomadic life) and who make the relatively stable nuclei around which the different aggregates center. The importance, as well as the permanence of the aggregate through successive years, depend largely upon the ability of each of these leaders to keep his rank and eventually to improve it. Thus, it may be said that leadership does not exist as a result of the band's needs, but, instead, that the band receives its shape, its size, and even its origin, from the potential leader who antedates it.

There is, however, a continuous function of leadership, although not permanently assumed by the same individual. Among the Nambicuara, chieftainship is not hereditary. When a chief grows old, or is taken ill, and when he does not feel able to fulfill his heavy duty any more, he himself designates his successor. "This one—this one will be the chief . . ." he says. It seems likely that this autocratic power to insure one's own succession is more apparent than real. We shall emphasize later on the small amount of authority enjoyed by the chief and, in this case as in many others, the final decision is probably preceded by a careful survey of public opinion, the designated heir being, at the same time, the one with the greater support from the members of the band. The appointment of the new chief is not only limited by the wishes or disapproval of the band; it needs also to correspond to the plans of the individual to be chosen. Not seldom, does the offer of leadership meet with a vehement refusal: "I don't want to be the chief." Then a new choice must be made. As a matter of fact, chieftainship does not seem to be coveted by many people, and the general attitude of the different chiefs I happened to know was less to brag about their

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 importance and authority than to complain of their many duties and heavy responsibilities. What, then, are the privileges of the chief, and what are his obligations?

When, about 1560, the great French moralist of the sixteenth century, Montaigne, met in Rouen with three Brazilian Indians brought there by some navigator, he asked one of them what were the privileges of the chief (Montaigne said, "the King") in his country; and the native, himself a chief, answered: "To walk ahead on the warpath." Montaigne related this story in a famous chapter of the *Essays* where he wondered a great deal about this proud definition*; but it was a greater wonder to me when, almost four centuries later, putting the same question to my informants I was given the same answer. Civilised countries are certainly not accustomed to such constancy in the field of political philosophy! Striking as it may be, this answer is less significant than the name by which the chief is designated in the Nambikuara language. *Uilikande*, the native word for chief, seems to mean "the one who unites" or "the one who joins together." This etymology suggests that the native mind is fully conscious of this extremely important phenomenon which I have pointed out from the beginning, namely, that the leader appears as the cause of the group's willingness to aggregate rather than as the result of the need for a central authority felt by a group already constituted.

Personal prestige and the ability to inspire confidence are thus the foundations of leadership in Nambikuara society. As a matter of fact, both are necessary in the man who will become the guide of this adventurous experiment: the nomadic life of the dry season. For six or seven months, the chief will be entirely responsible for the management of his band. It is he who orders the start of the wandering period, selects the routes, chooses the stopping points and the duration of the stay at each of them, whether a few days or several weeks. He also orders and organizes the hunting, fishing, collecting and gathering expeditions, and determines the conduct of the band in relation to neighboring groups. When the band's chief is, at the same time, a village chief (taking the word village with the restricted meaning of semi-permanent dwelling for the rainy season), his duties do not stop there. He will determine the moment when, and the place where, the group will settle; he will also direct the gardening and decide what plants

* Michel de Montaigne. "Des Cannibales." Essais. Livre I, XXXI (End of the chapter).

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

are to be cultivated; and, generally speaking, he will organize the occupations according to the seasons' needs and possibilities. 622

These rather versatile duties, it should be pointed out from the start, are not facilitated by any fixed power or recognized authority. Consent is at the origin of leadership, and consent, too, furnishes the only measure of its legitimacy. Disorderly conduct (according to the native standards) and unwillingness to work on the part of one or two discontented individuals may seriously jeopardize the chief's program and the welfare of his small group. In this eventuality, however, the chief has no coercivitive power at his disposal. The eviction of the bad people can take place only in so far as the chief is able to make public feeling coincide with his own opinion. Thus, he must continuously display a skill belonging more to the politician trying to keep hold of his fluctuating majority than to an over-powering ruler. Furthermore, he does not only need to keep his group together. Although the band lives practically alone and by itself during the nomadic period, the existence of the other bands is not forgotten. It is not enough to do well; the chief must try—and his people count on him for that—to do better than the others. [627]

No social structure is weaker and more fragile than the Nambikuara band. If the chief's authority appears too exacting, if he keeps too many women for himself (I shall later analyse the special features of the chief's polygamy), or if he does not satisfactorily solve the food problem in times of scarcity, discontent will very likely appear. Then, individuals, or families, will separate from the group and join another band believed to be better managed. For instance, this band may get better fare from the discovery of new hunting or gathering emplacements; or it may have become richer in ornaments or implements, through trade with neighboring groups, or more powerful as a result of a successful war expedition. The day will come when the chief finds himself heading a group too small to face the problems of daily life, and to protect his women from the covetousness of other bands. In such cases, he will have no alternative but to give up his command and to rally, together with his last followers, a happier faction. Therefore, Nambikuara social structure appears continuously on the move. The bands take shape, then disorganize, they increase and they vanish. Within a few months, sometimes, their composition, number and distribution cannot be recognized. Political intrigues within the same band and conflicts between bands impose their rhythm upon these fluc- 621 622

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[521] tutions, and the ascent or decline of individuals and groups follow
522 each other in a rather surprising manner.

How will the chief be able to overcome these difficulties? The first instrumental force of his power lies in his generosity. Generosity —an all important feature of chieftainship among most primitive peoples, especially in America—plays an outstanding part even on those crude cultural levels where worldly goods are limited to the most primitive weapons and tools, coarse ornaments made of feathers, shells and bones, and raw materials, such as lumps of rosin and wax, hanks of fiber and splinters of bamboo for arrow-making. There cannot be great economic distinctions between families each of which can pack [462] all of its belongings in the baskets carried along by the women during [558] the long travels of the dry season. But, although the chief does not seem to fare better, in this respect, than the others, he must always have at hand surpluses of food, tools, weapons, ornaments which, while being small indeed, acquire great value because of the scarcity which is the prevalent condition. When an individual, a family or the band itself needs or covets something, the chief is called upon to secure the desired article. Generosity is the quality, much speculated on, which is expected of a new chief. Generosity is the string constantly struck which makes the general consent to one's leadership sound clear or out of tune. There is little doubt that, in this respect, the chief's ability to give is exploited to the utmost. Band chiefs used to be my best informants, and, well aware of their difficult position, I liked to reward them liberally; but I seldom saw one of my many gifts remain in their hands for more than a few days. Each time I took leave of a band, after a few weeks or a few months, its members had time to become the happy hoarders of axes, knives, beads, and so on. As a rule, however, the chief was exactly as poor as at my first arrival. Everything he had received from me (and this was considerably more than the average) had already been squeezed out of him. This collective greediness not seldom drives the chief to an almost desperate position; then the refusal to give plays about the same part, in this primitive democracy, as the threat to resign followed by a vote of confidence in a modern parliament. When a chief reaches the point where he must say: "To give away is over! To be generous is over! Let another be generous in my place!", he must, indeed, be sure of his power and prestige, for his rule is undergoing its severest crisis.

Ingenuity is but the intellectual form of generosity. A great deal

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 and to meet groups too shy to venture forth on the outer fringe. The native band and my own group set out together on a journey supposed to be short; but, because of the animals I had taken, the chief had decided that the usual route through a dense forest could not be used. He led us through the open country, lost his way several times, and we did not reach our destination on the scheduled day. Supplies were exhausted and no game was in sight. The not unfamiliar prospect of a foodless day fell gloomily upon the natives. But, this time, it was the chief's responsibility. The whole project was his own, as well as the attempt to find an easier route. So, instead of trying to discover food, the hungry natives simply lay down in the shadow of the brush and waited for their leader to take them out of this most unpleasant situation. He did not wait or discuss; but, taking the incident as a matter of course, he simply left the camp accompanied by one of his wives. At the camp, the day was spent sleeping, gossiping and complaining. There was no lunch or dinner. But, late at dusk, the chief and his wife reappeared, both heavily laden with baskets filled to the brim. They had hunted grasshoppers the entire day, and, although the expression "to eat grasshoppers" has approximately the same meaning in Nambikuara as the French *manger de la vache enragée*,[6] this food was enthusiastically received, shared and consumed, amidst restored good humor. The following morning, everybody armed himself or herself with a leafless twig and went grasshopper-hunting.

[262]

622 595 I have several times referred to the chief's wives. Polygamy, which is practically the chief's privilege, brings him a moral and sentimental reward for his heavy duties together with the practical means of fulfilling them. In the Nambikuara band, apart from rare exceptions, only the chief and the sorcerer (when those functions are divided between two individuals) may have several wives. The chief's polygamy, however, presents special features. It does not constitute a plural marriage but rather a monogamous marriage to which relations of a different nature are added. I have already mentioned the fact that cross-cousin marriage is the usual pattern among the Nambikuara. Another type of marriage also exists, between a man and a woman belonging to the generation following his own, either a wife's "daughter" (true or classificatory) or a sister's niece. Both forms are not uncommon in South America and, together or separately, they have been re-

[6] Closest English equivalent: "to have a rough time of it, to go through the mill."

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

corded among many tribes. Now, what do we find in the chief's case? There is first a monogamous marriage of the cross-cousin type, that is, where the wife belongs to the same generation as her husband. This first wife plays the same part as the monogamous wife in ordinary marriages. She follows the sexual pattern of the division of labor, taking care of the children, doing the cooking, and collecting and gathering wild food. To this marriage are added one or several unions, which, technically, are true marriages, but of a different type. Usually, the secondary wives belong to a younger generation. The first wife calls them daughters or nieces. Besides, they do not follow the sexual pattern of the division of labor, but share indifferently in men's or women's activities. At the camp, they disdain domestic tasks and remain idle, either playing with the children to whose generation they belong or flirting with their husband, while the first wife keeps busy with the food and the fire. On the contrary, when the chief leaves on an exploration, a hunt, or some other manly task, they will accompany him and bring him their moral and physical help. These somewhat "tomboy" girls, elected by the chief from among the prettiest and healthiest of the group, are to him rather "girl-friends" than spouses. They live on the basis of an amorous friendship which contrasts strongly with the more conjugal atmosphere of the first marriage.

This system exerts a tremendous influence upon the whole life of the group. The periodical withdrawal by the chief of young women from the regular cycle of marriages creates a permanent unbalance within the group, between the number of boys and girls of marriageable age. Young men are the chief victims of that situation and must either remain bachelors for several years or marry widows or old women discarded by their husbands. Thus, the right to plural marriages represents a concession of considerable importance made by the group to its leader. What does it mean from the latter's point of view? There is little doubt that access to young and pretty girls brings him a much appreciated gratification, not so much from the physical side (as the Nambikwara share in the quiet dispositions of most South American tribes), as from the psychological and sentimental one. But, above all, plural marriage, together with its distinctive features, constitutes the technical means and the functional device placed at the chief's disposal by the group to enable him to carry out his exacting duties. Left by himself, he could hardly do more than the others. His secondary wives, freed by their special status from the customary

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 595 182 abilities of their sex, are his helpers, comforters and assistants. They are, at the same time, leadership's prize and instrument. Can it be said, from the native point of view, that the prize is worth the trouble? To answer that question, I shall now have to consider the problem from a broader angle, namely, what does this elementary social structure, the Nambikuara band, teach us about leadership, its basis and its function?

121 There is a first point which does not require great elaboration. Nambikuara data contribute, with many others, to destroy the belief originated by early anthropologists, and temporarily revived by psychoanalysis, that the primitive chief could find his prototype in a symbolical father, and that the simpler forms of the State could progressively have grown out of the family. We have found at the root of the crudest forms of chieftainship a decisive step, which introduced something entirely new in respect to biological relations—and this step consists of *consent*. Consent, we have seen, is at the same time the origin and the limit of leadership. Unilateral relations such as right of age, autocratic power, or others, may appear in groups having an already complex structure. In simple forms of social organization, such as the one I have tried to describe, they are inconceivable. Here, on the contrary, the relationship between the chief and the group can be seen as a perpetual process of arbitration where the chief's talents and authority on the one hand and the group's size, cohesion and willingness, on the other, constantly react on and influence each other. If I had the time, and if it were not so far removed from my topic, I would have liked to show what considerable support modern anthropological observations bring, in this respect, to the analysis of the eighteenth century social philosophers. I am well aware of the fact that Rousseau's "social contract," which is the step by which individuals resign their autonomy in favor of the General Will, is entirely different from the nearly contractual relations existing between the chief and his followers. It remains true, however, that Rousseau and his contemporaries displayed a keen sociological feeling when they understood that cultural attitudes and elements such as "contract" and "consent" are not the result of secondary processes, as claimed by their opponents; they are culture's raw materials, and it is impossible to conceive a political or social organization in which they would not already be present. If I understand correctly, the recent analysis, by modern American

sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

621 As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakîtisu band, a
622 short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio
[731] is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elôtasu, the members of the band are Wakîtisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elôtasu
[595 woman from the Elôtasu band by killing her
583] husband. He claims he did this because the Elôtasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

164 Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be
515 healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no
[513] hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes.
[291] The Wakîtisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat,
[164] makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomachs are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

181 In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast
171 sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

619 773 to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them the flute (*sakiarbe*), and taught them how to sing and dance. Oklikkilisu is thus the culture hero of the Nambicuara. In human form he looks like a Nambicuara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucú. Yet today people no longer see oklikkilisu, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

622 Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklitisu band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicuara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*alúnsu*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *alunsiduara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicuara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicuara believe, depends upon the *alunsiduara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

619 Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicuara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Intermarriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chiwáisu and Hégadisu obtain pots from the Western Nambicuara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pots they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicuara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

[582] 438 619

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

[p. 96 (B)]

621 Elôtasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tapiatasu* (grandfather) and the term *gustakôinisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *sutinisu* (father) and the term *akakinisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *akatousu* and mother's brother *azúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akandusu*, his younger brother *doudidnisu*, and his sisters *zuadusu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akirâru*) and daughter (*akenâru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *azuêtu* and *azinîtu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *azûkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *dazûru*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *gustaôinirawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*azûru*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amazûisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*azúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*akatousu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elôtasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Wakîtisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
708 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trails, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

[p. 99 (1)]

The chief admon-

627 [622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakiltisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

421 [428] [764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Wakiltisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*syánkudieu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead chastans (*enúneu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *toupéú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782] 753 [821] 776

Toupéú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lálakatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *toupéú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinéneuu*), who lives with *toupéú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99(a)]

854 Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

622 They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

578 622 One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Cocozu and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there: Nuleke, Krikricekmerá (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. "sloth], Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Uiantaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Cocozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

622 Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

562 The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true. She [62] gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is

836 who seem to be susceptible to violent passions. We knew an Indian who fled with a Paressi Indian girl during our stay, and lived with her for several months hidden in the bush and fleeing the husband who was in hot pursuit after them. Here is the way an informant (B15) tells of a former adventure. He reconstructs a dialogue with the beloved woman:

51. ajndarinjẽ — otendnjẽ — ajdotẽha ajdakanjajni sutnadajẽ ajrhajtasjiṅdige tamintednjẽ (b1)
Do you want to make love?--I do not wish to.--You are worth nothing! I want to make love or I will kill you! Let us go make love.

Very anxiously the woman responds:

higekanhiẽ uairirẽ uaĩridednjẽ etjẽdahẽ dungrajeni (b1)
Do it quickly, my husband will be angry, he will beat me.

684 There is no social sanction against adultery; but the wronged
● 626 husband can avenge himself in a fearful manner and in circumstances of this type poison, used either against the wife or against the lover, plays its role. In order to avoid such incidents, the companions intervene between the adversaries and counsel the seducer to disappear for a while:

52. ijehetnjẽ ajkuakatednjãni ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde kajãdodni uajknereniani (b1)
Go away.--I am going far away.--When this moon is ended and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, then, in that one, you may return.

We knew an Indian (C11) whose wife disappeared one day, having left with a member of his group. He thought first of revenge, but his companions intervened, and it was finally decided that the lover should keep the wife and would give him a dog as compensation. Several months later, the lover died (we were not able to find out whether the death was normal or accidental), and the woman returned to her husband, who said he was very happy to have acquired the dog
[562] also. This story should not be interpreted in the sense of an equivalence, conceived by the Indian spirit, between a woman and a dog. We have insisted too much on the fundamental role of the woman in Nambikwara
[182] life to have to return to that here. But in groups where trade [112] exists in such a primitive form (1) exchanges of goods have as a

1. Cf. p. 93 f.

634 626 [182] conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing equivalences of value.

764 184 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriṇaerekitiru, al) in a circular ditch (sinitakurisu, al) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in [768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. aṇregande aṣ̂unikere kadukərage jaṇorige ende ende ende inare inaretaire ṣinoribate (bl)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aotʔenikere, bl) in a prone position (jotarige, bl).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doṣ̂ore durige aorede aṇtadatige aṇdotahãmdige aṇdotaãmde odenehejre odunhinde njaotumnje narajnidande narajdurige airedugejottige den den den nagiaode aire dugiotige tjatugiotige (bl)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

are to be cultivated; and, generally speaking, he will organize the occupations according to the seasons' needs and possibilities. 622

These rather versatile duties, it should be pointed out from the start, are not facilitated by any fixed power or recognized authority. Consent is at the origin of leadership, and consent, too, furnishes the only measure of its legitimacy. Disorderly conduct (according to the native standards) and unwillingness to work on the part of one or two discontented individuals may seriously jeopardize the chief's program and the welfare of his small group. In this eventuality, however, the chief has no coercivitive power at his disposal. The eviction of the bad people can take place only in so far as the chief is able to make public feeling coincide with his own opinion. Thus, he must continuously display a skill belonging more to the politician trying to keep hold of his fluctuating majority than to an over-powering ruler. Furthermore, he does not only need to keep his group together. Although the band lives practically alone and by itself during the nomadic period, the existence of the other bands is not forgotten. It is not enough to do well; the chief must try—and his people count on him for that—to do better than the others. [627]

No social structure is weaker and more fragile than the Nambikuara band. If the chief's authority appears too exacting, if he keeps too many women for himself (I shall later analyze the special features of the chief's polygamy), or if he does not satisfactorily solve the food problem in times of scarcity, discontent will very likely appear. Then, individuals, or families, will separate from the group and join another band believed to be better managed. For instance, this band may get better fare from the discovery of new hunting or gathering emplacements; or it may have become richer in ornaments or implements, through trade with neighboring groups, or more powerful as a result of a successful war expedition. The day will come when the chief finds himself heading a group too small to face the problems of daily life, and to protect his women from the covetousness of other bands. In such cases, he will have no alternative but to give up his command and to rally, together with his last followers, a happier faction. Therefore, Nambikuara social structure appears continuously on the move. The bands take shape, then disorganize, they increase and they vanish. Within a few months, sometimes, their composition, number and distribution cannot be recognized. Political intrigues within the same band and conflicts between bands impose their rhythm upon these fluc- 621 622

The chief advises

[627] [623] [624] [928] [763] [843] [837] [774] [782] [753] [821] [776] [824]

[

1:Levi-Strauss--90 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba SP9

601 up to the present time. We do not pretend to found a dualistic theory of organization (2) on these limited observations whose

2. This point has been developed before; cf. "Dual organization etc.," loc. cit.

character remains anecdotal. However, we are indeed in the presence of one of those cases where "the fundamental traits of the clan organization are found, in a certain measure, to be preformed in tribes destitute of clan (3)." It would suffice, to

3. R.H. Lowie, "Family and Sib," American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 28-40.

satisfy the exigencies of dualistic organization, that the new group should settle down, and maintain the memory of its ambiguous origin by continuing to avoid confusing the two sets of fires.

Finally, this system manifests, under a new aspect, this preponderance of men which we have called attention to as regards inter-individual relationships. It is through the men that alliances of groups are decided, as also eventually, their wars.

• • • •

600 The preceding remarks have perhaps another interest: that of suggesting an interpretation of observations of a sociological character which one finds scattered in the ancient literature relating to South America.

601 171 One should first note some striking analogies between certain traits of the Nambikwara kinship system and those which can be attributed to the family organization of the ancient Tupi of the Brazilian shore. It will be seen later that, on the metaphysical plan, there are not only themes common to the two cultures, but that such religious terms of the Nambikwara vocabulary have an evident Tupi origin. Each time that we are to describe the small incidents of the daily life of the Nambikwara, the temptation is almost irresistible [80] to quote Jean de Léry and Yves d'Evreux, for it is so true that the same words of these old authors can literally be applied to one culture, later by four centuries. But it is in the kinship system that the resemblances are the clearest: the two cultures invoke

622 he is incapable of satisfying increasing demands, and must refuse firmly:

32. lā'nde hōta agnāre hōta (bl)
The giving is finished! Being generous is finished!

[89] or must even pose the question of confidence:

33. duhī'ri (gi) dnjē tununadjē tununlentine hāknerejane (bl)
Go away! Giving is done with! Let another be generous (in my place)!

622 However it evidently depends on his ability and moderation whether
648 or not these refusals keep the demands of his companions within reasonable limits or provoke discontent and resulting ruptures. Under these conditions, the relationships which the chief succeeds in cementing with the outside world—other Nambikwara bands and neighboring tribes—have extreme importance. The chief has traveled widely. Within the limits of his territory, he has visited tribes different from his own and which his companions know only through his commentaries. We ourselves have had the impression of being used for political purposes: we have told above what the reactions of A1 were as regards writing. (1) He wished on this basis to attempt a vast operation, and

1. See above, p. 40 f.

he united several related bands under the pretext of meeting us, begging us without explanation to postpone the exchange of objects with the Indians. This enigmatic attitude lasted till the day when, assembling all his guests in a circle, he exhibited a piece of paper covered with wavy lines, and made a pretense of reading to each individual the nature and importance of the present which I was supposed to give to each one. All that with my complicity, obviously stupefied and immediately acquired. The Indians were even more impressed. The plan, such as we were able to understand it, consisted of fortifying his power by presenting himself as the sponsor and protector of the white visitor, whose secrets he was reputed to know at the same time. But the card of civilization thus played is assuredly vain. Six months later, we found A1 at the head of a severely reduced group and without illusion as to the failure of his vast projects. He watched us leave with real sadness, as though he were losing, with us, the last vestige of his prestige.

622 The charges of leadership being presented under such unattractive colors, one might ask what makes an individual accept them. It was not possible for us to determine exactly what the modalities are to be

1: Levi-Strauss--105 E-8 (1938-1949)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern 526 Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Xingu to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [84] al whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

648 609 Also, the attitude of two bands who know that they are neighbors is very significant. They fear the clash of contact, and at the same time they desire it. In fact, they cannot meet one another accidentally, for for several weeks they watch the vertical smoke from the campfire which rises, perfectly discernable at some twenty kilometers, into the middle of the clear sky of the cold season. It is one of the most impressive spectacles of the Nambikwara territories when towards evening this smoke suddenly fills a horizon which one had thought deserted. Is the band which approaches friend or foe? They do not know, and they discuss at length their course of conduct. For days or weeks they avoid one another by maintaining a reasonable distance between the fires, then one day, according to whether the contact appears inevitable, desirable, or necessary, the women and children scatter in the bush and the men leave to face the unknown. We attended one of these "encounters" (nakohatigge, bl). A long conversation is entered upon (deinihotige, bl) between the two bands reduced to their masculine elements, or more exactly, the leaders undertake, in turn, a sort of prolonged monologue, composed of exclamations, uttered one after another, in a tone at the same time plaintive and tearful, where the voice rises and trails off in nasal fashion at the end of each word. The group animated by warlike intentions exposes its grief. The peaceful protest their good intentions. It was not possible for us to reconstruct the word for word translation of this discourse. However, we give here the Indian text, insofar as we have been [92] able to get it, and its approximate translation, for the purpose of showing the construction and specific tone:

[537] 36. One group begins: njaroendigẽ ninokuẽ. --"We are very irritated! you are our enemies!" And, after a series of exclamations of this type, the other replies: ja orauẽ touadeẽ nuhaigigi'n nukanaetiẽ nukanaini' nukenitenohi'n moladeringui'n nagatalininiot endiguẽ. -- "We are not irritated! We are your brothers! We are friends! Your friends! True friends! We can understand one another." (bl)

After having exchanged these peaceful protestations, the groups reform and a common encampment is organized, each group preserving its individuality and gathering together its fires, and sometimes songs and dances are organized in the course of which each group disparages its own exhibition to the profit of that of the other group:

648 37. tamaiʼu ajtae munajtiere munajtienaitiore njanī (bl)
609 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
201 In one case which we witnessed, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tōhé tōhé kāhé kāhé muniniʼti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take—commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

that their southern neighbors make particularly nice necklaces. Also the meeting of the two groups, when it can take place in a peaceful manner, has as a consequence a series of reciprocal presents. The always impending conflict gives way to a market. This has some very remarkable characteristics in the sense that if one regards the presents only as presents, they do not bring any thanks nor proof of satisfaction. And if one considers them exchanges, they are effected without any bargaining, attempts to set the value of the article, depreciation, or manifestation of disagreement between the parties. Truthfully, they take pains not to admit that there are exchanges going on. Each goes about his usual occupations, and the objects or products go from one to the other, without the one who gives making note of the gesture by which he hands over his present, and without the one who receives paying any attention to his new wealth. In this way are exchanged husked cotton and balls of thread; blocks of wax or resin; urucu paste; shells, earrings, bracelets and necklaces; tobacco and seeds; feathers and sticks of bamboo destined for making arrow points; skeins of palm fibers, porcupine quills; whole pots or broken pottery; gourds. This mysterious circulation of merchandise goes on without haste for a half day or a whole day, after which the groups separate, and each one takes inventory of what he has received, and remembers what he has given. Thus, as regards the equity of the transactions, the Nambikwara trust entirely, the generosity of the partner. The idea that one might estimate, discuss or bargain, demand or take back is entirely foreign to them. We had promised an Indian a hunting sword as the price of transporting a message to a neighboring group. The commission was done, but upon the return of the messenger we had neglected, occupied by other cares, to give him immediately the agreed upon recompense, thinking that he himself would come to get it. He did nothing, and the next day we could not find him. He had left, very irritated his companions told us, and we did not [94] see him again. We were forced to entrust the present to another Indian. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that when the exchanges are finished, one of the groups departs discontented with its lot and, while taking inventory of its acquisitions and recalling its own presents, accumulates bitterness for weeks or months, which become greater and greater and more aggressive. It seems that wars very often have no other origin. Naturally other causes exist, such as a murder or carrying off women, depending on whether one desires to take the initiative, or whether one wishes to avenge a preceding attack; but it does not seem that a band feels

Fig. 19
Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by Al while explaining his genealogy (c. p. 40, fn. 1).

[157] 747 177 648

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the preceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in the course of [134] these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupted, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took 177
place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The 648
six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with 797
arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an [726]
expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp.

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our 278
stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighbor- 578
ing group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (ajdotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later.

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The 157
Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very 648
sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability.

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, 157
or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 The *Nambicuara* (*Nambikuara, Mambyuara, Mahibares*) have been identified only recently. *Nambicuara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupí* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiços de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondón discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambicuara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambicuara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

131 Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambicuara* (map 1, *No. 2;* map 2; map 4)[1] is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Guaporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

101 The first classification of the *Nambicuara* was made by Roquette-Pinto (1938, pp. 216–217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b),
197 using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is undivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kôkôzu, Cocozu*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anunze*) in the basins of the Camararé and Doze de Otubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

[1] [Not processed for the File. - Analyst]

181 Cadaveo, perhaps reminiful of their slave-owning
171 past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The Arawak-speaking Tawaa and Paresi, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Rocairé and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
576 and impolite even to rudeness. On many occa-
609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "raspberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
● 648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paresi consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

[p.85(A)]

[101] 181 648 The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance, "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "criança" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

192 171 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço
101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See Cat. 116, pp. 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the Eastern Nambicuara are as follows: Wakiltisu, 18; Kitânhlu, 45, Elétasu, 17; Chiwtisu, 50. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half [164] as many exist today. It must be remembered that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires do Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hisipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Noticia published in 1746, he mentions the Caviro Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres de Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1900 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixi, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26–51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Parecí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically competent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, 648 small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tuloua on the upper Cravarí River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyrenevs do Sousa between Campos Novos and

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To the east and south are the remnants of the Paresí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paresí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87 (N)]

619 the bands. In 1937, the Kitânhlu band met a small group of Chiwtâisu out hunting and attempted to trade with them. As the Chiwtâisu were the smaller group, the Kitânhlu evidently tried to rob them. In the fight several Chiwtâisu were killed. These bands did not meet again until 1941, but the Chiwtâisu prowled around the Kitânhlu camp stealing what they could and trying to revenge their fallen comrades. In 1941, both bands happened to meet in Campos Novos, and the old quarrel was renewed. In the Chiwtâisu camp there was a child which had been born to a Kitânhlu woman married to a Chiwtâisu. A Kitânhlu took the child away by force saying that it belonged to his band. The Chiwtâisu retaliated by shooting down a Kitânhlu. A fight followed in which the Chiwtâisu were driven out after losing several of their band. For several years the Chiwtâisu remained away and were attacked by the Salâunsu, a wild tribe living to the north of the Nambicuara. In the last few years, a temporary peace has been arranged by the Chiwtâisu bringing presents of wax and honey to the Kitânhlu.

●648 Except at telegraph stations, mission stations, and at the two Indian Posts, the Nambicuara have few contacts with their neighbors, the Paresí and Iranxe. The Paresí consider the Nambicuara as their inferiors, and, as far as is known, the two peoples do not intermarry. The Iranxe hold themselves aloof from both tribes.

The efforts of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios to improv the lot of the Nambicuara have not been very successful. Part of this lack of success is, no doubt, due to the poor agricultural possibilities in the region. The Tolosa Post is situated in a barren region where it is difficult to grow sufficient food to maintain more than two or three families. The Nambicuara visit Tolosa, but after the food supply is consumed they move on. The other factor which makes it difficult to settle the Nambicuara in permanent villages is that they are hunters and shifting agriculturists. Lack of good agricultural land does not altogether explain this nomadic pattern of existence. Like the Caduveo who have excellent farming land the Nambicuara persist in continuing their traditional form of economy.

In contrast to the Paresí, who have become satisfactory employees of telegraph stations, mining camps, and mission stations, the Nambicuara

648 only work for the white man when they want an ax, a knife, a gun, or some article of clothing, and once they obtain what they want they wander off. Miners particularly are bitter about the fact that the Nambicuara are unreliable workers.

747 Missionary activity, which has been carried on intensively by both Protestants and Catholics for about 20 years, has been singularly unsuccessful in Christianizing the Nambicuara. The Jesuit priests informed me that only those individuals who have been taken to Diamantino as children and kept there can be said to understand the rudiments of Christianity. The hope is that eventually these individuals can be brought back to the tribe and through their influence their children will be raised as Christians. The Protestants tell the same story. The Indians remain around the mission stations, participate in prayer meetings, and perform little tasks for which they are compensated but they soon become bored and wander off. The Rev. L. W. Buckman told me that he raised a Nambicuara boy at the station and believed that he would remain, but one day the boy got married, left with his wife, and took up the old wandering pagan form of life. None of the Waklítisu band are considered Christians. When Marciano died [744] a few days before I left he was buried according to Indian custom, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries participating in the burial as onlookers. Among this band which has had as much missionary contact as any, there was not a single individual who could speak or read Portuguese. Some of the men, as has been mentioned, used a form of pidgin Portuguese as a means of communicating with their white neighbors.

648 The attitude of the Nambicuara toward the white man is not only one of suspicion and sullen resentment, but one of disdain. They call white people "civilisados" or sometimes "bean eaters." A Nambicuara feels insulted if these terms are applied to himself. He openly boasts of being a "bugre," a slang term widely applied to Indians in Brazil which signifies a sodomite or heathen. While all other Indians that I have met in Mato Grosso objected to this term when it was applied to them, the Nambicuara always use it when talking about themselves. Julio informed me that the Nambicuara always get sick when they visit white people. The missionaries confirmed this fact but added that the Nambicuara have now become

648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

619 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterized by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The relations with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Salâunsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

721

726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any hole in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's *owtasu* and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Elótasu reaches puberty she will return to the

[p. 98(B)]

that their southern neighbors make particularly nice necklaces. Also the meeting of the two groups, when it can take place in a peaceful manner, has as a consequence a series of reciprocal presents. The always impending conflict gives way to a market. This has some very remarkable characteristics in the sense that if one regards the presents only as presents, they do not bring any thanks nor proof of satisfaction. And if one considers them exchanges, they are effected without any bargaining, attempts to set the value of the article, depreciation, or manifestation of disagreement between the parties. Truthfully, they take pains not to admit that there are exchanges going on. Each goes about his usual occupations, and the objects or products go from one to the other, without the one who gives making note of the gesture by which he hands over his present, and without the one who receives paying any attention to his new wealth. In this way are exchanged husked cotton and balls of thread; blocks of wax or resin; urucu paste; shells, earrings, bracelets and necklaces; tobacco and seeds; feathers and sticks of bamboo destined for making arrow points; skeins of palm fibers, porcupine quills; whole pots or broken pottery; gourds. This mysterious circulation of merchandise goes on without haste for a half day or a whole day, after which the groups separate, and each one takes inventory of what he has received, and remembers what he has given. Thus, as regards the equity of the transactions, the Nambikwara trust entirely, the generosity of the partner. The idea that one might estimate, discuss or bargain, demand or take back is entirely foreign to them. We had promised an Indian a hunting sword as the price of transporting a message to a neighboring group. The commission was done, but upon the return of the messenger we had neglected, occupied by other cares, to give him immediately the agreed upon recompense, thinking that he himself would come to get it. He did nothing, and the next day we could not find him. He had left, very irritated his companions told us, and we did not [94] see him again. We were forced to entrust the present to another Indian. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that when the exchanges are finished, one of the groups departs discontented with its lot and, while taking inventory of its acquisitions and recalling its own presents, accumulates bitterness for weeks or months, which become greater and greater and more aggressive.

It seems that wars very often have no other origin. Naturally other causes exist, such as a murder or carrying off women, depending on whether one desires to take the initiative, or whether one wishes to avenge a preceding attack; but it does not seem that a band feels

collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ̃ akinãẽ̃ ẑednãẽ̃ ỹõdegãẽ̃ kakonʔẽ̃ ordnʔẽ̃ ỹalaurîẽnʔẽ̃ (b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, juũreli, while "father" is uãinko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ŝikiŝikiŝi, whose
197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds ũinikuŝiŝu (a1), iekejakãtige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ãinĵore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninĩ̃ore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: ũetnẽ̃dige, b1; from ũette, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tyaãde takenaãde tamĩ̃ndige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

●[684] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

836 who seem to be susceptible to violent passions. We knew an Indian who fled with a Paressi Indian girl during our stay, and lived with her for several months hidden in the bush and fleeing the husband who was in hot pursuit after them. Here is the way an informant (B15) tells of a former adventure. He reconstructs a dialogue with the beloved woman:

51. aindarinie — otendnie — aidoteha aidakaniaini sutnadaie airhaitasiindige tamintednie (b1)
Do you want to make love?--I do not wish to.--You are worth nothing! I want to make love or I will kill you! Let us go make love.

Very anxiously the woman responds:

higekanhie uairire uairidednie etiedahe dungaraieni (b1)
Do it quickly, my husband will be angry, he will beat me.

684 There is no social sanction against adultery; but the wronged
626 husband can avenge himself in a fearful manner and in circumstances of this type poison, used either against the wife or against the lover, plays its role. In order to avoid such incidents, the companions intervene between the adversaries and counsel the seducer to disappear for a while:

52. iiehetnie aikuakatedniani ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude ekuude kaiadodni uaiknoreniani (b1)
Go away.--I am going far away.--When this moon is ended and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, then, in that one, you may return.

We knew an Indian (C11) whose wife disappeared one day, having left with a member of his group. He thought first of revenge, but his companions intervened, and it was finally decided that the lover should keep the wife and would give him a dog as compensation. Several months later, the lover died (we were not able to find out whether the death was normal or accidental), and the woman returned to her husband, who said he was very happy to have acquired the dog
[562] also. This story should not be interpreted in the sense of an equivalence, conceived by the Indian spirit, between a woman and a dog. We have insisted too much on the fundamental role of the woman in Nambikwara
[182] life to have to return to that here. But in groups where trade [112] exists in such a primitive form (1) exchanges of goods have as a

1. Cf. p. 93 f.

684 conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations
626 incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing
[182] equivalences of value.

764 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern
184 groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriu̯aerekititu, a1) in a circular ditch (sinitákurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in
[768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. au̯regande aŝunikere kadúkərage i̯au̯órige énde énde énde inare inaretai̯re ŝinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aotʔeníkere, b1) in a prone position (i̯ótarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doŝore dúrige aórede au̯tadátige au̯dotahãmdige au̯dotaãmde odenehei̯rẽ odunhíndе ni̯aótumni̯ẽ narai̯nidánde narai̯dúrige aíredugei̯óttige dén dén dén nagi̯aõde ai̯re dugi̯otige ti̯atugi̯ótige (b1)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

796

alāgena haɨtige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. uɨtnore uɨtnɨa imágare.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

denaátɨe ɨatɨaeninɨnena ednaɨo ɨáɨneni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[688] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
789 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (arátasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; ɨuauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
[192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (aháru, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Sousa, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

3&1 The circular spot formed by the village grounds in the middle of the bush gradually acquires the appearance of a star, owing to the paths that lead out from its circumference.

[712 +13] Access to the village grounds is free. There is no fence or hedge to prevent admittance to the plaza; no fortifications or other defensive features are to be found in the vicinity. (1)

> 1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná, on the other hand (like the Tupinamba of old and other [tribes]), obstructed the paths leading to their villages with spikes [estrepes] which had to be removed when they established relations with the Rondon Mission. (See Col. M. Rondon, Conferencias [Lectures], pp. 161-162.)

Nambicuara villages always consist of two houses, which are set face to face at opposite ends of the plaza.

[37] [220] The region consists of extensive forests, stretches of scrubland [cerrado], areas of nearly impenetrable bush [charravascal], and a few stretches of open prairie. The Indians prefer the scrubland as the site of their villages.

The forest is dangerous on account of snakes, wild beasts, and even timber which often crashes down on the hunters; the prairie is dangerous because it exposes the village to enemy attack and does not afford any protection against invaders. But the scrubland serves the purpose very well; it has few disadvantages and many advantages.

3#2 This the Nambicuara know well: their hut blends into the greyish hues of the surrounding vegetation; it is like a shrub among other shrubs; from a distance it can hardly be distinguished. Its shape, though well defined, merges into the vague forms of the bush.

Naturally, those whose eyes are accustomed to the dust-veiled mass of xerophytic upland vegetation can quickly spot the huts; the illusion cannot deceive an experienced eye. But the mimicry is nevertheless real.

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dúrige ɥetnatúrina édnadɥre lukɥíndige ndakɥíndige monánkjadukɥíndige denõ dúrige monáɥre líttige amonotlíttige toɥodúrige ɥiténdige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
[224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
[281 mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714] bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loɥkɥíndige inkɔra uírige lotɔtáɥrige ikɥitãdige ɥírige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atásu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atásu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted
171 with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342 [361] shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season, villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepikiriwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass.

352 513 The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paressí* nicknamed them *Uaikoakôre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

[291] 301 Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of buruty straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and and toucan feathers, or of fur with feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. [714]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
714
534
301
291
302

[516]

PLATE 36.—Nambicuara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the nose flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Panpipes. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except *center, left,* by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 1]

that their southern neighbors make particularly nice necklaces. Also the meeting of the two groups, when it can take place in a peaceful manner, has as a consequence a series of reciprocal presents. The always impending conflict gives way to a market. This has some very remarkable characteristics in the sense that if one regards the presents only as presents, they do not bring any thanks nor proof of satisfaction. And if one considers them exchanges, they are effected without any bargaining, attempts to set the value of the article, depreciation, or manifestation of disagreement between the parties. Truthfully, they take pains not to admit that there are exchanges going on. Each goes about his usual occupations, and the objects or products go from one to the other, without the one who gives making note of the gesture by which he hands over his present, and without the one who receives paying any attention to his new wealth. In this way are exchanged husked cotton and balls of thread; blocks of wax or resin; urucu paste; shells, earrings, bracelets and necklaces; tobacco and seeds; feathers and sticks of bamboo destined for making arrow points; skeins of palm fibers, porcupine quills; whole pots or broken pottery; gourds. This mysterious circulation of merchandise goes on without haste for a half day or a whole day, after which the groups separate, and each one takes inventory of what he has received, and remembers what he has given. Thus, as regards the equity of the transactions, the Nambikwara trust entirely, the generosity of the partner. The idea that one might estimate, discuss or bargain, demand or take back is entirely foreign to them. We had promised an Indian a hunting sword as the price of transporting a message to a neighboring group. The commission was done, but upon the return of the messenger we had neglected, occupied by other cares, to give him immediately the agreed upon recompense, thinking that he himself would come to get it. He did nothing, and the next day we could not find him. He had left, very irritated his companions told us, and we did not [94] see him again. We were forced to entrust the present to another Indian. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that when the exchanges are finished, one of the groups departs discontented with its lot and, while taking inventory of its acquisitions and recalling its own presents, accumulates bitterness for weeks or months, which become greater and greater and more aggressive.

It seems that wars very often have no other origin. Naturally other causes exist, such as a murder or carrying off women, depending on whether one desires to take the initiative, or whether one wishes to avenge a preceding attack; but it does not seem that a band feels

721 collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its
[682] members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as
[537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ŝednãẽ u̯õdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ u̯alau̯riŝenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not.
[292 Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods
535] of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[787]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622 is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he
[756] exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The
789] arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

[197]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home. But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 203] place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately, and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of nande (b1). To analyze it, we should first say a few words concerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparacão do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

619 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterized by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The relations with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on 721 the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Saláunsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any holes in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's *anúnsu* and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Elótasu reaches puberty she will return to the

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 202] place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nande (bl). To analyze it, we should first say a few words con-
cerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparacão do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp. 177 648 797 [124]

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighboring group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (ajdotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later. 278 578

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability. 157 648

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North 157

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

619 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterized by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The relations with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Saláunsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

721

●726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any holes in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's *anúnsu* and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Elótasu reaches puberty she will return to the

535 Anunze and Uintaçu tribes participated; and a festive dance in which we took part, executed in our honor at Três Buritis by the Tagnani and Tawite.

The war dance filmed in Campos Novos was later also [253] performed by the Tagnani in Três Buritis.

Armed with bows and arrows, the warriors form a line some 15 meters from a piece of wood which represents the enemy, singing in two-part time and marking the beat on the ground with their feet. [Fig. 25]

Two Indians leave the line, arrows ready and bows half strung, and walk as if cautiously hiding among shrubs in the bush. After a wide detour they come near the "enemy" and hurl their weapons at him.

This is the signal to attack; the singing ceases and a rain of arrows falls on the "unfortunate victim"...

41 Then they advance upon him and give him a thorough drubbing
224 with their bows or with sticks. Incidentally, this is always the func-
726 tion of the arrow--to immobilize the enemy or game and permit the attacker to come close and finish his work with blows. In the hunt or in combat, attack is always made from ambush. This is because the aim of the Indians at a distance [Fig. 27] is not as sure as generally supposed. The Nambicuara are not especially good archers. They certainly cannot draw the bow with their feet like the Bororo. Some can shoot well in height. They use no shield whatever either in the hunt or in war. After the attack they try to recover their projectiles. An arrow represents a certain amount of labor and must not be squandered...

They hold a number of arrows in their left hand and shoot them one after the other with incredible rapidity.

535 Men, women and girls participated in the festive dance.

A large circle was formed to the sound of an endless chant. The women stood on the men's left; pair after pair were joined until the circle was closed. [254] Each man placed his hand on the shoulder of the woman next to him. Within the circle, three girls of approximately the same age accompanied them in a close line, eyes lowered, hands crossed upon the chest. The girl in the center acted as a hub for this choreographic formation... [Fig. 43]

/216 cont./

224 The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain ani-
278 mals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys.
411 Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediate-
[303] ly.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[262] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be
[252] eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanè do not even take this precaution.

278 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their
411 principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess
726 only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanè, are very lightly attached to their shafts.

sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Waklĭtisu band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Waklĭtisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Waklĭtisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

tarũtę ialásiętę

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces, In the course of our field-work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabãnę* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarãndę* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

> 1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãṣere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeṣere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

> 10. uĩtsotnaniena narũdneraiena indõtenaiena ũnʔeere (b1) the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

854 11. kalaj̯odnẽ daẽ j̯oʔdnoherẽ (b1)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nóm tebú nihiu̯i (b1)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855 593 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hódnj̯ẽ odengenáhi̯en ŝu̯adaʔien tanãhnãdaj̯e. (b1)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862] 855 593 During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same [842] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. miĩnde tau̯irétnore ikəlaagetire (b1)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

[734] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them. Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[842] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children. Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

> 1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

> 15. u̯áitento dohonenŝiram kánaram hépatnẽ atátene u̯ejdenkjathattene u̯aíndønle. (b1)
> Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man! Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

595 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of
571 polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called "mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a state of companionship with them, especially with the girls, which also extends to all the children of the group. We have already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke together, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games, such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. Another example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, without ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close, appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys might have in our society. They rarely imply service or attention. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

164 These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[757] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet [278] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113]

1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

302
751

Indians are as well protected against the actinic action of the sun as if they were wearing the thick clothing of the Sahara tribes. Because they are nude, however, the air circulates freely around their body, reducing the heat and hastening the evaporation of perspiration.

"If exposed to sunlight, in accordance with the property described above, urucu absorbs only slightly the heat of the sun, reflecting the red rays and also the heat rays. For this reason the white man or one with slight pigmentation, when smeared with urucu, does not perspire excessively as does the Negro under the same circumstances.

"In view of the properties ascribed to urucu by our experiments, and of the widespread usage of this dye among the Indians of tropical America, we believe that it should be considered not as merely ornamental but as an effective means of protection against tropical light and heat."

164 [184] The manifestations and evolution of the disease lead us to believe that it is a dermatomycosis. The habitat of the pathogenic fungus is probably to be found in the soil. This would explain why the personnel of the Line, who have lived among the Nambicuara for years, have not yet contracted the disease. This also applies to the Paresi, [513] who are now in contact with the diseased Indians. Both groups, unlike the Nambicuara, make use of hammocks and never sleep on the ground.

To this day, no microscopic examination of the scales has been made, and I am not responsible for this failure. In 1912 the Indians [123] would not allow us to collect the necessary materials; they were still suspicious.

241 [Plates p. 254]

[249] Yet a wild form of manioc has been found (Manihot utilissimo, Pohl); if not the very species we use, at least one of the same genus. But maize?

Where on the surface of the earth does maize exist in a wild state except for the tunicated Zea mais which is sometimes considered to be the ancestor of the modern species?

What unveiling of mysteries, if this question were to be answered!

Some Tagnani who were watching the herdsman João Lucas weed a small plot in Três Buritis began to laugh at him, indicating that it would be better to root up the weeds; the hoe severed the stems but left in the roots, and the plants would grow up again. When the Nambicuara weed, they pull out everything that is not useful. Their plots are always clean.

Their tobacco is the Nicotiana that grows wild in their mountains; it may not properly be said that urucu and cotton are cultivated: they are planted and utilized. Some large beans of various kinds de-
278 241 serve mention. [250] They are to be found in the Indians' baskets along with many other plants; but we never saw an Indian eating them or making any use of them. Pending further research, I am of the opinion that they are saved for medicinal undertakings carried out in secret by old men and women. The same may be said of the castor oil plant (Ricinus communis), which is definitely adventitious.

[Fig. 39]

415 The spools of cotton fiber that await spinning and the seeds saved for future use are kept out of the weather, dust and rain in bags made of straw or pacova leaves.

[Fig. 40]

759 It seemed to us that medicine was not exercised by any special segment of society. They all take part in the treatment of certain diseases; in serious cases, an experienced elder takes over.

752 Wounds are dressed with straw fibers [coated] with certain resins (jatobá). Burns are treated with cold water. Fractures and dislocations are reduced haphazardly.

752 They spread saliva on bâanêcedútú sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing kiss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikricekmerá--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

[532] [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

113 1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

627 The chief admon-
[622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Waklĭtisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

421 [428] [764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Waklĭtisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadiu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *tauptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782] ● 753 [821] 776

Tauptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lúlukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tauptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinínuwa*), who lives with *tauptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99 (B)]

776 [753] *Tauptú* does not cause illness, but when people get sick he begins to eat away the flesh and finally kills them and eventually takes their bones to his abode in the sky. The missionaries told me that when the first airplane appeared in Nambicuara territory the Indians ran into the forest and hid because they believed the airplane was *tauptú*. Shamans sometimes visit the land of *tauptú* by riding up to the sky on the back of [756] *urutai*, the night hawk or goat sucker. Julio claimed that his father-in-law, who was a powerful shaman, had visited the realm of *tauptú* while in a trance.

776 756 The Wakltisu fear most of all the spirit armadillo called *ulurú*. When someone sees bits of manioc cake and charcoal floating on the river near the village, he comes back and tells the shaman, who then goes to examine the signs. If the shaman decides that it is *ulurú*, immediate action must be taken to save the world from destruction. The women and children shut themselves in their huts while the men take their wooden sword clubs (*hulúkisu*) and go to the bank of the river. The shaman then digs a deep hole in the bank, into which he is lowered with a rope. When he has grasped *ulurú* by the tail he signals the men on the surface to pull him out. The shaman remains at the mouth of the hole with his arm thrust in, holding *ulurú* by the tail while with his other hand he marks points on the ground which are directly over the head, heart, and stomach of *ulurú*. One by one the men thrust their sword clubs into the ground at the places marked by the shaman. As they push the blades in they twist them to make sure that they kill *ulurú*. After the spirit armadillo has been killed, the men go back to the village leaving the shaman alone with the dead *ulurú*. The shaman then cuts up the spirit armadillo, washes the pieces in the river, and begins to sing. When the ghosts of the dead Nambicuara hear the song they come and eat the pieces prepared by the shaman, after which they go away happy because the Nambicuara have been saved.

776 [821] The Wakltisu say that if they should ever fail to kill *ulurú*, a terrific storm would appear followed by an earthquake, for when *ulurú* gets under the village he will turn the world upside down, *tauptú* will fall down from the sky, and the Nambicuara will be buried again. In short, they will go back

756 by singing calls his *anúnsu*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúnsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anúnsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anúnsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the sha-
755 man's orders. The procedure followed in curing an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anúnsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anúnsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *aydnkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
● [753] the offerings and the singing they become angry
[755] and make the children ill. To cure the children, a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the
533 dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made through singing. The Wakítisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anúnsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *aydnkadisu*. Shamans practice
[834 continence before important rites, for if the
756] *anúnsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

776 under the ground from where *oklihdilliu*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

756 The man who is responsible for guarding the band against evil spirits is the shaman (*wantingi-*
775 *diu*). In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anúnu* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*aydnkadiu*). The *anúnu* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Wakítisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tlidítu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*yendru*), and cause harm to people.

821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in following game. To pacify the evil *anúnu*, who
756 has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-
789 shaped bundle (*yakúdenánu*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*halúnkiu*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yakúndenánu* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery against individuals in another band by asking
● 754 their *anúnu* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sihdentsu*) and

756 by singing calls his *anúnsu*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúnsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anúnsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anúnsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the shaman's orders. The procedure followed in curing
755 an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anúnsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anúnsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *aydnkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry and make the children ill. To cure the children,
[755] a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made
533 through singing. The Waklîtisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anúnsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *aydnkadisu*. Shamans practice
[834 continence before important rites, for if the
756] *anúnsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

278 757 injection of pao preto (ikátu nl̥ŝerám, a1), put in the eye with the aid of a funnel of leaves from whose lower extremity the liquid falls drop by drop. But other maladies, considered the result of 755 756 poisoning (or of a charm; in both cases: nánde) are exclusively within the domain of the sorcerer. He makes the "arrows of thunder" (ndaórede, b1) in all points similar to those used for hunting except that their dimensions are much more restricted. The treatment consists of three operations: throwing the arrows around the sick person to carry away the spirits; sucking the body to force out the cause of the illness; this cause is thrown far away when it has been captured:

43. ãdige underãdige kadirienka úngeraige tenúndige (b1)
throw, throw far away the little thorns sucked with the mouth, throw away [the evil]. (1)

1. The informant made it known that by "little thorns" he meant to designate the "arrows of thunder" which are only several centimeters in length. One notes the same assimilation in other regions of South America. [71] Thus, the informant of Karsten in the Chaco (R. Karsten, "Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco," Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cites as the cause of the malady and the way of combatting it, an "arrow" or "splinter").

[103] Afterwards the sick person is usually cured and can take up his work again:

44. enéndige deéndige enéna deidnige (b1)
To be sick is finished [one can] continue.

756 However, the sorcerer can establish much closer relationships with the supernatural powers. During our stay in his group, C20 disappeared, or more exactly did not return to camp at the usual hour. The other men, having gone hunting, had not seen him the whole day. Night fell and toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, the most profound consternation reigned in the camp and particularly around the fire of the man who had disappeared, whose two wives and child held themselves embraced while mourning in advance the death of their husband and father. At this moment we decided to look around, accompanied by a few Indians. We had only to walk 200 meters to discover C20, crouched on the ground and shivering in the darkness. He was completely naked, that is, divested of his

756 by singing calls his *anúnsu*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúnsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anúnsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anúnsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the shaman's orders. The procedure followed in curing
● 755 an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anúnsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anúnsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *aydnkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry
[755] and make the children ill. To cure the children, a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the
533 dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made through singing. The Wakítisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anúnsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *aydnkadisu*. Shamans practice
[834 continence before important rites, for if the
756] *anúnsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

601 Fire 6 (19 to 22). --The chief, or rather, it seems, the shaman of
621 group c, is 30 to 40 years old, "brother" of c23. His dispositions are
[754] friendly and mysterious. We shall encounter him farther on (2). He

2. P. 103.

has two wives, c19 and [54] c21, very pretty girls of 17 or 18 years, "sisters" of the dead husband of c23. Here we have, then, a good example of sororal polygyny. The second woman has a little boy of 3 years, C22.

Fire 7 (23 to 25). --The woman, c23, is over 40; she is a widow and seems to enjoy great consideration. Her numerous "brothers" provide for her as well as her children, and like C20, she is apt to receive supernatural revelations (1). She has a son, C25, about 14

1. Cf. p. 101.

years old, and a daughter, c24, about 10. Concerning them, refer to page 34.

Fire 8 (26 and 27). --A young couple of about 18, whose parents must be dead and whom the elders of the group call "grandchildren."

Fire 9 (28 to 30). --C28, about 25 years, is a "son" of C6; his wife, c29 is older than he (over 40); she is called "daughter" by c19 and c21, although they are by far younger than she; her daughter c30 is about 2 years old.

Fire 10 (31 to 33). --c32, about 40 years old, is a younger sister of c23; she has two daughters: the eldest, c31, about 17, is married; the younger, c33, still a baby. The husband and her son-in-law are absent; they are said to be on a trip together. The group sees to the needs of the two women.

It is suitable to add a visitor to this list, C34, about 30 years old.
[574] He is the brother of c12 and, during his stay, he receives the hospitality of household number 4.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

Husbands and Wives

593 To understand well the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another, it is indispensable to keep in mind the fundamental character

721 collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its
[682] members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as
[537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ĵednãẽ ṷõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ṷalaṷriŝenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not.
[292 535] Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[787]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622 756 789] is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

[147]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun and after several kilometers of marching.

787 These visions are attributed to the thunder which sends them to men under its semi-personal form amõ.

771 Thus the Nambikwara conceive of three types of supernatural
756 forces: first the power which is abstract, but placed in objects or substances, the nande, next the spirits acting in the form of supernatural or seminatural animals, atásu or jaguar. Finally the thunder, with which under certain conditions, it is possible to entertain personal relations. Each individual can, in a certain measure, establish contact with these forces, however it is the shamans who have the specialized function of intermediary between the human group and the supernatural world. The information which we shall give on this point will be very summary, for it was impossible to obtain from our informants a coherent treatment of the question of shamanism. None of the groups encountered had a shaman with the exception of a single one (group c) where the powers of the chief and the sorcerer were found [102] concentrated in a single individual (C20). Our best informant, B1, chief of the allied group, was categorical concerning the fact that C20 combined the two qualities of uelikabala (chief, c) and of ndare (thunder, c) although he was only uilikãde, temporal chief. The sorcerer would then be simultaneously the man who identifies himself with thunder, and who communicates with it in the personal form called amõ. Likewise, in the eastern groups (a1 restricted and enlarged, and a2), it was not possible to uncover the presence of a sorcerer or of an individual with such powers. This fact could be interpreted in three different ways: that the sorcerers were held apart; or that they dissimulated their nature; that the institution of the sorcerer is, in fact, absent in certain groups; or that, in these same groups, the functions of the sorcerer are exercised by the chief, and that, in inverse fashion to what is produced in group c, it is the spiritual functions which are in second place with regard to the temporal. It is this hypothesis which we consider the most reasonable. In group a1, A1 makes the arrow poison and treats sick persons by suction, functions which in group c come within the province of C20 considered as shaman, rather than chief of the group.

756 Whatever the fact may be, and as we have just said, it is the sorcerer who makes the poisons, and it is he who proceeds to the magical treatment of the sick, clearly different from the positive
278 therapeutics likewise practiced. The Nambikwara are familiar with
757 quite a large number of medicinal plants and treat certain illnesses with their help. Thus they care for purulent ophthalmia by an

278 injection of pao preto (ikátu nlʔ̂ʂerám, a1), put in the eye with the
757 aid of a funnel of leaves from whose lower extremity the liquid falls drop by drop. But other maladies, considered the result of
755 poisoning (or of a charm; in both cases: nánde) are exclusively within
756 the domain of the sorcerer. He makes the "arrows of thunder" (ndaórede, b1) in all points similar to those used for hunting except that their dimensions are much more restricted. The treatment consists of three operations: throwing the arrows around the sick person to carry away the spirits; sucking the body to force out the cause of the illness; this cause is thrown far away when it has been captured:

43. ãdige underãdige kadirjenka ungerajge tenundige (b1)
throw, throw far away the little thorns sucked with the mouth, throw away [the evil]. (1)

1. The informant made it known that by "little thorns" he meant to designate the "arrows of thunder" which are only several centimeters in length. One notes the same assimilation in other regions of South America.
[71] Thus, the informant of Karsten in the Chaco (R. Karsten, "Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco," Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cites as the cause of the malady and the way of combatting it, an "arrow" or "splinter").

[103] Afterwards the sick person is usually cured and can take up his work again:

44. enendige deendige enena deidnige (b1)
To be sick is finished [one can] continue.

756 However, the sorcerer can establish much closer relationships with the supernatural powers. During our stay in his group, C20 disappeared, or more exactly did not return to camp at the usual hour. The other men, having gone hunting, had not seen him the whole day. Night fell and toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, the most profound consternation reigned in the camp and particularly around the fire of the man who had disappeared, whose two wives and child held themselves embraced while mourning in advance the death of their husband and father. At this moment we decided to look around, accompanied by a few Indians. We had only to walk 200 meters to discover C20, crouched on the ground and shivering in the darkness. He was completely naked, that is, divested of his

He was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[301] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (amõ). [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananáz River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarundé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
[578] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

756 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of
278 naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

• • • • • •

622 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman,
756 plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations.
796 The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Sousa, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ORNAMENTATION

301 The Eastern Nambicuara also make a wide assortment of ornaments from tucum nuts, shell,
306 teeth, and bamboo. From the shell of the tucum nut they make black washers which are strung for necklaces or ear ornaments. The irregular-shaped washers are first ground down to an almost paper-like thinness on a piece of sandstone. They are then strung tightly on a string and the maker begins to rub them against a stone in order to make them circular. He continues rubbing until the washers are no more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, for the smaller the washer the more highly the necklace is valued, as this process takes many weeks.

301 The ear lobes of both men and women are per-
304 forated so that tucum shell washers, beads on a string, and triangular pieces of shell can be suspended from them.

The septum of the nose and the upper lips of men are perforated. Through the hole in the septum they force a slender piece of bamboo about 2 inches in length. These adornments give a peculiar expression to the face, particularly when the man is speaking. Julio was especially proud of these ornaments and claimed that white men were just like women because they did not wear them. On special occasions a blue macaw feather [292] [756] about 10 inches long with a bunch of red feathers near the lower end is worn in the nose. Only shamans wear a hat made from jaguar skin.

301 The most popular necklace is made from tucum washers and is worn by men, women, and children. Short lengths of bamboo, monkey teeth, jaguar teeth and claws are also used for making necklaces for men. If very long, any necklace can be worn over one shoulder and under the arm. A special type of necklace for men is made by suspending black mutúm feathers from a string alternating with lengths of bamboo. Generally the feathers also alternate, some being long and some short. A rare but highly valued necklace is made from the shiny black horns of a large beetle.

Arm bands about an inch in width made of woven cotton are worn above the biceps by both men and women. From these, men suspend tassels of buriti fiber. This fiber is also worn around the wrists and ankles. Wrist bands are also made for women from the tail of the armadillo.

[p. 95(B)]

776 [753] *Tauptú* does not cause illness, but when people get sick he begins to eat away the flesh and finally kills them and eventually takes their bones to his abode in the sky. The missionaries told me that when the first airplane appeared in Nambicuara territory the Indians ran into the forest and hid because they believed the airplane was *tauptú*. Shamans sometimes visit the land of *tauptú* by riding up to the sky on the back of [756] *urutai*, the night hawk or goat sucker. Julio claimed that his father-in-law, who was a powerful shaman, had visited the realm of *tauptú* while in a trance.

776 756 The Wakítisu fear most of all the spirit armadillo called *ulurú*. When someone sees bits of manioc cake and charcoal floating on the river near the village, he comes back and tells the shaman, who then goes to examine the signs. If the shaman decides that it is *ulurú*, immediate action must be taken to save the world from destruction. The women and children shut themselves in their huts while the men take their wooden sword clubs (*hulúkisu*) and go to the bank of the river. The shaman then digs a deep hole in the bank, into which he is lowered with a rope. When he has grasped *ulurú* by the tail he signals the men on the surface to pull him out. The shaman remains at the mouth of the hole with his arm thrust in, holding *ulurú* by the tail while with his other hand he marks points on the ground which are directly over the head, heart, and stomach of *ulurú*. One by one the men thrust their sword clubs into the ground at the places marked by the shaman. As they push the blades in they twist them to make sure that they kill *ulurú*. After the spirit armadillo has been killed, the men go back to the village leaving the shaman alone with the dead *ulurú*. The shaman then cuts up the spirit armadillo, washes the pieces in the river, and begins to sing. When the ghosts of the dead Nambicuara hear the song they come and eat the pieces prepared by the shaman, after which they go away happy because the Nambicuara have been saved.

776 [821] The Wakítisu say that if they should ever fail to kill *ulurú*, a terrific storm would appear followed by an earthquake, for when *ulurú* gets under the village he will turn the world upside down, *tauptú* will fall down from the sky, and the Nambicuara will be buried again. In short, they will go back

[p. 100 (A)]

776 under the ground from where *oklihdítisu*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

●756 The man who is responsible for guarding the
775 band against evil spirits is the shaman (*wanîngidisu*). In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anúnsu* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*ayánkadisu*). The *anúnsu* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Waklítisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tlídítu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*yendru*), and cause harm to people.

821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in
756 following game. To pacify the evil *anúnsu*, who
789 has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-shaped bundle (*yakúdendnsu*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*kalúnkisu*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yakúndendnsu* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery
754 against individuals in another band by asking their *anúnsu* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sihdentsu*) and

756 by singing calls his *anúnsu*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúnsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anúnsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anúnsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the shaman's orders. The procedure followed in curing
755 an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anúnsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anúnsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *aydnkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry and make the children ill. To cure the children,
[755] a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the
533 dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made through singing. The Waklítisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anúnsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs
[834 which bring the *aydnkadisu*. Shamans practice
756] continence before important rites, for if the *anúnsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse (*winsúenditsu*) as the cause of pregnancy (*haldjítsu*). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anúnsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Wakĺtisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose. Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitánrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (B)]

787 These visions are attributed to the thunder which sends them to men under its semi-personal form amõ.

771 Thus the Nambikwara conceive of three types of supernatural
756 forces: first the power which is abstract, but placed in objects or substances, the nãnde; next the spirits acting in the form of supernatural or seminatural animals, atãsu or jaguar. Finally the thunder, with which under certain conditions, it is possible to entertain personal relations. Each individual can, in a certain measure, establish contact with these forces, however it is the shamans who have the specialized function of intermediary between the human group and the supernatural world. The information which we shall give on this point will be very summary, for it was impossible to obtain from our informants a coherent treatment of the question of shamanism. None of the groups encountered had a shaman with the exception of a single one (group c) where the powers of the chief and the sorcerer were found [102] concentrated in a single individual (C20). Our best informant, B1, chief of the allied group, was categorical concerning the fact that C20 combined the two qualities of uelikabala (chief, c) and of ndãre (thunder, c) although he was only uilikãde, temporal chief. The sorcerer would then be simultaneously the man who identifies himself with thunder, and who communicates with it in the personal form called amõ. Likewise, in the eastern groups (a1 restricted and enlarged, and a2), it was not possible to uncover the presence of a sorcerer or of an individual with such powers. This fact could be interpreted in three different ways: that the sorcerers were held apart; or that they dissimulated their nature; that the institution of the sorcerer is, in fact, absent in certain groups; or that, in these same groups, the functions of the sorcerer are exercised by the chief, and that, in inverse fashion to what is produced in group c, it is the spiritual functions which are in second place with regard to the temporal. It is this hypothesis which we consider the most reasonable. In group a1; A1 makes the arrow poison and treats sick persons by suction, functions which in group c come within the province of C20 considered as shaman, rather than chief of the group.

756 Whatever the fact may be, and as we have just said, it is the sorcerer who makes the poisons, and it is he who proceeds to the magical treatment of the sick, clearly different from the positive
275 therapeutics likewise practiced. The Nambikwara are familiar with
● 757 quite a large number of medicinal plants and treat certain illnesses with their help. Thus they care for purulent ophthalmia by an

278 injection of pao preto (ikátu nʔ̥ʂerám, a1), put in the eye with the
757 aid of a funnel of leaves from whose lower extremity the liquid falls drop by drop. But other maladies, considered the result of
755 756 poisoning (or of a charm; in both cases: nánde) are exclusively within the domain of the sorcerer. He makes the "arrows of thunder" (ndaórede, b1) in all points similar to those used for hunting except that their dimensions are much more restricted. The treatment consists of three operations: throwing the arrows around the sick person to carry away the spirits; sucking the body to force out the cause of the illness; this cause is thrown far away when it has been captured:

43. ãdige underãdige kadirienka úngeraige tenúndige (b1)
throw, throw far away the little thorns sucked with the mouth, throw away [the evil]. (1)

1. The informant made it known that by "little thorns" he meant to designate the "arrows of thunder" which are only several centimeters in length. One notes the same assimilation in other regions of South America.
[71] Thus, the informant of Karsten in the Chaco (R. Karsten, "Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco," Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cites as the cause of the malady and the way of combatting it, an "arrow" or "splinter").

[103] Afterwards the sick person is usually cured and can take up his work again:

44. enéndige deéndige enéna déidnige (b1)
To be sick is finished [one can] continue.

756 However, the sorcerer can establish much closer relationships with the supernatural powers. During our stay in his group, C20 disappeared, or more exactly did not return to camp at the usual hour. The other men, having gone hunting, had not seen him the whole day. Night fell and toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, the most profound consternation reigned in the camp and particularly around the fire of the man who had disappeared, whose two wives and child held themselves embraced while mourning in advance the death of their husband and father. At this moment we decided to look around, accompanied by a few Indians. We had only to walk 200 meters to discover C20, crouched on the ground and shivering in the darkness. He was completely naked, that is, divested of his

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

756 by singing calls his *anánsu*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *anánsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anánsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anánsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the shaman's orders. The procedure followed in curing
755 an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anánsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anánsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *aydnkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry
[755] and make the children ill. To cure the children, a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the
533 dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made through singing. The Waklítisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anánsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *aydnkadisu*. Shamans practice
[834] continence before important rites, for if the
756] *anánsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

●757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

778 534 The sacred flutes (*wdinrhu*) are associated with *ohlihditlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the [784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 775 533 The *wdinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After planting, the men gather into the flute hut and play the flutes and sing the *wiyánsu*. The ghosts of the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *haikánakídutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wdinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

164 These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[757] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet [278] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113]

1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [279] *eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords* and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[113]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

752 They spread saliva on bâanêcedûtú sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing kiss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikriceknerá--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

532 [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

113 1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

241 [Plates p. 254]

[249] Yet a wild form of manioc has been found (Manihot utilissimo, Pohl); if not the very species we use, at least one of the same genus. But maize?

Where on the surface of the earth does maize exist in a wild state except for the tunicated Zea mais which is sometimes considered to be the ancestor of the modern species?

What unveiling of mysteries, if this question were to be answered!

Some Tagnani who were watching the herdsman João Lucas weed a small plot in Três Buritis began to laugh at him, indicating that it would be better to root up the weeds; the hoe severed the stems but left in the roots, and the plants would grow up again. When the Nambicuara weed, they pull out everything that is not useful. Their plots are always clean.

Their tobacco is the Nicotiana that grows wild in their mountains; it may not properly be said that urucu and cotton are cultivated; they are planted and utilized. Some large beans of various kinds de-
278 241 serve mention. [250] They are to be found in the Indians' baskets along with many other plants; but we never saw an Indian eating them or making any use of them. Pending further research, I am of the opinion that they are saved for medicinal undertakings carried out in secret by old men and women. The same may be said of the castor oil plant (Ricinus communis), which is definitely adventitious.

[Fig. 39]

415 The spools of cotton fiber that await spinning and the seeds saved for future use are kept out of the weather, dust and rain in bags made of straw or pacova leaves.

[Fig. 40]

759 It seemed to us that medicine was not exercised by any special segment of society. They all take part in the treatment of certain diseases; in serious cases, an experienced elder takes over.

752 Wounds are dressed with straw fibers [coated] with certain resins (jatobá). Burns are treated with cold water. Fractures and dislocations are reduced haphazardly.

789 411 [b1], makalé [c1]. This instrument is used in three circumstances: in war; to conjure up (or to attract?) rain by manipulating it according to an approved ritual as if one were tracing signs in the air while brandishing it; finally to kill the atáisu, by throwing it in the direction of the apparition, using as intermediary a tooth of the jaguar; the throwing stick is placed obliquely in the left hand, the point turned in the direction of the atáisu, and the tooth, manipulated by the right hand, acts as a hook for projection. The atáisu appears only at night. It may borrow the form of the jaguar or of other animals who are then filled with murderous intentions. When the atáisu is caught in his terrestrial form at the point of the javelin, a great flow of blood is produced. The "supernatural" animal is never eaten. They abandon its body to the carrion.

789 761 In the second case, one is faced with a real theory of death. The sick person who sees the atáisu appear knows that he is condemned, and the animal actually carries him off on the spot or returns to get him a little later. The current version of the death of A21, drowned in a river in July 1938, was that the atáisu carried him to the bottom of the waters. The atáisu would live in the water. An informant described it as having "a large mouth and lots of collars."

789 771 74 The southern, central and northern groups bear witness to a more elaborate religious thought. Among these peoples, the preceding notions are crowned by a third, which does not appear as clearly in the eastern groups although it is probably present, that of the wind and thunder, hypostasized in the forms of a semi-personal power named amã. (1) In these groups, this is substituted for the atáisu in the theory

1. The Tupi origin of this term is evident. One can compare Montoya, 'amaː cloud of waters; Nogueira, 'amaː cloud; Coudreau (Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, XV, 1892), 'amane (Oyampi): rain; Gonçalves Dias, 'amanaː (chuva) rain; Kissenberth (Baessler Archiv, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), 'amana, aman, amaˀ (Tapirapé): rain; Nimuendaju (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI, 1914), 'amaˀ (Lingua Géral): (chuva) rain.

of death, and it is possible to communicate with it through revelations and visions.

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dúrige u̯etnatúrina édnadu̯re lukui̯ndige ndaku̯i̯ndige monánkiadukui̯ndige denõ dúrige monáu̯re li̯ttige amonotli̯ttige tou̯odúrige u̯iténdige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
[224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
281] mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714] bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] lou̯ku̯i̯ndige inkɘra ui̯rige lotɘtáu̯rige iku̯itãdige u̯i̯rige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atásu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atásu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted
171 with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim,

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

BURIAL

763 When it is seen that a person is about to die the women wail for a while and then they all turn their backs to the dying person and begin to divide up his belongings. The corpse is buried in a grave dug in the village or camp site. The men loosen the soil with sticks and scoop out the soil with gourds until a roughly rectangular grave about 5 feet deep is dug. The men who lower the body into the grave take three balls of soil from the bottom of the grave with which they rub their legs and backs. A man's decorations are placed in the grave with him. In the case of a woman, two or three gourds are placed at her feet. The grave is then covered. A man's bow and arrows are broken and left on the grave. The rest of his belongings are burnt nearby and the people go on a hunt for a few days. A bit of buriti fiber is left to mark the grave of a boy, although nothing appears to be left over the grave of a woman or a girl.

764

775 The ghost remains around the grave for several days and then goes to the sacred mountain where all the ghosts live. In the land of the dead the ghosts have fine necklaces, and nose feathers, and are always painted with urucú. But they do not wish to be forgotten and want the living to give them food. The Nambicuara do not fear ghosts, and like to have them participate in their ceremonies.

764 Two days before we left Utiarity, Marciano died. He was one of our best informants, the least morose and most helpful. A week earlier he caught cold which turned into pneumonia. It was pitiful to watch this naked man lying in the dirt beside a fire slowly gasping out his life. Once in a while he became conscious and tried to sing, calling the spirits to help him. About 9:30 that night he died. As there is something symbolic in his death and burial I would like to end this account of the Nambicuara with an entry from my diary dated July 30, 1949.

This morning we all went to the burial, the Jesuit priests, the Protestant missionaries, some of the Brasilians, and Kaoro and I. We dug a grave at an old Nambicuara camp site about a half a mile from Utiarity. As we walked along the telegraph line bearing Marciano's body the cabá were singing and the air was full of the sweet odor of the timbó vine. Wrapped in a ragged blanket Marciano was lowered into his grave along with his

[p. 104 (2)]

601 35. tarũtarosu : "old brother-in-law" (tarũte [b 1/2] equals asũkosu [a 1/2]);

36. tuĩrarosu : "old husband" (ũĩte [b 1/2] equals ouẽnsaesu [a 1/2]);

37. ianẽrosu : ?

38. asoũkerosu : "old grandfather" or "father-in-law";

[25] 39. takaʔkenosu cited with the commentary : "When the
●[764] takaʔkenosu dies, the alõnsu cut their hair, but not the akenãnosu."

Finally, two terms of relationship express the relations coming from "oblique" marriages and from the division of generations into "elders" and "younger":

40. ajũnkedisu;

41. (t)ãdirikisu.

A man calls the akenanosu of his mother ajũnkedisu (while the term asoũnosu is generally—but not always—reserved for the alõnsu); one and the other are, of course, the asũkosu of his father. The same individual is then called "father-in-law" (asoũnosu) or "husband" (ouẽnsaesu) by the sister of the subject considered, or, if she is married, ajũnkedisu also, the husband then calling him "father" (ahuĩnosu). One sees then that the ajũnkedisu is a man whose daughter or wife I (masculine subject) marry, and whose son my sister marries, if she does not marry the man himself. Thus it is explained that the ajũnkedisu is asũkosu or asoũnosu, to my brother; asũkosu or asineẽru, to my father; akenãnosu or asineẽru, to my mother; ouẽnsaesu or asoũnosu, to my sister; ahuĩnosu, to my wife.

On the other hand, a man calls a woman (t)ãdirikisu who can be arĩndesu or asintu of his father, aseẽtasu or asĩntu of his mother, aseẽtasu or aʔẽnosu of his sister, aekẽnosu of his wife. She is then a woman whom I marry or whose daughter I marry. A woman, in her turn, calls another woman (t)ãdirikisu who is aʔkẽndesu of her husband, that is, a woman whose brother or son she marries.

601 582 One sees that these two names bestow two privileges, or opens a double right: that of the marriage of the mother's brother (and, theoretically, of the father's brother) with his niece; a right belonging essentially to the elder brother; and of the marriage of the sister's son (brother's son) with his aunt. This rule, or rather this possibility is explained on the one hand by the tendency of the Nambikwara towards polygamy, on the other hand, by the scarcity (moreover consecutive) of women. We shall study examples in an instant.

684 conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations
626 [182] incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing equivalences of value.

●764 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern
184 groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriu̯aerekititu, a1) in a circular ditch (sinitákurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in
[768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. au̯regande aŝunikere kadúkərage i̯au̯órige énde énde énde inare inaretai̯re ṣinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aot2eni'kere, b1) in a prone position (i̯ótarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doŝore dúrige aórede au̯tadátige au̯dotahãmdige au̯dotaãmde odenehei̯rẽ odunhi'nde ni̯aótumni̯ẽ narai̯nidánde narai̯dúrige ai'redugei̯óttige dén dén dén nagi̯aõde ai̯re dugi̯otige ti̯atugi̯ótige (b1)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

648 only work for the white man when they want an ax, a knife, a gun, or some article of clothing, and once they obtain what they want they wander off. Miners particularly are bitter about the fact that the Nambicuara are unreliable workers.

797 Missionary activity, which has been carried on intensively by both Protestants and Catholics for about 20 years, has been singularly unsuccessful in Christianizing the Nambicuara. The Jesuit priests informed me that only those individuals who have been taken to Diamantino as children and kept there can be said to understand the rudiments of Christianity. The hope is that eventually these individuals can be brought back to the tribe and through their influence their children will be raised as Christians. The Protestants tell the same story. The Indians remain around the mission stations, participate in prayer meetings, and perform little tasks for which they are compensated but they soon become bored and wander off. The Rev. L. W. Buckman told me that he raised a Nambicuara boy at the station and believed that he would remain, but one day the boy got married, left with his wife, and took up the old wandering pagan form of life. None of the Wakítisu band are considered Christians. When Marciano died [764] a few days before I left he was buried according to Indian custom, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries participating in the burial as onlookers. Among this band which has had as much missionary contact as any, there was not a single individual who could speak or read Portuguese. Some of the men, as has been mentioned, used a form of pidgin Portuguese as a means of communicating with their white neighbors.

648 The attitude of the Nambicuara toward the white man is not only one of suspicion and sullen resentment, but one of disdain. They call white people "civilisados" or sometimes "bean eaters." A Nambicuara feels insulted if these terms are applied to himself. He openly boasts of being a "bugre," a slang term widely applied to Indians in Brazil which signifies a sodomite or heathen. While all other Indians that I have met in Mato Grosso objected to this term when it was applied to them, the Nambicuara always use it when talking about themselves. Julio informed me that the Nambicuara always get sick when they visit white people. The missionaries confirmed this fact but added that the Nambicuara have now become

The chief admon-
ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakítisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

According to the Wakítisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *tauptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

Tauptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lálukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tauptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinínuwa*), who lives with *tauptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[p. 99(B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

BURIAL

763 When it is seen that a person is about to die the women wail for a while and then they all turn their backs to the dying person and begin to divide up his belongings. The corpse is buried
● 764 in a grave dug in the village or camp site. The men loosen the soil with sticks and scoop out the soil with gourds until a roughly rectangular grave about 5 feet deep is dug. The men who lower the body into the grave take three balls of soil from the bottom of the grave with which they rub their legs and backs. A man's decorations are placed in the grave with him. In the case of a woman, two or three gourds are placed at her feet. The grave is then covered. A man's bow and arrows are broken and left on the grave. The rest of his belongings are burnt nearby and the people go on a hunt for a few days. A bit of buriti fiber is left to mark the grave of a boy, although nothing appears to be left over the grave of a woman or a girl.

775 The ghost remains around the grave for several days and then goes to the sacred mountain where all the ghosts live. In the land of the dead the ghosts have fine necklaces, and nose feathers, and are always painted with urucú. But they do not wish to be forgotten and want the living to give them food. The Nambicuara do not fear ghosts, and like to have them participate in their ceremonies.

764 Two days before we left Utiarity, Marciano died. He was one of our best informants, the least morose and most helpful. A week earlier he caught cold which turned into pneumonia. It was pitiful to watch this naked man lying in the dirt beside a fire slowly gasping out his life. Once in a while he became conscious and tried to sing, calling the spirits to help him. About 9:30 that night he died. As there is something symbolic in his death and burial I would like to end this account of the Nambicuara with an entry from my diary dated July 30, 1949.

This morning we all went to the burial, the Jesuit priests, the Protestant missionaries, some of the Brasilians, and Kaore and I. We dug a grave at an old Nambicuara camp site about a half a mile from Utiarity. As we walked along the telegraph line bearing Marciano's body the sabiá were singing and the air was full of the sweet odor of the timbó vine. Wrapped in a ragged blanket Marciano was lowered into his grave along with his

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

764 necklace and a few rusty cans, the grave was covered, and there we left him a few feet from the grave of his first wife who had died in the measles epidemic four years before. Then Julio, the chief, told all his people to gather around the grave and as he walked around it he told Marciano that here he had water and sunshine, and that after a few days he would be with the ancestors around

[p. 105 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

764 the stone mountain at Juruena. The white men had not a word to say. It seemed that we were not burying just an Indian but a race, older and more simple in its way of life than its Arawak- and Carib-speaking neighbors. And the telegraph line beneath which Marciano rests is the symbol of all those forces which destroyed him and are slowly destroying his brothers.

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocoza in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

601 husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical "fathers" or "mothers," or of true sons or daughters as compared to theoretical "sons" and "daughters." In most cases, the discrimination seems totally superfluous to the Indians, since it is so well accented by the differences of behavior. Sometimes also it seems useless because of the inverse of the preceding, the theoretical wife can become a real wife (for example in case of polygamy, or of remarriage), the theoretical father or mother, or the theoretical son [608] or daughter, can play the role of true father or mother, or of true son or daughter, through the mechanism of adoption. This functions automatically, in the case of the father's death, the child then being [22] [768] taken in and raised by its father's brother. In this case his father's brother, whom he has always called father, becomes for him a real father even though by substitution, and the wife of his father's brother, who is most often his mother's sister, and whom he has consequently always called mother, is from then on treated by him as such, especially if his own mother is dead or has remarried. However, sometimes the Indians wish to sharpen the theoretical character of the name. Then they add to the classifying term a descriptive term, whose approximate meaning is that of "relative" in the most general sense, as,

20. (akit) a'dnisu,

used in the substantive form above, or in the participial form a'dnere; or in the exclamatory form, in conversation, a'dneram.

Thus we have found the following appelations,

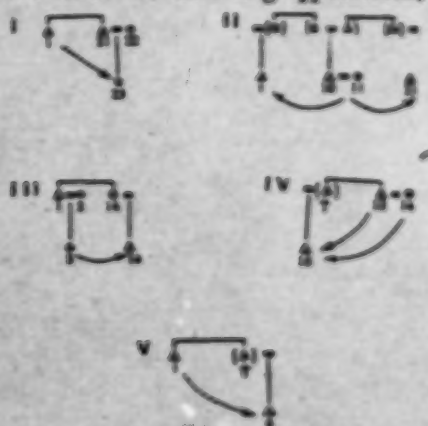


Fig. 3

I. a'kineru a'dneram. --II. (t)oyensaesu a'dnisu. III. oyensaesu a'dnisu (among children). IV. tayettu a'kiraru a'dneram. --V. akineram (a'kirare a'dneram).

601 are found which complete (or substitute for) the classifying terms aʔéjnosu, asoúnosu, ahuínosu, aʔkénosu:

27. arindagresu : "mother's mother";
28. oyensáerosu : "mother's father";
29. aseétagresu : "father's mother";
30. alúdnarusu : "father's father";
31. aʔéjndagresu : "sister of the mother's mother."

The etymology of the terms verifies the principal of marriage of cross-cousins. In fact, if one has:

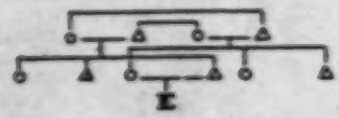


Fig. 4.

it is established that:

arindagresu (or arindakerosu, "little old sister"), is the sister of my father's father;

oyensáerosu (from oyénsaesu, "husband") is the husband of my mother's mother;

aseetágresu (or aseetákerosu, "old sister-in-law") is the sister-in-law of my mother's mother;

alúdnarusu (from alónsu, "brother") is the brother of my mother's mother.

Concerning uncles and aunts, their name is sharpened by descriptive terms:

32. akajntagresu, atákarusu: "mother's sister";
33. akaterosu : "mother's brother";
34. ayádnosu : "father's sister."

No descriptive term has been found for the father's brother, normally
[768] called father (ahuinosu); perhaps this lack is to be explained by his position as father in case of the blood father's death.

On the other hand, the following descriptive terms have been collected in the course of attempts at geneological reconstructions, but it was not possible to determine for certain the levels or degrees of parentage to which they refer. It is possible that they are employed jointly with certain of the preceding terms:

634 conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations
626 incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing
[152] equivalences of value.

764 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern
184 groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriuaerekititu, al) in a circular ditch (sinitakurisu, al) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in
●[768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. auregande aŝunikere kadukarage iauorige ende ende ende inare inaretaire sinoribate (bl)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aoteni'kere, bl) in a prone position (iotarige, bl).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doŝore durige aorede autadatige audotahãmdige audotaãmde odenehejre odunhi'nde niaotumnie narainidande narajdurige ai'redugejottige den den den nagiaode aire dugiotige tiatugiotige (bl)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

621 Elôtasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *toyántasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatahóinisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awínisu* (father) and the term *ahakínisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahaínusu* and mother's brother *awánusu*. A man calls his older brother *akandnusu*, his younger brother *dowáidnisu*, and his sisters *awádnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akiráru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asuétu* and *asíntu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *ásésu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatasóisuwa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*asésu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amesóisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*awánusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahaínusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elôtasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Wakítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

[p. 99 (A)]

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an
[76] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

362 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

362 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be
[84] termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paressi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 203] place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nãnde (bl). To analyze it, we should first say a few words con-
cerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparação do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

789 411 [b1], makalé [c1]). This instrument is used in three circumstances: in war; to conjure up (or to attract?) rain by manipulating it according to an approved ritual as if one were tracing signs in the air while brandishing it; finally to kill the atáisu, by throwing it in the direction of the apparition, using as intermediary a tooth of the jaguar; the throwing stick is placed obliquely in the left hand, the point turned in the direction of the atáisu, and the tooth, manipulated by the right hand, acts as a hook for projection. The atáisu appears only at night. It may borrow the form of the jaguar or of other animals who are then filled with murderous intentions. When the atáisu is caught in his terrestrial form at the point of the javelin, a great flow of blood is produced. The "supernatural" animal is never eaten. They abandon its body to the carrion.

789 761 In the second case, one is faced with a real theory of death. The sick person who sees the atáisu appear knows that he is condemned, and the animal actually carries him off on the spot or returns to get him a little later. The current version of the death of A21, drowned in a river in July 1938, was that the atáisu carried him to the bottom of the waters. The atáisu would live in the water. An informant described it as having "a large mouth and lots of collars."

789 771 761 The southern, central and northern groups bear witness to a more elaborate religious thought. Among these peoples, the preceding notions are crowned by a third, which does not appear as clearly in the eastern groups although it is probably present, that of the wind and thunder, hypostasized in the forms of a semi-personal power named amõ. (1) In these groups, this is substituted for the atáisu in the theory

1. The Tupi origin of this term is evident. One can compare Montoya, "amaː cloud of waters; Nogueira, "amaː cloud; Coudreau (Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, XV, 1892), "amane (Oyampi): rain; Gonçalves Diaz, "amanaː (chuva) rain; Kinenberth (Baessler Archiv, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), "amana, aman, amaⁿ (Tapirapé): rain; Nimuendaju (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI, 1914), "amaⁿ (Lingua Géral): (chuva) rain.

of death, and it is possible to communicate with it through revelations and visions.

787 These visions are attributed to the thunder which sends them to men under its semi-personal form amõ.

●771 Thus the Nambikwara conceive of three types of supernatural
756 forces: first the power which is abstract, but placed in objects or substances, the nãnde; next the spirits acting in the form of supernatural or seminatural animals, atásu or jaguar. Finally the thunder, with which under certain conditions, it is possible to entertain personal relations. Each individual can, in a certain measure, establish contact with these forces, however it is the shamans who have the specialized function of intermediary between the human group and the supernatural world. The information which we shall give on this point will be very summary, for it was impossible to obtain from our informants a coherent treatment of the question of shamanism. None of the groups encountered had a shaman with the exception of a single one (group c) where the powers of the chief and the sorcerer were found [102] concentrated in a single individual (C20). Our best informant, B1, chief of the allied group, was categorical concerning the fact that C20 combined the two qualities of nelikabala (chief, c) and of ndãre (thunder, c) although he was only nilikãde, temporal chief. The sorcerer would then be simultaneously the man who identifies himself with thunder, and who communicates with it in the personal form called amõ. Likewise, in the eastern groups (a1 restricted and enlarged, and a2), it was not possible to uncover the presence of a sorcerer or of an individual with such powers. This fact could be interpreted in three different ways: that the sorcerers were held apart; or that they dissimulated their nature; that the institution of the sorcerer is, in fact, absent in certain groups; or that, in these same groups, the functions of the sorcerer are exercised by the chief, and that, in inverse fashion to what is produced in group c, it is the spiritual functions which are in second place with regard to the temporal. It is this hypothesis which we consider the most reasonable. In group a1; A1 makes the arrow poison and treats sick persons by suction, functions which in group c come within the province of C20 considered as shaman, rather than chief of the group.

756 Whatever the fact may be, and as we have just said, it is the sorcerer who makes the poisons, and it is he who proceeds to the magical treatment of the sick, clearly different from the positive
278 therapeutics likewise practiced. The Nambikwara are familiar with
757 quite a large number of medicinal plants and treat certain illnesses with their help. Thus they care for purulent ophthalmia by an

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

534 *kadínsu*, the nose flute, *maitétansu*, and the five-tube panpipe, *dútu*. The nose flute which is about 4 inches in diameter is made by sticking two round pieces of gourd together with rosin. Three holes are made on one side, two holes providing finger stops, while air from one nostril is blown across the other. These flutes do not appear to have any ritual significance.

771 In reviewing the religious symbolism of the Nambicuara it appears that the following conclusions can be drawn. The *oklihátilisu* myth explains the origin of the Eastern Nambicuara and their rights to the territory which they now occupy. *Tauptú*, although not the cause of illness, explains why people die. *Tauptú* and *dihnínuwa* also account for the existence of shooting stars and the presence of rain. *Ulurú* appears to represent the ever-present forces of destruction inherent in the physical environment. Within the framework of these ultimate forces the Nambicuara carry on their struggle for existence assisted by and opposed by the members of their own kind. The security of the band depends upon the close cooperation of the kinsmen acting under the guidance of the chief. The *wáinrhu* flutes provide a supernatural sanction for the powers of the chief and thus help in enforcing and maintaining band solidarity. The flutes, furthermore, are a symbol of the common ancestry of the Eastern Nambicuara in that they relate the bands to the culture hero. The ghosts of the ancestors (*ayánkadisu*), like the living members of the band, must be well-treated in order to avoid danger to children and the perpetuation of the band.

619 But actual day-to-day danger to the individual comes from the members of other bands. Disputes over women and quarrels arising from the exchange of goods, as we have seen, lead to bloodshed and death. In the ultimate analysis each [621] band defends itself as a sovereign unit by force. The danger arising from the constant tension and suspicion between the bands is symbolized by the *anúnsu* who bring illness, who create the storms which destroy the houses and fields, and who threaten the band with starvation by making hunting difficult. As direct attack by other bands is met with the physical forces of the band, so spiritual attack by the *anúnsu* of other bands is met by the assistance of one's own *anúnsu*. They help the shamans to draw out the evil objects

[p. 102 (A)]

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own aricú and did not ask for help.

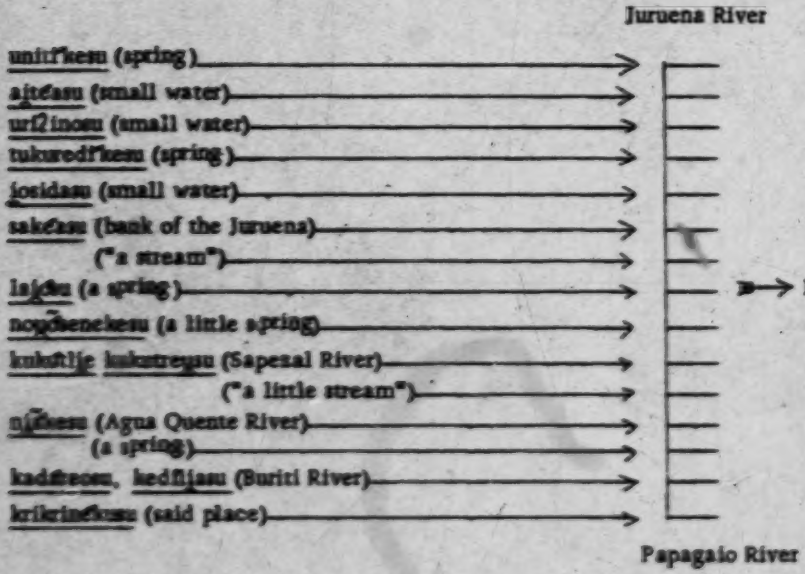
● 771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocoza in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.



TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read 173
above (p. 50) a remark of B1 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as [183
legacies of the "ancestors": 829]

58. irõtnore ikãtage ṷiʼttige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] 773
It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already 539
given. (1) Here is the text used by adults:

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narõdne kãṷihire
narukãnihire naukauiʼŝaure
nahutende kãṇgarage naukãdo uiʼŝere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

●773 déinhe naɟkena kanaɥapéndige
539 only an old woman escaped one day (?)
nándige éɟdende kéninde
to cry [she climbs on a buriti palm] buriti coco
iotúrige tanáamdage ɟáu ɟáu ɟáu
she throws [in the water] to wait to wait to wait [the water]
dehándige untahárige nihuníndige tarahíinarige ɥítte
to dry to sleep the morning to be born to deliver child
taliíttige tothandige ikãtoténdige ikã iondige
to fall [from the stomach] to grow very quickly
to grow very quickly to grow
ndaɥre tamíndige bãdige útaɥtu
[with its] mother to copulate two twins to be born
níindage eɟntalíkero
of the marriage [and] having fallen again
ɟoni déɟnhaɟnenúnkero
of a man and woman married again
ɥétnarotunkero tátalíkero nliin
of a child large again who falls again the brothers
kítunkero deɟnla ʂíina
to marry again another village
taminúkero bãkɥenaa
[having made] having copulated again two twins
dɥenúkero délaɥniʂíikero aɟninúnkero
again being born to make another village again to
inhabit again
ɥéneni núnakero bãtɥininukero nlidnɟa
to make children again two children to make again the brothers
tununɟúkero éɟnikɥe táminu táminu
to marry again other men to beget to beget
déɟndla ʂíina ɟátore tamínʂaɥre taminɟotige
another village to build to beget to beget
áɟndige dɥinúkero ʂiinúkero
to make love to have children again another village again
akɥáɟndige akɥáɟkero deɟdlaɥni ʂíinta
going away going away again other villages
[121] keɟkɥánkero háɟtẽ niriɥandi' aɟtɟẽ húntnɟatɟẽ
others still far away to inhabit (?) all distant very distant
nɟántindnóɥi ʂúmaluddnɟani nigehaɟtiẽ
very distant to inhabit who do not know how to speak
others distant (?)

773
539

nãgatatnjãani ukũnaionetãtjena ukuajenthni
who do not know how to understand others who live so distant
[that it is necessary]
kanéngore kanéngore kanéngore
that a moon end that a moon end that a moon end
uatli'tnjãni (b1)
in order that they arrive.

The whole story can be summed up as follows: alone of all the 773
humans, one old woman succeeded in escaping the Flood by hanging to the top of a buriti palm. By letting some nuts fall from the palm into the water, she was able to measure the decline of the water, and when the ground was dry, she came down and was delivered of a son. Through an incestuous union with her son, she then gave birth to twins of different sex, and from their incestuous union was born a new generation of twins. Thus, the whole of humanity would be descended from a series of marriages between twins, each giving birth to a new couple. As men multiplied, new villages were founded, always further away. So much so that today men live at such distances from one another that they do not speak the same language, do not understand one another, and must travel for whole months in order to visit.

This version offers several points in common with others collected in distant regions of South America. It is doubtless necessary to interpret the throwing of the palm nuts in the light of the "magical projection" 773
which has been studied above. (1) The throwing of small nuts certainly 171

1. Cf. p. 96.

possesses a magic significance. The same episode is found in several versions of the legend of the Flood, (2) and its magical value is formally attested

2. Cf. for example the Tupi version collected by Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 45.

for the Ŝipaia by Nimuendaju. (3) In older versions, the old woman (since

3. To kill the sun by throwing upon it small nuts of the palm tree anaja, thus introducing night upon the earth ("Sagen der Tembe Indianern," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 47, 1915, p. 296).

In older versions, the old woman (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773 171
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it
by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is [538]
probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or
grains in South American folklore.

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological 157
and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among
their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the
Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt
to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South
Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few
manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of ex-
pression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants
introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to 157
respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either 571
a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships:

60. tai undeiretnie̯ ta eikirednie̯ uai̯ iiren undetnie̯
tatiene uai̯ iritiani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep,
I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. ieitlana amnentie̯ hikənariana iatienə amdenie̯
kənahadau̯ ʃedetnie̯. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see
clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it;
tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanaiõniani nihin nalirjani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games 157
of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 521

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Sousa, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

291 Around the waist both men and women wear a buritî cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a lenth of buritî fiber from the front of the belt.

302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 13) 1/A

619 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar
621 to the band territory. The Waklítisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*waklisu*) in their territory. The Elótasu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*toku*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitánhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tantu*. The Chiwáisu are bee people from the word *waisu*, bee. The Hégndisu are buritî fruit (*héeru*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as
773 it is told among the Waklítisu band, can be summarized as follows:

Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *yahsándurukatóu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *okliháitisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *okliháitisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the pluva bow and taught them how

1/A [Cat. 116, p. 123.—Aaretsk] [p. 96 (A)]

619 to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them
773 the flute (*wáinrhu*), and taught them how to sing and dance. *Oklikáitisu* is thus the culture hero of the Nambicuara. In human form he looks like a Nambicuara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucú. Yet today people no longer see *oklikáitisu*, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

622 Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklítisu band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicuara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*alúnsu*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *alunsáidnara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicuara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicuara believe, depends upon the *alunsáidnara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

619 Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicuara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Inter-
[582] marriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chiwáisu
438 and Hégudisu obtain pots from the Western
619 Nambicuara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pots they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicuara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

[p. 96 (B)]

627 The chief admon-
[622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakfitisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

421
[428]
[764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The band between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Wakfitisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *touptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782
753
[821]
776

Touptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lúlukutsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *touptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinínuwa*), who lives with *touptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99(B)]

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
●775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dúrige ɥetnatúrina édnadɥre lukɥi'ndige ndakɥi'ndige monánkjadukɥi'ndige denõ dúrige monáɥre li'ttige amonotli'ttige toɥodúrige ɥiténdige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
[224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
281 mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714] bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loɥkɥi'ndige inkɐra ui'rige lotɐtáɥrige ikɥitãdige ɥi'rige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atásu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atásu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted
171 with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

2: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. [776]
Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's 775
and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually 776
a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to [688]
see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified 756
with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing [595]
special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with 757
numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relat- 773
ing the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the 802
natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern*, 822
Central, *Southern*, and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates 821
the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based 805
on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are 823
perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; 113
Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

776 under the ground from where *aklihátiisu*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

756 The man who is responsible for guarding the band against evil spirits is the shaman (*wanéngidisu*). In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anúnsu* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*ayánkadisu*). The *anúnsu* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Waklítisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tlídítu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*yonéru*), and cause harm to people.

821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in following game. To pacify the evil *anúnsu*, who has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-shaped bundle (*yakúdenánsu*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*halúnkisu*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yakúndenánsu* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery against individuals in another band by asking their *anúnsu* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sihásutsu*) and

[p. 100 (8)]

756 by singing calls his *anúnsu*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúnsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anúnsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anúnsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the shaman's orders. The procedure followed in curing
755 an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anúnsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anúnsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*oyánkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *oyánkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry and make the children ill. To cure the children,
[755] a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made
533 through singing. The Waklítisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anúnsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *oyánkadisu*. Shamans practice
[834 continence before important rites, for if the
756] *anúnsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

[p. 101 (A)]

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

778 The sacred flutes (*wáinrhu*) are associated with *ekhikáitlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and
534 chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the
[784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 The *wáinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After planting, the men gather into the flute hut and play
775 the flutes and sing the *weipánsu*. The ghosts of
533 the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *haikánakídutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wáinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

[p. 101 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

BURIAL

763 When it is seen that a person is about to die the women wail for a while and then they all turn their backs to the dying person and begin to divide up his belongings. The corpse is buried 764 in a grave dug in the village or camp site. The men loosen the soil with sticks and scoop out the soil with gourds until a roughly rectangular grave about 5 feet deep is dug. The men who lower the body into the grave take three balls of soil from the bottom of the grave with which they rub their legs and backs. A man's decorations are placed in the grave with him. In the case of a woman, two or three gourds are placed at her feet. The grave is then covered. A man's bow and arrows are broken and left on the grave. The rest of his belongings are burnt nearby and the people go on a hunt for a few days. A bit of buriti fiber is left to mark the grave of a boy, although nothing appears to be left over the grave of a woman or a girl.

● 775 The ghost remains around the grave for several days and then goes to the sacred mountain where all the ghosts live. In the land of the dead the ghosts have fine necklaces, and nose feathers, and are always painted with urucú. But they do not wish to be forgotten and want the living to give them food. The Nambicuara do not fear ghosts, and like to have them participate in their ceremonies.

764 Two days before we left Utiarity, Marciano died. He was one of our best informants, the least nervous and most helpful. A week earlier he caught cold which turned into pneumonia. It was pitiful to watch this naked man lying in the dirt beside a fire slowly gasping out his life. Once in a while he became conscious and tried to sing, calling the spirits to help him. About 9:30 that night he died. As there is something symbolic in his death and burial I would like to end this account of the Nambicuara with an entry from my diary dated July 30, 1949.

This morning we all went to the burial, the Jesuit priests, the Protestant missionaries, some of the Brazilians, and Kazuo and I. We dug a grave at an old Nambicuara camp site about a half a mile from Utiarity. As we walked along the telegraph line bearing Marciano's body the cahiá were singing and the air was full of the sweet odor of the timbó vine. Wrapped in a ragged blanket Marciano was lowered into his grave along with his

[p. 104 (2)]

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denõ dúrige ɥetnatúrina édnadɥre lukɥi'ndige ndakɥi'ndige monánkjadukɥi'ndige denõ dúrige monáɥre li'ttige amonotli't'tige toɥodúrige ɥiténdige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
[224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
281 mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714] bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loɥkɥi'ndige inkɐra ui'rige lotɐtáɥrige ikɥitãdige ɥi'rige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atásu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atásu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted
171 with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

776
171

and Nimuendaju, "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. Also, the atásu in question in the preceding paragraph, curiously evoke the yurupari, or ananga, ancient Tupi genies of the bush against which they defend themselves with a flaming torch which thus plays the same role as the magic javelin (cf. Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 61). Finally, the atásu itself often appears in the form of the jaguar; and in the eastern groups at least, it plays the role of the Messenger of Death which the central, southern, and northern groups give over to the jaguar. There is thus in the vocabulary, a close connection between the stars, the jaguar and the atásu, already noted by Claude d'Abbeville (cited by Métraux, l. c., p. 49) among the Tupinamba: these identified the jaguar with the stars. Like the "celestial" jaguar (Montoya), the "man-eating" (Nimuendaju), the jaguar of the Nambikwara presents a remarkable ambivalence: it is sacred, and at the same time, they kill it. Finally, comparative linguistics confirms the connection. The term which means jaguar in dialect a1, inaãru is associated with the name of the jaguar among the central and southern Tupi: yaouare (Emerillon, Coudreau); saoruhu (Guajajara, Nimuendaju); jaoarohu (Tapirapé, Kissenberth).

[101] COMMUNICATION WITH A SUPERNATURAL WORLD: SHAMANISM.

787

It is considered possible to receive visions of far-distant things and revelations of future happenings. These supernatural communications are usually produced upon the occasion of tempests and storms. They are sudden and unforeseen. Every adult male is apt to
[262] receive them, for in this case too, the women (except, it seems, the oldest) are excluded from the spiritual life:

42. iaŝidádni dénõ tamúmatatjani nahoe ejáni ekuájeni kanahádau uatli aikuaauatlikentete (b1)
Invisible to women the men see it [the thunder]: "Far away I see, close by I see, tomorrow it will arrive, very near it will arrive."
(It is a question here of a warning vision of messengers come from another tribe).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Maurítia* sp., *Attalea* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the resin of the barriguda tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cunninghame Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1909 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Sousa, A. P. de, 1925; Vellard, 1939 b.

The chief admon-

627 [622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Waklītisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

421 [428] [764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Waklītisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*ayānkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anānsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *tsuptā*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurū*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782] 753 [821] 776

Tsuptā is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lūlukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tsuptā* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinānsuwa*), who lives with *tsuptā*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99(8)]

776 [753] *Touptú* does not cause illness, but when people get sick he begins to eat away the flesh and finally kills them and eventually takes their bones to his abode in the sky. The missionaries told me that when the first airplane appeared in Nambicuara territory the Indians ran into the forest and hid because they believed the airplane was *touptú*. Shamans sometimes visit the land of *touptú* by riding up to the sky on the back of [756] *uruisi*, the night hawk or goat sucker. Julio claimed that his father-in-law, who was a powerful shaman, had visited the realm of *touptú* while in a trance.

776 756 The Waklîtisu fear most of all the spirit armadillo called *ulurú*. When someone sees bits of manioc cake and charcoal floating on the river near the village, he comes back and tells the shaman, who then goes to examine the signs. If the shaman decides that it is *ulurú*, immediate action must be taken to save the world from destruction. The women and children shut themselves in their huts while the men take their wooden sword clubs (*hulúkisu*) and go to the bank of the river. The shaman then digs a deep hole in the bank, into which he is lowered with a rope. When he has grasped *ulurú* by the tail he signals the men on the surface to pull him out. The shaman remains at the mouth of the hole with his arm thrust in, holding *ulurú* by the tail while with his other hand he marks points on the ground which are directly over the head, heart, and stomach of *ulurú*. One by one the men thrust their sword clubs into the ground at the places marked by the shaman. As they push the blades in they twist them to make sure that they kill *ulurú*. After the spirit armadillo has been killed, the men go back to the village leaving the shaman alone with the dead *ulurú*. The shaman then cuts up the spirit armadillo, washes the pieces in the river, and begins to sing. When the ghosts of the dead Nambicuara hear the song they come and eat the pieces prepared by the shaman, after which they go away happy because the Nambicuara have been saved.

776 [821] The Waklîtisu say that if they should ever fail to kill *ulurú*, a terrific storm would appear followed by an earthquake, for when *ulurú* gets under the village he will turn the world upside down, *touptú* will fall down from the sky, and the Nambicuara will be buried again. In short, they will go back

[p. 100 (A)]

776 under the ground from where *oklihóitlieu*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

756 The man who is responsible for guarding the band against evil spirits is the shaman (*wanéngidieu*).
775 In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anúneu* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*ayénkadieu*). The *anúneu* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Waklítisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tlíditu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*yenéru*), and cause harm to people.

821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in
756 following game. To pacify the evil *anúneu*, who
789 has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-shaped bundle (*yakúdenáneu*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*halánkieu*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yakúdenáneu* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery
754 against individuals in another band by asking their *anúneu* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sikáneu*) and

[p. 100 (8)]

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

● 778 The sacred flutes (*wáinrhu*) are associated with *okliháitlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and
534 chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the
[784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 The *wáinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After planting, the men gather into the flute hut and play
775 the flutes and sing the *weipánsu*. The ghosts of
533 the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *haikánakídutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wáinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

of the Beyond, and condemned to nothingness after death like non-initiated babies. We have described the tender companionship which presides in the relationships between the sexes, and the general harmony which reigns within the groups. But when these are altered, it is to give way to the most extreme solutions, poisoning and murder. It is quite reasonable for the informants to underline spontaneously the role of forgetfulness in funeral rites. (2)

3, P. 112.

For there is a striking contrast between the joyous irony with which one answers someone who is ignorant enough to inquire about a relative deceased for quite awhile: "Hehe, Hehe" (a1), "to the sand! in the sand!," and the horrible apparition of the atëtu which is evoked with ritual sobbing.

Nambikwara rites do not seem to be symbolic in any way. The skeleton-like state of A21 and a22 at the end of the period of abstinence testifies to that, and although ceremonies are rare, they are carried far. The informants speak of periods of three months for the isolation of the young girl entering puberty, and of a bath in the river lasting a whole night as a preliminary to marriage. However much behavior is supple and without complication in daily life, likewise intrusions of the supernatural (in visions and revelations, the séances of shamanism, war dances, etc.) are manifested by the transition to an atmosphere of tragedy. No South American group, to our knowledge, expresses in such a sincere and spontaneous way (for one never feels the theatrical atmosphere of Tupi or chaqueño shamanism) such violent and opposed sentiments, whose individual expression seems inseparable from a social stylization which never betrays them.

• • • • •

It is far from us to wish to assign an exclusively economic cause to this dualism. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to consider that the psychological dualism goes on an equal footing with the organization of social existence around [127] two opposite poles, ...: the one hand the sedentary life, agricultural, based on the dual masculine activity of the construction of huts and of gardening; on the other hand, the nomadic period, during which subsistence is principally assured by feminine collecting and gathering, the one representing alimentary security and well-being, the other chance and want. To these two ways of life, one followed in the winter, the other in the summer, the Nambikwara react in very different ways. They speak of the former with the melancholy which is attached to the conscious and resigned acceptance of the human condition, to the dull repetition of identical acts.

627 The chief admon-
[622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Waklitisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

421
[428]
[764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Waklitisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*syánkudisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*sunánsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *toupté*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782
753
[821]
776

Toupté is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lálukutsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *toupté* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinénusu*), who lives with *toupté*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99(2)]

796

alãgena haitige (bl)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. uitnore uitnia imãgare.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

denaitie iatiaeninitnena ednaio iãineni (bl)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[588] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
784 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (aitasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[122] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; iuauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
[192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (ahaitu, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

846
•784 1. She wears no decoration or ornament;

[107] 2. She does not touch food, neither to harvest it, to gather it, to prepare it nor to cook it;

3. She speaks to no one and no one says a word to her;

4. She avoids groups and when curiosity draws her toward our circle, she attends the distribution and exchange of gifts from a distance and in silence. If someone gives her or her husband a present (for example some beads), it is immediately given to the baby;

5. Every day she receives her food from her mother (a18), who gives it to her without speaking, and occupies herself with certain cares of the baby such as delousing it;

6. She does not bathe in the river, but washes herself with the water which she herself goes to draw in a gourd;

7. She goes away with her husband, sometimes for whole days, and, upon departure, follows him at a distance without saying a word; on these occasions, she takes the baby along;

A21 behaves similarly:

1. He does not go with the masculine group when they go hunting or gardening;

2. He rarely goes away, and then with his wife. The rest of the time he spends stretched out without taking part in any creative activity; they say he is ill (inkatu);

[162] 3. In the degree to which he and his wife perform the most indispensable activities, there is no division of labor between them. Either one buries the baby's excrement, or places in the coals the manioc received by a22 and a18 which constitutes their sole nourishment. Both are extremely thin, and appear very weak; their hair has not been cut or washed for a long time.

Toward June 20, 1938, this behavior was modified. For three consecutive days A21 and a22 disappeared for the whole day, doubtless to hunt, for, after several fruitless trips, they return (June 23 at 15 o'clock) with the following small game:

a. An irara (Mustela sp.);

b. Three bats;

c. Two lizards and their eggs.

846
252 The irara and the bats have already been put over the flame to burn off the hair. a22 begins immediately—and for the first time—to clean and crush a small quantity of manioc and she quickly puts a cake under the coals. At the same time she puts the broken lizard eggs there, and [108] takes them out barely cooked; she divides

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

778 The sacred flutes (*wáinrhu*) are associated with *sklihéitlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and
534 chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the
[784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 The *wáinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After plant-
775 ing, the men gather into the flute hut and play the flutes and sing the *weiyánsu*. The ghosts of
533 the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *hzikánakídutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wáinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

[p. 101 (B)]

[72] collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its
[53] members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as
[537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ĵednãẽ ɥõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ɥalaɥriŝenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not.
[242 535] Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[787]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622 756 789] is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

[197]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

776
171

and Nimuendaju, "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. Also, the atásu in question in the preceding paragraph, curiously evoke the yurupari, or ananga, ancient Tupi genies of the bush against which they defend themselves with a flaming torch which thus plays the same role as the magic javelin (cf. Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 61). Finally, the atásu itself often appears in the form of the jaguar; and in the eastern groups at least, it plays the role of the Messenger of Death which the central, southern, and northern groups give over to the jaguar. There is thus in the vocabulary, a close connection between the stars, the jaguar and the atásu, already noted by Claude d'Abbeville (cited by Métraux, l. c., p. 49) among the Tupinamba: these identified the jaguar with the stars. Like the "celestial" jaguar (Montoya), the "man-eating" (Nimuendaju), the jaguar of the Nambikwara presents a remarkable ambivalence: it is sacred, and at the same time, they kill it. Finally, comparative linguistics confirms the connection. The term which means jaguar in dialect al, inaãru is associated with the name of the jaguar among the central and southern Tupi: yaouare (Emerillon, Coudreau); saoruhu (Guajajara, Nimuendaju); jaoarohu (Tapirapé, Kissenberth).

[101] COMMUNICATION WITH A SUPERNATURAL WORLD: SHAMANISM.

787

It is considered possible to receive visions of far-distant things and revelations of future happenings. These supernatural communications are usually produced upon the occasion of tempests and storms. They are sudden and unforeseen. Every adult male is apt to
[262] receive them, for in this case too, the women (except, it seems, the oldest) are excluded from the spiritual life:

42. iaʔidádni déñõ tamúmatatjani nahoe ejáni ekuáieni kanahádau uatli aikuaauatlíkentete (b1)
Invisible to women the men see it [the thunder]: "Far away I see, close by I see, tomorrow it will arrive, very near it will arrive."
(It is a question here of a warning vision of messengers come from another tribe).

•787 These visions are attributed to the thunder which sends them to men under its semi-personal form amɔ̃.

771 Thus the Nambikwara conceive of three types of supernatural
756 forces: first the power which is abstract, but placed in objects or substances, the nãude; next the spirits acting in the form of supernatural or seminatural animals, atãsu or jaguar. Finally the thunder, with which under certain conditions, it is possible to entertain personal relations. Each individual can, in a certain measure, establish contact with these forces, however it is the shamans who have the specialized function of intermediary between the human group and the supernatural world. The information which we shall give on this point will be very summary, for it was impossible to obtain from our informants a coherent treatment of the question of shamanism. None of the groups encountered had a shaman with the exception of a single one (group c) where the powers of the chief and the sorcerer were found [102] concentrated in a single individual (C20). Our best informant, B1, chief of the allied group, was categorical concerning the fact that C20 combined the two qualities of ɥelikabala (chief, c) and of ndãre (thunder, c) although he was only ɥilikãde, temporal chief. The sorcerer would then be simultaneously the man who identifies himself with thunder, and who communicates with it in the personal form called amɔ̃. Likewise, in the eastern groups (a1 restricted and enlarged, and a2), it was not possible to uncover the presence of a sorcerer or of an individual with such powers. This fact could be interpreted in three different ways: that the sorcerers were held apart; or that they dissimulated their nature; that the institution of the sorcerer is, in fact, absent in certain groups; or that, in these same groups, the functions of the sorcerer are exercised by the chief, and that, in inverse fashion to what is produced in group c, it is the spiritual functions which are in second place with regard to the temporal. It is this hypothesis which we consider the most reasonable. In group a1, A1 makes the arrow poison and treats sick persons by suction, functions which in group c come within the province of C20 considered as shaman, rather than chief of the group.

756 Whatever the fact may be, and as we have just said, it is the sorcerer who makes the poisons, and it is he who proceeds to the magical treatment of the sick, clearly different from the positive
278 therapeutics likewise practiced. The Nambikwara are familiar with
757 quite a large number of medicinal plants and treat certain illnesses with their help. Thus they care for purulent ophthalmia by an

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being presaged by its appearance the following day. 731 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of this rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

63. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (hl). 157
To me! To me! Throw! 521

However the artisan at work also makes his wife, child, neighbor participate in the execution of the work on whose vicissitudes he comments gaily:

64. [illegible]... [illegible]... [illegible]...

For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey--in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks and
221 411 184 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 96.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
● [189] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[17] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ĩednãẽ ũõdegãẽ kakonẽ ordnẽ ũalaũriẽnẽ (b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

278
[415] p. 239 and Fig. 34), but seems not to know their usage nor the nature of their content.

usually tied in bundles of two or three or more, and thus all the Indians possess a provision of poison from which they rarely become separated. We were not able to find out anything concerning the preparation of these drugs, but it seems that different varieties exist, used either by men or women. Notably, the poisons whose small doses are contained in the feather quills would be [96] according to an informant, women's poisons, and also much more to be feared. The "tube poisons" (as compared with the arrow poison which is only employed for hunting, and never for war) play an important role in inter-individual relationships. They are the usual instrument for amorous or commercial vengeance. To define these poisons, there are special terms according to dialects. Thus the arrow poison has a special name: inâru (a1); dádnesu (a2); tjī're, nãnde (b1); ájrare (b2); iriṇá (c). But all of the arrow poisons and tube poisons are called by a more general term, belonging to dialect b1, but which is understood and used by all the groups: nãnde, which one might be wrongly tempted to translate as poison. It must be noted, however, from now on that in the case of tube poisons, the term nãnde means the tube and its contents simultaneously.

789 However besides these "true" poisons which we shall call scientific, there are other substances whose supposed action is of a purely magical character. Certain tubes contain, not a powder meant to be mixed with food, but fragments of resin of the tree called "barrigudo" or
[324] "barrigudeira" in Portuguese (Bombax ventriculosa) and sahárudī'taãru (a1/2), irī'dare (b1), jakī'ṇa (c) in Nambikwara. These fragments are used for certain "magic projections" which are carried out in the following way: a fragment of resin is placed between the lower edge of the palm of the left hand, held horizontally, and the tip of the index of the right hand held vertically (position called iuuehâre [a1]). By exercising strong pressure of the finger on the edge of the other hand, the index trips and throws the small projectile as far as several meters (asataā́kedjuzu [a1], adā́mdige [b1], ndā́mdige [b2]). It is believed that the person reached by a fragment thrown in this way will become like the trunk of the barrigudo tree, narrow at the base and at the top and bloated in the center. He will fall ill, his stomach will begin to inflate, and finally he will die. This method of throwing is also often used for teasing, especially children, and to bombard an adversary with small fruit, with pieces of dirt,

1: Lévi-Strauss--111 E-S (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

●789 or pebbles. The victim receives the attack of which he is the object with indifference, nervousness or anger according to the occasion and the moment, but there is no doubt that even in its profane use as a game, the magic operation has a specific residue, as in the game of "showing one's teeth" ("montrer les cornes") among our children. However the "magical projection" constitutes a modality of action very different from administering a poison of known effectiveness through the blood or the mouth, and the Indians are completely aware of this. They would never mix some tube poison in food of a companion as a joke, knowing very well what the result would be; whereas they have no qualms about entering upon demonstrations of magical projection in the midst of a large assembly, and these demonstrations sometimes end in play with everyone taking part. [97] Here the physiological result is not considered as implied by the very nature of the substance or by the specific effectiveness of the gesture. It is awaited as the result of a whole which is at the same time physical, psychological and motor. It requires evil intention simultaneously with the union of a number of essential or accessory circumstances, all of ritual character, however. Nevertheless the resin, the tube and the operation itself are also called nãnde.

Finally, an anecdote will bring to light a third aspect of the same notion. We had brought along some of those big balloons of multicolored silk paper which are filled with warm air while holding a small torch at their base, and which are let go by the hundreds in Brazil on the occasion of the fête of Saint-Jean. And one night we had the unlucky idea to offer a spectacle to the Indians. A first balloon which caught fire on the ground gave rise to a lively hilarity as if the public had had the slightest notion of what should have happened. In contrast, the second succeeded too well. It rose rapidly, mounted so high that its flame was confounded with the stars, wandered above us for a long time and finally disappeared. But the gaiety of the beginning had given way to completely different sentiments in the crowd. The men regarded us with attention and hostility, and the women, heads hidden in their arms and clinging together, were completely terrified. The word nãnde was repeated constantly. The next morning, a delegation of men came to confer with us, demanding to inspect the whole supply of balloons in order to see "if some nãnde couldn't be found." This examination was done very thoroughly, and then, thanks to the remarkably positive spirit of the Nambikwara (despite what has just been said), a demonstration of the rising power

1: Lévi-Strauss-112 E-6 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

789 of warm air, aided by small fragments of paper put over a fire, was at least accepted, is not understood. And as usual when it is a question of excusing an incident (which could have had very unhappy consequences), they put all the blame on the women, "who do not understand anything," "were afraid" and feared a thousand calamities. (1)

1. Later, Al asked for some balloons to give a demonstration himself before the combined groups assembled by him. But, less forgetful than he, we obstinately refused.

Two conclusions are gleaned from these facts. The first is that the term of nãnde covers much more than the strict meaning of the word "poison," and that it includes all types of actions of exceptional and likewise menacing character, as well as the products or objects likely to determine this action. All nãnde objects and operations have a common character, expressed by the term kakore. This means the dangerous products or substances, and, at the same time, those of a menacing or dangerous nature which certain living beings may possess by specific or only temporary right. Thus poison, the snake, the poisonous spider, the jaguar, are kakore; but the same is true of an enemy tribe, or an Indian (even if he is a [98] relative or friend) when he projects revenge or is found in a state of violent anger. The second conclusion is that the poisons, whatever may be the positive and utilitarian character of their preparation, are not thought of scientifically as substances provoking physiological disorders, but as vehicles or receptacles of that mysterious force which turns the usual order of phenomena upside down. Nevertheless, nãnde is not conceived of in the abstract form of a power. It resides in, and cannot be separated from, certain apparently recognizable material aspects. When the Indians examined our balloons of silk paper, they sought something there which would be the concrete sign of their magical and malevolent nature; and while they proceeded with their inspection, we wondered anxiously what could be the specific characteristics (happily absent) of the product or the nãnde object. If it is true that the sense of the term nãnde is more complex than that of the word poison, it is no less necessary to recognize that poison carries the better example and the more perfect illustration of the Indian conception. It is a clearly identified substance, and recognizable by its outward characteristics to which its evil effects necessarily correspond.

789 Poison is thus nánde par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a curare reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much
[121 more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory
174] and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of curare, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the strychnos.

Besides the notion of nánde we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the atásu (al). Atásu signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: atásu, "it is the animal." Atásu also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, atásu is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the atásu if one does not defend oneself
789 in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick
411 [épieu] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form
[286 and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated
531] with black and white bark weaving (javelin: hi'dosu [al], keʔuʔere

[b1], makalé [c1]). This instrument is used in three circumstances: in war; to conjure up (or to attract?) rain by manipulating it according to an approved ritual as if one were tracing signs in the air while brandishing it; finally to kill the atúru, by throwing it in the direction of the apparition, using as intermediary a tooth of the jaguar: the throwing stick is placed obliquely in the left hand, the point turned in the direction of the atúru, and the tooth, manipulated by the right hand, acts as a hook for projection. The atúru appears only at night. It may borrow the form of the jaguar or of other animals who are then filled with murderous intentions. When the atúru is caught in his terrestrial form at the point of the javelin, a great flow of blood is produced. The "supernatural" animal is never eaten. They abandon its body to the carrion.

In the second case, one is faced with a real theory of death. The sick person who sees the atúru appear knows that he is condemned, and the animal actually carries him off on the spot or returns to get him a little later. The current version of the death of A21, drowned in a river in July 1938, was that the atúru carried him to the bottom of the waters. The atúru would live in the water. An informant described it as having "a large mouth and lots of collars."

The southern, central and northern groups bear witness to a more elaborate religious thought. Among these peoples, the preceding notions are [illegible] by a third, which does not appear as clearly in the eastern [illegible] although it is probably present, that of the wind and thunder, hypostasized in the forms of a semi-personal power named amó. (1) In these groups, this is substituted for the atúru in the theory

1. The Tupi origin of this term is evident. One can compare Montoya, "amá: cloud of waters; Nogueira, "amá: cloud; Coudreau (Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, XV, 1892), "amane (Oyampi): rain; Gonçalves Dias, "amana: (chuva) rain; Kissenberth (Baessler Archiv, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), "amana, aman, ama" (Tapirapé): rain; Nimuendaju (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI, 1914), "amá (Lingua Géral): (chuva) rain.

of death, and it is possible to communicate with it through revelations and visions.

796

alãgena hãjtige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. ui'tnore ui'tnja imágare.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

denaátje jatjaeninī'nena ednaso jájneni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[688] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
●789 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (arátasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; juauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
[192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (aháru, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

534 (arātasu-ahāru), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[192]

[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kukedetu ukedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called duʔuru (a1/2) duʔunde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: taliʻttige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dosu saikedutuʔakedatelusu alosu usiinkediutu inketu iakesaitutu ire ire iagekediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inkatu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

In older versions, the old women (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the 171 [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is [538] probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or grains in South American folklore.

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological 157
and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of expression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to 157
respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either 571
a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships:

60. tai undeɟretnɟẽ ta eɟkirednɟẽ uɟ̃ ɟiren undétnɟẽ tatɟene uɟ̃ iritɟani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep, I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. ieɟtʔana amnentɟẽ hikənariəna iatɟenə amdénɟẽ kənahádaɟ̃ ɟedétnɟẽ. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it; tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanaɟõnɟani nihin nalirɟani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games 157
of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 521

63. tenũkuẽ tenũkuẽ utanãtiri (b1).
To me! To me! Throw!

157
521

However the artisan at work also makes his wife, child, neighbor participate in the execution of the work on whose vicissitudes he comments gaily:

64. itiouĩ taninjẽ diuĩn... ãmi... kãdaha... munjalina... kãdjanene... nooua... taluunlẽ... nothin... ishena... muhjena. (b1)
Hold it [the cord] so that I can twist it... let it go! It fell!... There!... It is difficult!... It is done!... Does it suit you?.. It is ugly!... No, it is pretty!

The last formula is ritual, it is the one they use at the end of chants and dances; the protagonists excuse themselves: "it is ugly"; and the audience responds: "No, it is pretty!"

[708]

[123] This politeness is not always without malice, and compliments sometimes hide attempts at mockery. We cited above the formula used by a group to depreciate their dances in comparison to those of their companions they have just met; (1) but a few hours earlier, disdaining a present of beads

157
521
576

1. Cf. p. 92.

which I offered and which were not much appreciated because of their color, they advised me:

65. mpãtin maimaĩndẽ tunuhĩnde (b1)
Keep them to give to the Maimandẽ.

One day we were sold poison tubes (by group a2) described as so dangerous that we should abstain from ever opening them under pain of immediate death. They proved to be empty, which testifies to great ingenuity if the mystery was improvised on our account. In any case, it throws a curious light on the relationships between neighboring groups.

439
799
157

776 under the ground from where *oklihâitlisu*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

756 The man who is responsible for guarding the band against evil spirits is the shaman (*vaníngi-*
775 *disu*). In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anúnsu* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*ayánkadisu*). The *anúnsu* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Waklítisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tlídisu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*yenáru*), and cause harm to people.

821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in
756 following game. To pacify the evil *anúnsu*, who has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-
789 shaped bundle (*yakúdenánsu*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*halúnkisu*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yakúndenánsu* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery against individuals in another band by asking
754 their *anúnsu* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sihdentsu*) and

[p. 100 (8)]

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE—Continued

137
824

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Sirva		*Syagrus speciosa*	Dugndúgatsu.
Taquara para ponta de flecha	Bamboo for arrowheads		Kayêasu.
Taquara para flauta secreta	Bamboo for sacred flute		Ka'd'inensu.
Taquara para panpipe	Bamboo for panpipe		Wasingatsu.
Tucum		*Astrocaryum tucuma*	Halô'tsu.

PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON

278

Timbó		*Paullinia pinnata*	Kúuntu.

PLANTS USED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC WAYS

137
824

Lixeira			Kalinasu.
Embira			Sa'hlu.

MAGICAL PLANTS

[789]

Parasudo			Inháukôdãsu.

ANIMALS HUNTED FOR FOOD[1]

136
262
825

Anta	Tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	Alúnsu.
Arisanha	Otter	*Pteronura brasiliensis*	Díwisu.
Bugio		*Alouatta ursina*	Ihru.
Caitetú	Peccary	*Tayassu pecari*	Y'ákisu.
Camondongo	Mouse	*Mus musculus*	Súuhlu.
Capivara	Capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	O'nsu.
Coatí	Coati	*Nasua narica*	Kaisu.
Cotia	Rodent	*Dasyprocta aguti*	Dúhru.
Cuatá		*Ateles ater*	Hósadasu.
Cuxio		*Ateles paniscus*	Kalinsu.
Jaguatirica		*Felis pardalis chibiguasu*	Ianaráwidnsu.
Lontra	Otter	*Lutra paranensis*	Kwantnáisu.
Macaco-prego	Monkey	*Cebus apella*	Hótsu.
Onça parda	Brown panther	*Felis concolor*	Ianaránenensu.
Onça pintada	Jaguar	*Felis onca*	Ianarátasu.
Ouriço		*Coendou prehensilis*	Holoótasu.
Paca		*Cuniculus paca*	Úlutsu.
Porco do mato			Yákadesu.
Preguiça		*Bradypus tridactylus*	Aláisu.
Rato do chapadão		*Scapteromys gnambiquarae*	Nótasu.
Saguí-piranga		*Midas rosalia*	Takísu.
Tamanduá-bandeira		*Myrmecophaga jubata*	Díklisu.
Tamanduá-mirim		*Cyclopes didactylus*	Wáinsu.
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	*Tolypeutes tricinctus*	Núunsu.
Tatú-canastra		*Priodontes giganteus*	Wahrúru.
Tatú-cascudo			Sunaisu.
Tatú-liso			A'hru.
Tatú-15-quilos			A'látasu.
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yetáhru.
Veado campeiro (b)	do		Whídisu.
Veado mateiro		*Majama rufa*	Kuáklisu.

[1] Other rats yet unidentified are also eaten.

[p. 125]

He was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[301] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (amɔ̃), [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananáz River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarundé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
[578] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

756 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of
278 naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

* * * * * *

622 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman,
756 plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations.
●796 The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

●796 The seasonal celebrations take place at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and probably mark the opening and closing of agricultural labor. They consist of festivals with dancing, singing and music. Several days in advance, hunting expeditions go in
[226] search of small game, and they also go in for large fishing expeditions. In fact, fish seems to play a role of the first rank in the ritualistic
796 534 activities. (1) Other Indians leave, sometimes for far-off places in

1. See below, p. 109.

[B24] order to find thick bamboo in the forests which border the rivers or which occupy the valleys, from which they cut pieces to make the flageolets for the ritual. These are about 70 centimeters long and pierced by four holes besides the one for blowing. An air passage is effected at the upper end in the mouthpiece of wax which closes the opening. They are only used upon occasion of these ceremonies and are played in unison in groups of three, one of them, engraved with a white longitudinal line, being named iomõte yilikãde, (chief flageolet), and played by the chief. A resonator made from a bamboo trunk furnished at the lower end with a hollowed-out gourd usually accompanies them (dutʔande, b1). The flageolets are called "male" and the resonators "female." Quite curiously, these flageolets are called iomõte (b1/2) and iamakaʃ (c), by the central, northern and southern groups, that is from the same term (iamakaʃ) by which the Paressi name the same instrument, while the eastern groups, who are the only immediate neighbors of the Paressi, employ a completely different term: kaigetasu (a 1/2). The Indians describe these festivals thus:

796 45. ukuerige ãidnige iuarhaidne ungʔrage (haidʔne) ãinsurgerage
to hide to blow to play [the flageolet] to make merry fishing.

nahundage tãtige niyattahãrige kãde kãde kãde kã ãitendige
to carry to roast to make chicha moon moon moon this moon to dance

iukuohãindige mihãdage komiegerage
and another time to play [the following month] more rain everything is dry

[105] mĩãdage tutʔhaihaikuirige
the rain is finished let [the flutes?] be carried away

hãintendige halehãidnige denõ horãtige eieteende
to make the field feast the women are hidden they do not see it

●796

alãgena haĩtige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. uĩtnore uĩtnia imaãgare.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

denaãtie iatjaeninĩnena ednaso jaĩneni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[688] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
789 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (araãtasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; juauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
[192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (aharu, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

of the Beyond, and condemned to nothingness after death like non-initiated babies. We have described the tender companionship which presides in the relationships between the sexes, and the general harmony which reigns within the groups. But when these are altered, it is to give way to the most extreme solutions, poisoning and murder. It is quite reasonable for the informants to underline spontaneously the role of forgetfulness in funeral rites. (3)

157
562

3. P. 112.

For there is a striking contrast between the joyous irony with which one answers someone who is ignorant enough to inquire about a relative deceased for quite awhile: "iluftu, iluetu" (a1), "to the sand! in the sand!," and the horrible apparition of the atatu which is evoked with ritual sobbing.

Nambikwara rites do not seem to be symbolic in any way. The skeleton-like state of A21 and a22 at the end of the period of abstinence testifies to that, and although ceremonies are rare, they are carried far. The informants speak of periods of three months for the isolation of the young girl entering puberty, and of a bath in the river lasting a whole night as a preliminary to marriage. However much behavior is supple and without complication in daily life, likewise intrusions of the supernatural (in visions and revelations, the séances of shamanism, war dances, etc.) are manifested by the transition to an atmosphere of tragedy. No South American group, to our knowledge, expresses in such a sincere and spontaneous way (for one never feels the theatrical atmosphere of Tupi or chaqueno shamanism) such violent and opposed sentiments, whose individual expression seems inseparable from a social stylization which never betrays them.

796 ●
157
781

* * * * *

It is far from us to wish to assign an exclusively economic cause to this dualism. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to consider that the psychological dualism goes on an equal footing with the organization of social existence around [127] two opposite poles, on the one hand the sedentary life, agricultural, based on the dual masculine activity of the construction of huts and of gardening; on the other hand, the nomadic period, during which subsistence is principally assured by feminine collecting and gathering, the one representing alimentary security and well-being, the other chance and want. To these two ways of life, one followed in the winter, the other in the summer, the Nambikwara react in very different ways. They speak of the former with the melancholy which is attached to the conscious and resigned acceptance of the human condition, to the dull repetition of identical acts.

157
182

1:Lévi-Strauss--142 E-6 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Fig. 19
Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by A1 while explaining his genealogy (cf. p. 40, fn. 1).

[157 797 177 648

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the preceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in the course of {124} these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupted, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp.

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighboring group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (aidotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later.

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability.

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

mules. During the height of the dry season in July his mules died of starvation, for during this period horses and mules must be given at least a pint of maize a day to keep them alive. Just before I left, the miner was willing to sell his emaciated oxen and equipment and leave. The best able to withstand the hardships are the missionaries who come as permanent settlers with adequate stores, put up their buildings, and plant small fields of manioc on the bottom lands.

A brief description of the approximately 400-mile truck journey from Cuiabá to Utiarity will provide the reader with an impression of this part of Mato Grosso. As no regular freight or passenger service exists north of Cuiabá it is necessary either to hire a truck or to wait until someone else plans a trip and to join the party. With gasoline costing one dollar (US$1) a gallon, trips of this length are beyond the means of merely inquisitive travelers, and even to anthropologists with expense accounts, charges of this nature may lead to embarrassing questions. Hearing that two American missionaries were negotiating a trip to Utiarity we joined them by paying a part of the expense.

Thus one afternoon Kaoro Onaga and I climbed on top of one of the two overloaded trucks and headed northwest. The trucks were owned by a Cuiabano nicknamed João Tapuya owing to his Indian ancestry. Being an owner of two trucks, he belonged to that class of people who believe it undignified to work with their hands. Each truck, therefore, had a driver and each driver had an assistant and two loaders; thus, besides the owner, there were 8 men to operate two trucks. Among the passengers, besides myself and my student, there were the two American missionaries, Rev. Lawrence W. Buckman and Rev. Robert Meader, Buckman's wife and 3-year-old son, two other women with children-in-arms, and some half dozen men headed for various points on the way. It was up to each person to find his place on the load and to make himself as comfortable as possible among the boxes, sacks, and sheets of corrugated iron, which, with each jolt on the rutted dirt road, shifted position.

That evening we arrived in Rosario some 90 miles north of Cuiabá. On entering the town we

[p. 82(c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

old Paresí Indian village site on the west bank of the Papagaio. It is a division point in the telegraph line, and besides the telegraph operator there is a section boss and a number of Paresí Indian linemen. As the Nambicuara take whatever wire they feel they need, the linemen are kept busy repairing the line. There are 12 houses in the settlement proper with the buildings of the Protestant Mission forming one end of the town and the buildings of the Jesuit Mission forming the other.

[316]

The line boss, who is also the mayor of the town, gave Kaoro and me a two-room mud-and-wattle house as our quarters. Our meals we took with the two American missionary families. The Catholic Mission was under the charge of Father Roberto, a Frenchman, and Father João, an Austrian. In addition, there were three sisters in charge of a school. The priests had developed extensive fields of manioc and rice, irrigating the fields by diverting water from the river. They had also set up an electric-light plant, using water as a source of power. There are tremendous possibilities for power development, for Utiarity Falls, situated some half a mile distant, has a drop of about 240 feet. Unfortunately this power resource is located in a practically uninhabited, semiarid region.

7997
484

The Rev. L. W. Buckman, who has been in the area since 1941, kindly consented to prepare a pack train, using the mission oxen and mules, to go in search of the nearest band of Nambicuara. On the third day after our arrival when our preparations were well along, however, a band of Nambicuara came to Utiarity. In fact they were able to get a ride on João Tapuya's trucks as he was returning from Burity, the end of the truck road. This was Julio's band of some 18 people known by the Nambicuara as the Wakltisu. Their purpose was to bring one of their men who had running syphilis sores to the Jesuit Mission for treatment. This changed our plans, for we now had one of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands in camp, which would give us plenty to do for the limited period of our visit. Also during the first week, Father João returned from the Iranxe village, bringing five men, and offered to assist us in gathering whatever information we could get from them. This we found to be very difficult, as the Iranxe spoke no Portuguese and the mis-

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuara) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To the east and south are the remnants of the Paresí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paresí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87 (N)]

648 only work for the white man when they want an ax, a knife, a gun, or some article of clothing, and once they obtain what they want they wander off. Miners particularly are bitter about the fact that the Nambicuara are unreliable workers.

797 Missionary activity, which has been carried on intensively by both Protestants and Catholics for about 20 years, has been singularly unsuccessful in Christianizing the Nambicuara. The Jesuit priests informed me that only those individuals who have been taken to Diamantino as children and kept there can be said to understand the rudiments of Christianity. The hope is that eventually these individuals can be brought back to the tribe and through their influence their children will be raised as Christians. The Protestants tell the same story. The Indians remain around the mission stations, participate in prayer meetings, and perform little tasks for which they are compensated but they soon become bored and wander off. The Rev. L. W. Buckman told me that he raised a Nambicuara boy at the station and believed that he would remain, but one day the boy got married, left with his wife, and took up the old wandering pagan form of life. None of the Wakítisu band are considered Christians. When Marciano died [764] a few days before I left he was buried according to Indian custom, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries participating in the burial as onlookers. Among this band which has had as much missionary contact as any, there was not a single individual who could speak or read Portuguese. Some of the men, as has been mentioned, used a form of pidgin Portuguese as a means of communicating with their white neighbors.

648 The attitude of the Nambicuara toward the white man is not only one of suspicion and sullen resentment, but one of disdain. They call white people "civilisados" or sometimes "bean eaters." A Nambicuara feels insulted if these terms are applied to himself. He openly boasts of being a "bugre," a slang term widely applied to Indians in Brazil which signifies a sodomite or heathen. While all other Indians that I have met in Mato Grosso objected to this term when it was applied to them, the Nambicuara always use it when talking about themselves. Julio informed me that the Nambicuara always get sick when they visit white people. The missionaries confirmed this fact but added that the Nambicuara have now become

/212 cont./

278 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the
187 Amazon. Among the most remote Ñambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Ñambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time
126 among the Ñambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.
[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.
[116] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and
[117] Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.
[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Ñambikwara had been honest.

[114] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè
[162] sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the

193
197
811
192

Logical Category	Nambik-wara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wood, stretched	-kere -kate	-kat	-kĕr	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretched	-ɛere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, grain, rounded object	-kənĩnde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That which hangs, is added, decorates, trembles	-gəre	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-di'o -ri'o -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Season, weather, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kã -kõ	-shco	
Bark, leather, skin, clothing, what accompanies	-ore	-ũuk	-Xkŭŏ	-cuota -cuo	-tĕn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kãs	-tška	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ring finger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

802 a special term ba is found, to designate a duo or a pair.

NAMES OF NUMBERS

Numbers	Dialects a 1/2.	Dialect b 1.	Dialect b 2.	Dialect c.
One.....	kənáge	nágəna, kanákero	naiúkənada-iŝaore	améro
Two.....	searu	nabaám, baãdo	baãŝore	baléne
Three.....	nuneseare-kənage	nabágəna	uáinŝore	balaámero
Four.....	desanu	nabauõda	uaidnaiŝore	
Five.....	dasarénere	nmba-nmba-nagena	nikuáinŝore	
Six.....	anere		uáidna-áiŝore	
Seven.....	toáidenere			
Eight.....	uakesaunúnere			
Many.....	sáklaere	uáignine kuáintege	deindariŝore	álele

[116] In the a 1/2 vocabulary, the terms indicated for "four" to "eight" probably represent less the names of the number than the descriptive terms of the operation which consists of adding a new unit to a whole. In the b2 vocabulary, the original word employed for "three" is apparently connected with the same origin as that of dialect b1 signifying plurality. The terms used for "four," "five" and "six" are probably descriptive of the manipulation.

[521] In conversation, the exclamatory forms are used, for example in discussions among men upon their return from hunting:

55. nãgənaarenjani baánenjani baánegərenjani bãde-bãdenjani báabáakənaánjani. (b1)
"I killed one myself--two, myself--three, myself--four, myself--five, myself."

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

000 the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the num-
201 ber demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

[805] To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengcú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangrê the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

822
192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehedné-kenesu	ahe˥éndutu	e˥édne	ṣereṣeráinte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehéndutu	aeh˥éndutu	e˥édne	ṣeráinte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asuisuéndisu	ṣiṣuídna	tapũte, tikualẽnte
Ultramarine blue	---	asuisuéndutu	ṣiṣuídna	tapũte, tikualẽnte
Veronese green	ṣidiṣíde	asetesedeéndutu	ṣedeṣedédne	pasínte
Emerald green	ṣideṣidedne	asetesede˥éndutu	ṣedeṣededne	pasinte, kualénte
Strontian yellow	ṣideṣidedne	asetesede˥éndutu	ṣedeṣededne	natopeṣeráinte, kualénte
Yellow ocher	ṣideṣidedne	asetesede˥éndutu	húndne	ṣeráinte
Burnt sienna	ṣideṣidedne	asetesede˥éndutu	húndne	natopeṣeráinte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitásu, atásu (supernatural animal) or iuinitu atásu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgəre (classifying: -gəre, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãgəniuíkəre, -niuíkəre being a diminutive) and "planets" (tãgərare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otianíkisu, uteríitisu (a 1/2), ṣúnde (b 1/2), iota (c); the moon íru, irékisu (a 1/2), heinde, heitənde (b 1/2), hiíta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: arãditatinoa (a1), eiedámniene (b1) ipaikolota (c);

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgiai˥ínoa (a1), euemirakende (b1), ipaikolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mihírage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (kómirige,

●805 b1) lasting seven months. The time is counted in moons and in nights, and the term moon or night is mentioned as many times as is necessary to arrive at the total of months (lunar), or of days, that one desires to mention. This enumeration gives a savory color to the language (cf. quotations 6 and 52): "hetende, hetende . . ." or kanadao, kanadao . ., etc. A source of confusion often comes from the fact that the Indian uses the term Ka (abbreviated from kanadero), "a single one," implying the period of time involved; one finds oneself thus faced with the enumeration "Kã, Kã, Kã ..." etc., without knowing whether it is a question of nights,or of one (moon) one (moon), etc.

They distinguish "today" (uẽidnekuare, b1) from "tomorrow" (kãnadaotrekuare, b1), from "yesterday" (kutnore, b1), and from "the day after tomorrow" (kãnaẽlaore, b1, = "still another night").

The day is divided into six phases (dialect b1);

The dawn: littenc, "it comes up" (the sun), naãninde, "it mounts";

9 o'clock: nĩkẽlaena, "it brightens";

Noon: nakakãtiore, "the bad hour";

15 o'clock: nĩẽditige, "it turns";

17 o'clock: kadeẽrgiena, "it falls";

Twilight: kanalũtere, "night comes."

823 The Nambikwara recognize four directions of space, two of which correspond to the axis of the apparent movement of the sun and two to the direction of the rivers, in effect approximately perpendicular to the preceding:

The north: ẽokẽnore, "toward bottom";

The south: ũkenore, "toward the top";

The west: ẽuingãtere, "the sun goes down";

The east: ẽunlirĩtere, "the sun comes up" (b1).

57. ndaorerilikãkate nejenã nejlikẽ (b1)
There is no other one, it is enough!

Territories are known and marked at distances extending 200 or 300 kilometers. Places, sources and courses of water have names, and the Indians (or at least some) are able to trace on the sand summary maps of travel with information as to the principal landmarks. Here is how A1 marks the stages of the trip of his group from the Papagaio River to the tributary of the right bank of the Juruena River where his village is located:

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadédunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'awadjítsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *casíru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

000 the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 201 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the number demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

[805] To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangré the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead [428 has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring 425] land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language, 197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1), ●811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝibŝa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝibŝa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibŝa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

193 their suffixes in Ŝibṣa: —nak (Bribri), "excretion, secretion, resin"
197 and -dio, -rio (Bribri), "secretion, damp." (3)
●811

3. There would be, naturally, a large number of detailed observations to present. In the different languages, the logical categories partially overlap; thus, the Nambikwara category -kere corresponds partially to the Bribri -kal, and at the same time to -Xkuo. The suffix -kere expresses resistance largely, and the suffix -kate, which we have connected with it, form.

The phonetic analogies which occasionally appear between the classifying suffixes of the Nambikwara and the Ŝibṣa do not seem to us of great importance. On the other hand, morphological analogy, and above all the division of things and beings into classes which are not imposed on the mind [114] by any internal necessity, do not seem to us to be logically the result of a pure phenomenon of convergence. We see there, on the contrary, sufficient reason to affirm a linguistic affinity between the Ŝibṣa and Nambikwara groups. (1)

1. In his book Durch Central-Brasilien, Von den Steinen had already suggested the constitution of a linguistic area extending from Colombia to northern Bolivia by a chart of the northern and western distribution of the word sisi (sun, fire). The term sisi can be approximated in Nambikwara: siisu (a1), siise (b1): round hut, circle.

[172]

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Type, family, group	-ãnde -ẽnde -õnde		-ŭak	-ŭah	
Hair, fur, feathers	-uette	-ulis	-kŏ, -kŏ -tsa	-zok -so	-iisa -ko-a
To cut, to pierce, hole	-íre	-sik			-kali -ka

continued

193
197
811
192

Logical Category	Nambik-wara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wood, stretched	-kere -kate	-kat	-kãr	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretched	-ẽere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, grain, rounded object	-kənĩnde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That which hangs, is added, decorates, trembles	-gəre	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-dĩo -rĩo -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Season, weather, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kã̃ -kõ̃	-shco	
Bark, leather, skin, clothing, what accompanies	-ore	-ũuk	-Xkŭŏ	-cuota -cuo	-tẽn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kās	-tška	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ring finger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

822
192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehednɛ-kenesu	ahɛʔɛn-dutu	ɛʔɛdne	ʂereʂeraɨnte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehɛndutu	aehʔɛndutu	ɛʔɛdne	ʂeraɨnte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asuisuɛndisu	ʂiʂuɨdna	tapũte, tikualɛ̃nte
Ultramarine blue	---	asuisuɛndutu	ʂiʂuɨdna	tapũte, tikualɛ̃nte
Veronese green	ʂidiʂɨde	asetesedeɛn-dutu	ʂedeʂededne	pasɨnte
Emerald green	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-ɛndutu	ʂedeʂe-dedne	pasinte, kualɛnte
Strontian yellow	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-ɛndutu	ʂedeʂe-dedne	natopeʂeraɨnte, kualɛnte
Yellow ocher	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-ɛndutu	hundne	ʂeraɨnte
Burnt sienna	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-ɛndutu	hundne	natopeʂeraɨnte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

● 821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitasu, atasu (supernatural animal) or inɨnitu atasu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgɔre (classifying: -gɔre, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãgɔniuɨkɔre, -niuɨkɔre being a diminutive) and "planets" (tãgɔrare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otianɨkisu, uterɨtisu (a 1/2), ʂunde (b 1/2), iɔta (c); the moon ɨru, irɛkisu (a 1/2), hɛinde, hɛitsude (b 1/2), hiɨta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: araditatinoa (a1), ejedamniene (b1) ipaɨkolota (c);

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgiaiʔɨnoa (a1), eyemirakende (b1), ipaɨkolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mihɨrage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (kɔmirige,

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

627 The chief admon-
[622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakĺítisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

421

[428]

[764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Wakĺítisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *tauptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782

753

[821]

776

Tauptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lálukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tauptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dintnuwa*), who lives with *tauptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99 (B)]

776 [753] *Tauptá* does not cause illness, but when people get sick he begins to eat away the flesh and finally kills them and eventually takes their bones to his abode in the sky. The missionaries told me that when the first airplane appeared in Nambicuara territory the Indians ran into the forest and hid because they believed the airplane was *tauptá*. Shamans sometimes visit the land of *tauptá* by riding up to the sky on the back of [756] *wutsi*, the night hawk or goat sucker. Julio claimed that his father-in-law, who was a powerful shaman, had visited the realm of *tauptá* while in a trance.

776 The Wakítisu fear most of all the spirit armadillo called *ulurú*. When someone sees bits of 756 manioc cake and charcoal floating on the river near the village, he comes back and tells the shaman, who then goes to examine the signs. If the shaman decides that it is *ulurú*, immediate action must be taken to save the world from destruction. The women and children shut themselves in their huts while the men take their wooden sword clubs (*hulúkisu*) and go to the bank of the river. The shaman then digs a deep hole in the bank, into which he is lowered with a rope. When he has grasped *ulurú* by the tail he signals the men on the surface to pull him out. The shaman remains at the mouth of the hole with his arm thrust in, holding *ulurú* by the tail while with his other hand he marks points on the ground which are directly over the head, heart, and stomach of *ulurú*. One by one the men thrust their sword clubs into the ground at the places marked by the shaman. As they push the blades in they twist them to make sure that they kill *ulurú*. After the spirit armadillo has been killed, the men go back to the village leaving the shaman alone with the dead *ulurú*. The shaman then cuts up the spirit armadillo, washes the pieces in the river, and begins to sing. When the ghosts of the dead Nambicuara hear the song they come and eat the pieces prepared by the shaman, after which they go away happy because the Nambicuara have been saved.

776 The Wakítisu say that if they should ever fail to kill *ulurú*, a terrific storm would appear followed ● [821] by an earthquake, for when *ulurú* gets under the village he will turn the world upside down, *tauptá* will fall down from the sky, and the Nambicuara will be buried again. In short, they will go back

776 under the ground from where *oklihâitlisu*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

756 The man who is responsible for guarding the band against evil spirits is the shaman (*waníngi-*
775 *disu*). In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anúnsu* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*ayánkadisu*). The *anúnsu* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Waklítisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tlíditu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*yenáru*), and cause harm to people.

•821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in
756 following game. To pacify the evil *anúnsu*, who has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-
789 shaped bundle (*yakúdenánsu*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*halúnkisu*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yakúndenánsu* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery against individuals in another band by asking
754 their *anúnsu* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sihásntsu*) and

[p. 100 (B)]

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnanî-i! Tagnanî-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

●[521] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the [511] family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [à vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

342 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[83] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uéth!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urucau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

●521 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[77] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

000 the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the num-
201 ber demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

[805] To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangrê the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193 197 171]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ŝibŝa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) u̯ai ʔaniena taĩkedniena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahéndesu	ahéndesu	deʔénde	pãte
Black	ŝundne	atuũdisu	u̯áre, dédəne	tapũte

continued

822
192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehedné-kenesu	ahe̓ én-dutu	e̓ ẹ́dne	ṣereṣerá̯inte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehéndutu	aehʔéndutu	eʔédne	ṣerá̯inte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asu̯isu̯éndisu	ṣiṣu̯ídna	tapũte, tiku̯alẽnte
Ultramarine blue	---	asu̯isu̯éndutu	ṣiṣu̯ídna	tapũte, tiku̯alẽnte
Veronese green	ṣidiṣíde	asetesedeén-dutu	ṣedeṣedédne	pasínte
Emerald green	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-éndutu	ṣedeṣe-dedne	pasinte, ku̯alénte
Strontian yellow	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-éndutu	ṣedeṣe-dedne	natopeṣerá̯inte, ku̯alénte
Yellow ocher	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-éndutu	húndne	ṣerá̯inte
Burnt sienna	ṣideṣi-dedne	asetesedeʔ-éndutu	húndne	natopeṣerá̯inte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitásu, atásu (supernatural animal) or iu̯initu atásu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgəre (classifying: -gəre, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãgəniu̯ínkəre, -niu̯ínkəre being a diminutive) and "planets" (tágərare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otianíkisu, uteríitisu (a 1/2), ṣúnde (b 1/2), iota (c); the moon íru, irékisu (a 1/2), héi̯nde, héi̯tənde (b 1/2), hi̯íta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: arãditatinoa (a1), ei̯edámniene (b1) ipái̯kolota (c);

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgi̯ai̯ʔínoa (a1), eu̯emirakende (b1), ipái̯kolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mihírage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (kómirige,

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

000 the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 201 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the number demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

[805] To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangrê the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

Anunze Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

192 scraper of capybara tooth -- Iakizũ.
medicine [remédio] -- Inekiaçũ.
armadillo -- Nunzê.
nine-banded armadillo [Dasypus novemeinetus] -- Hatdenandzũ.
earth -- Inozê.
tripe (general term for intestines)-- Aiokzê.
fire -- Anizê.
forehead -- Uaenakezê.
man -- Idnizê.
alligator -- Nuntaçũ.
knee -- Uaguididanzê.
tongue -- Uaileherũ.
line [twine?] -- Kuituiçũ.
nail -- Uaitnakezê.
navel -- Uaikedanzê.
urucu -- Duhiazê.
deer -- Iatarũ.
abdomen -- Uatiçũ.

Colors

[322] yellow -- Katetiçũ.
blue -- Iadneaçũ.
white -- Kuidiçũ.
black -- Kaikiducũ.
black (pitch) -- Iadeneazũ.
green -- Cedecededenoçũ.
red -- Duhiaçũ.

[353]

Words Collected by Lt. A. Pyreneus de Souza

achopé bee -- Arazi.
borá regina bee -- Kaiudêzê.
mandaguari-vermelho bee -- Iuzê.
manduri bee -- Kloarizê.
tatá bee -- Arizê.
tibuna bee -- Tararê.
pumpkin (ours) -- Aria-tecê.
macaw -- Aranzê.
araticum [shrub of Annona genus] -- Ararê.
meat -- Uanozê.
coatá [spider monkey] -- Kadozê.
heron -- Mokarê.
jennet -- Kuruaiudezê.
pacu [small fresh-water fish] -- Mambire.
castiçal palm tree -- Kaicê.
parakeet -- Kakaitezê.
piau [large minnow] -- Akurizê.
painted -- Uanuncê.
dove -- Tuizê.
pig -- Iakizê.

805 b1) lasting seven months. The time is counted in moons and in nights, and the term moon or night is mentioned as many times as is necessary to arrive at the total of months (lunar), or of days, that one desires to mention. This enumeration gives a savory color to the language (cf. quotations 6 and 52): "hétende, hétende . . ." or kanádao, kanádao . ., etc. A source of confusion often comes from the fact that the Indian uses the term Ka (abbreviated from kanadero), "a single one," implying the period of time involved; one finds oneself thus faced with the enumeration "Ká, Ká, Ká ..." etc., without knowing whether it is a question of nights,or of one (moon) one (moon), etc.

They distinguish "today" (u̯éi̯dnekuare, b1) from "tomorrow" (kánadaórekuare, b1), from "yesterday" (kútnore, b1), and from "the day after tomorrow" (kənaʔálaore, b1, = "still another night").

The day is divided into six phases (dialect b1);

The dawn: lítteno, "it comes up" (the sun), naãninde, "it mounts";

9 o'clock: níkəlaena, "it brightens";

Noon: nakakátiore, "the bad hour";

15 o'clock: niʂedítige, "it turns";

17 o'clock: kãdeʔígiena, "it falls";

Twilight: kanalútere, "night comes."

● 823 The Nambikwara recognize four directions of space, two of which correspond to the axis of the apparent movement of the sun and two to the direction of the rivers, in effect approximately perpendicular to the preceding:

The north: i̯okənore, "toward bottom";

The south: úkenore, "toward the top";

The west: ʂ̂uingátere, "the sun goes down";

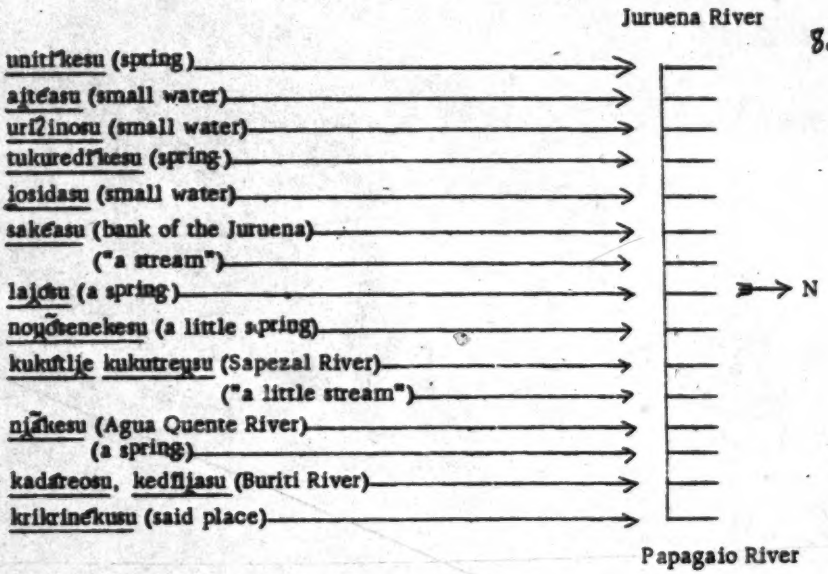
The east: ʂ̂unlirítere, "the sun comes up" (b1).

57. ndaorerilikãkate nei̯ená nei̯likẽ (b1)

There is no other one, it is enough!

Territories are known and marked at distances extending 200 or 300 kilometers. Places, sources and courses of water have names, and the Indians (or at least some) are able to trace on the sand summary maps of travel with information as to the principal landmarks. Here is how A1 marks the stages of the trip of his group from the Papagaio River to the tributary of the right bank of the Juruena River where his village is located:

823



TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read above (p. 50) a remark of B1 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as legacies of the "ancestors": 173 [183 829]

58. irotnore ikãtage uittige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already given. (1) Here is the text used by adults: 773 539

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narudne kãuihire
narukanihire naukauiŝaure
nahutende kãngarage naukãdo uiŝere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commissão Rondón, 1911 and later; Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a, b, n.d. b; Rondón, 1916; Roosevelt, 1924; Roquette-Pinto, 1912 a (1935, 1938), b, c, 1917; Schmidt, 1929 b; Schuller, 1912, 1921; Souza, A. P. de, 1920; Vellard, 1939 b.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
221 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be
411 distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section
184 which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[789] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

● 824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[177] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

* * * *

The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

512 [516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting [306] on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nut- [515] shells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, ●824 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [855] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

[86] LEADERSHIP

622 Each band recognizes the leadership of a chief (joheru, a1/2; uilikãde, b1/2; uelikapara, c). He commands the group, or more exactly the group of adult men who are his "companions" (nukanalore, b1/2). These see to it that the orders are carried out by their wives, who are rarely consulted. The women conform to the decisions of the men, but they do not, in the collective plane, execute them directly. They take part in this only inside their family group, within the limits of sexual division of labor such as we have previously described it. The tasks of the chief are diverse. The principal and most permanent consist of the administration of the group. It is the chief who decides the seasonal occupations at the beginning of the nomadic period,

27. uilikakamaniene ãitnaseneje (b1)
the chief commands: everybody on their way!

the moment and place where they will camp for the rains, the gardening work and choice of plantations, the construction of huts, the itineraries of trips and times of stopping, hunting expeditions, gathering or collecting trips, the conduct to be observed as regards neighboring groups. His role is generally summed up by the formula:

28. uilikã nãdana enate (b1)
the chief walks ahead. (1)

1. Thus, the philosophy of power does not seem to have been modified among the Brazilian Indians since the far-away day when, upon the occasion of an encounter made at Rouen, Montaigne made this statement: "Concerning what I asked him as to the fruits which he received from the superiority which he enjoyed among his people (for he was a Capitan and we sailors named him King), he told me that it was to be the first to march to war..." (Essais, éd. de la Pléiade, Paris, 1939, Ch. 31 "Des Cannibales").

[214] He also goes away much more frequently than his companions, for one or more days, accompanied by one or two of his polygamous wives who assist him in his enterprises, (2) with the purpose of

2. See above, p. 60 f.

622 discovering grains or fruits, [87] groves of piquy (a type of fir), of
[824] caju (Anacardium sylvestre), the heads of streams frequented by small game, where to lead his group, always searching for means of subsistence. His role is also that of maintaining internal discipline and of opposing the bad intentions of recalcitrants:

29. odnanjenuatanje hutento igalagatiene (b1)
Lazy one, I order you, that is enough, to work!

The only sanction at his disposition is that of obtaining the agreement of his companions to expell one who has become guilty of a fault (1) or who shows himself to be rebellious to collective life.

1. Cf. below, p. 111.

But that is only possible in the case where a single member of the group shows lack of discipline. The chief should show a continual talent which is more closely related to electoral politics than to the exercise of power, to maintain his group, and if possible, to enlarge
622 it by new adherents. The nomadic band in fact represents a fragile
621 unit. If the authority of the chief becomes too demanding, if he monopolizes too great a number of women, if he is not capable in periods of need of resolving the food problems, discontent is created, individuals or families break away, and go to attach themselves to a related band whose affairs seem to be better conducted—better nourished thanks to the discovery of a hunting or collecting site, or richer because of barter with neighboring groups, or more powerful after victorious wars. The chief then finds himself at the head of a too restricted group, incapable of facing daily difficulties, or whose women are exposed to being carried off by stronger neighbors, and he is obliged to renounce his command in order to join a more happy faction with his faithful followers; the Nambikwara society is thus in a state of perpetual flux. Groups form, are broken up, grow and disappear and, in several months' time sometimes the composition, number and division of bands become unrecognizable. All of these transformations are accompanied by intrigues and conflicts, by rises and falls, the whole being produced at an extremely rapid rhythm.

622 In exchange for the authority which they recognize in him, his companions are very demanding in regard to their chief; and if a decision made by him places the group in some difficulty, he is left alone to find means of surmounting it. We remember a trip undertaken by mutual consent, rendered more difficult than had been thought by the necessity of discovering a new itinerary along which our mules

278
[415] p. 239 and Fig. 34), but seems not to know their usage nor the nature of their content.

usually tied in bundles of two or three or more, and thus all the Indians possess a provision of poison from which they rarely become separated. We were not able to find out anything concerning the preparation of these drugs, but it seems that different varieties exist, used either by men or women. Notably, the poisons whose small doses are contained in the feather quills would be [96] according to an informant, women's poisons, and also much more to be feared. The "tube poisons" (as compared with the arrow poison which is only employed for hunting, and never for war) play an important role in inter-individual relationships. They are the usual instrument for amorous or commercial vengeance. To define these poisons, there are special terms according to dialects. Thus the arrow poison has a special name: ināru (a1); dádnesu (a2); tji're, nãnde (b1); ãjrare (b2); iriuá (c). But all of the arrow poisons and tube poisons are called by a more general term, belonging to dialect b1, but which is understood and used by all the groups: nãnde, which one might be wrongly tempted to translate as poison. It must be noted, however, from now on that in the case of tube poisons, the term nãnde means the tube and its contents simultaneously.

789 However besides these "true" poisons which we shall call scientific, there are other substances whose supposed action is of a purely magical character. Certain tubes contain, not a powder meant to be mixed with food, but fragments of resin of the tree called "barrigudo" or
[824] "barrigudeira" in Portuguese (Bombax ventriculosa) and sahárudi'taãru (a1/2), iri'dare (b1), jaki'ua (c) in Nambikwara. These fragments are used for certain "magic projections" which are carried out in the following way: a fragment of resin is placed between the lower edge of the palm of the left hand, held horizontally, and the tip of the index of the right hand held vertically (position called iuuehāre [a1]). By exercising strong pressure of the finger on the edge of the other hand, the index trips and throws the small projectile as far as several meters (asataãkedjuzu [a1], adãmdige [b1], ndãmdige [b2]). It is believed that the person reached by a fragment thrown in this way will become like the trunk of the barrigudo tree, narrow at the base and at the top and bloated in the center. He will fall ill, his stomach will begin to inflate, and finally he will die. This method of throwing is also often used for teasing, especially children, and to bombard an adversary with small fruit, with pieces of dirt,

796 The seasonal celebrations take place at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and probably mark the opening and closing of agricultural labor. They consist of festivals with dancing, singing and music. Several days in advance, hunting expeditions go in
[226] search of small game, and they also go in for large fishing expeditions. In fact, fish seems to play a role of the first rank in the ritualistic
796 activities. (1) Other Indians leave, sometimes for far-off places in
534

1. See below, p. 109.

[227] order to find thick bamboo in the forests which border the rivers or which occupy the valleys, from which they cut pieces to make the flageolets for the ritual. These are about 70 centimeters long and pierced by four holes besides the one for blowing. An air passage is effected at the upper end in the mouthpiece of wax which closes the opening. They are only used upon occasion of these ceremonies and are played in unison in groups of three, one of them, engraved with a white longitudinal line, being named iomõte yilikãde, (chief flageolet), and played by the chief. A resonator made from a bamboo trunk furnished at the lower end with a hollowed-out gourd usually accompanies them (dũnde, b1). The flageolets are called "male" and the resonators "female." Quite curiously, these flageolets are called iomõte (b1/2) and iamakã (c), by the central, northern and southern groups, that is from the same term (iamakã) by which the Paressi name the same instrument, while the eastern groups, who are the only immediate neighbors of the Paressi, employ a completely different term: kaigetãu (a 1/2). The Indians describe these festivals thus:

796 45. ukuẽrige ãdnige iuarhaidne ungãrage (hãidãne) ãinsurgerage
to hide to blow to play [the flageolet] to make merry fishing.

nahundage tãtige niuattahãtrige kãde kãde kãde kã aitẽndige
to carry to roast to make chicha moon moon moon this moon to dance

iukuohãndige mihãdage komiẽgerage
and another time to play [the following month] more rain everything is dry

[105] mĩãdage tutãhaihaikuitrige
the rain is finished let [the flutes?] be carried away

hãintendige halehãdnige denõ horãtige ejeteende
to make the field feast the women are hidden they do not see it

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

223 vanna, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs for fear of angering the mother cayman. After [535] a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the riducule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

226 As the Nambicuara hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacú or matrinchã to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuara claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cutoffs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*kúnte*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the weeds where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tondru*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grube or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (*winsúenditsu*) as the cause of pregnancy (*haldjítsu*). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anúnsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for
[847] fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting
● [824] the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitânrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (8)]

APPENDIX 1

RESOURCES OF THE NAMBICUARA

AGRICULTURAL FOOD PLANTS

241
824

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Amendoim	Peanuts	*Arachis hypogaea*	Wáikisu.
Araruta	Arrowroot	*Maranta arundinacea*	Yelácsu.
Batata doce	Sweetpotatoes	*Ipomoea batatas*	Wisu.
Cará		*Dioscorea* sp	Ha'kisu.
Fava	Beans	*Phaseolus lunatus*	Kwá'su.
Mandioca brava	Manioc	*Manihot esculenta*	Walídnsu.
Milho	Maize	*Zea mays*	Kayátsu.

AGRICULTURAL NONFOOD PLANTS

Algodão	Cotton	*Gossypium* sp	Kúnsu.
Fumo	Tobacco	*Nicotiana tabacum*	E'tsu.
Cabaça	Gourd	*Lagenaria siceraria*	Kad'é'hensu.
Urucú		*Bixa orellana*	D'unákasu.

WILD FOOD PLANTS (FRUITS)

137
824

Ananás	Pineapple	*Ananas comosus*	Kuáhlu.
Babaçú		*Orbignya martinana*	Wainsíkisu.
Bacaba		*Oenocarpus bacaba, distichus*	Wédnsu.
Bocaiuva		*Acrocomia eriocantha*	Halúnkisu.
Buriti (nuts)		*Mauritia flexuosa; M. vinifera*	Héeru.
Cajú-do-campo	Savanna cashew	*Anacardium nanum*	E'hru.
Cajú-do-mato	Forest cashew	*Anacardium gigantum*	Daunlíkisu.
Cumbarú		*Dipteryx odorata*	Najgisu.
Fruta-de-lobo		*Solanum lycocarpum*	Kúnakisu.
Jaboticabeira	Jaboticaba tree	*Eugenia cauliflora*	Alihúnisu.
Mangabeira	Mangaba tree	*Hancornia speciosa*	Shikiúligosu.
Marmeleiro-do-campo	Quince tree	*Maprounea brasiliensis*	Tãohlu.
Marmeleiro-de-espinho	do	do	Kad'l'kisu.
Marmeleiro	do	do	Wallikisu.
Marmeleiro	do	do	Halu'kisu.
Piquiseiro	Piqui tree	*Caryocar brasiliensis*	A'hru.
Petalas brancas de arbusto			Alúnyatsu.

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE

Buriti		*Mauritia flexuosa; M. vinifera*	Yélasu.
Camaiuva		*Guadua* sp	Kadíkatsu.
Cipó		*Philodendron imbe*	Kasésu.
Piuva-da-mata (Paráparé)		*Jacaranda copaia*	Hala'su.
Sapé		*Imperata brasiliensis, contracta*	Kadekidansu.
Seringueira	Rubber tree	*Hevea brasiliensis*	Walíkikatsu.

[p. 124]

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE—Continued

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Sirva		*Syagrus speciosa*	Dugndígatsu.
Taquara para ponta de flecha	Bamboo for arrowheads		Kaytasu.
Taquara para flauta secreta	Bamboo for sacred flute		Ka'd'inesu.
Taquara para panpipe	Bamboo for panpipe		Wasingatsu.
Tucum		*Astrocaryum furcatum*	Halé'tsu.

PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON

Timbó		*Paullinia pinnata*	Kéuntu.

PLANTS USED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC WAYS

Lixeira			Kaitnasu.
Embira			Se'hlu.

MAGICAL PLANTS

Parastudo			Inhákŏdíosu.

ANIMALS HUNTED FOR FOOD[1]

Anta	Tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	Alénsu.
Arirauha	Otter	*Pteronura brasiliensis*	Dfwisu.
Bugio		*Alouatta ursina*	Ihru.
Caitetú	Peccary	*Tayassu pecari*	Y'ákisu.
Camondongo	Mouse	*Mus musculus*	Sdublu.
Capivara	Capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	O'nsu.
Coati	Coati	*Nasua narica*	Kaisu.
Cotia	Rodent	*Dasyprocta aguti*	Dáhru.
Cutiá		*Alsiea alor*	Hóadasu.
Cuxio		*Alsiea pusiscus*	Kalísu.
Jaguatirica		*Felis pardalis chibiguara*	Ianaráwidnsu.
Lontra	Otter	*Lutra paranensis*	Kwantnáisu.
Macaco-prego	Monkey	*Cebus apella*	Hótsu.
Onça parda	Brown panther	*Felis concolor*	Ianarínenensu.
Onça pintada	Jaguar	*Felis onca*	Ianarítasu.
Ouriço		*Coendou prehensilis*	Holoótasu.
Paca		*Cuniculus paca*	Ülutsu.
Porco do mato			Yákadasu.
Preguiça		*Bradypus tridactylus*	Aldísu.
Rato de chapadão		*Sooptcromys gnambiguarae*	Nótasu.
Sagui-pitanga		*Midas rosalia*	Taktsu.
Tamanduá-bandeira		*Myrmecophaga jubata*	Dfkisu.
Tamanduá-mirim		*Cyclopes didactylus*	Wdnsu.
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	*Tolypeutes tricinctus*	Ndunsu.
Tatú-canastra		*Priodontes gigantcus*	Wahrdru.
Tatú-cascudo			Sunaisu.
Tatú-liso			A'hru.
Tatú-15-quilos			A'létasu.
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yetáhru.
Veado campeiro (b)	do.		Whídisu.
Veado mateiro		*Mazama rufa*	Kuáklisu.

[1] Other than the animals listed are also eaten.

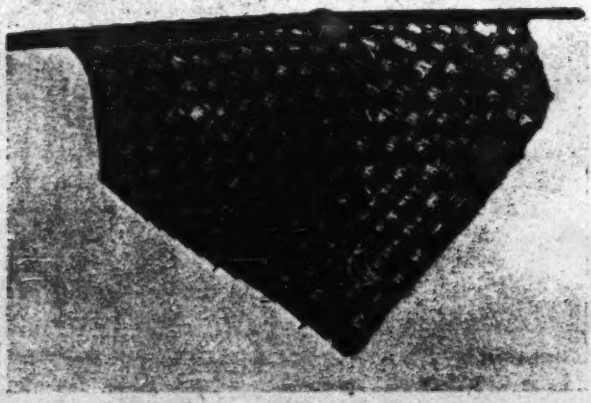
[p. 125]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

000

e os lobulos das orelhas. Atravez dos orificios feitos no nariz passam pequenos pedaços de madeira—*unitat;* dos lobulos das orelhas fazem pender brincos feitos de pequenas contas de côco. Uzam braceletes, pulseiras e perneiras tecidas com *tucúm;* e ao redor do pescoço, um collar de contas da Mbacáiba (*Oenocarpus bacaba, Mart.*). Vivem da caça; mas tambem plantam milho, cará (*Dioscorea*), batata (*convolvulus*), mandioca e feijão. Fuman una folha mui semelhante ao tabaco brasileiro.

Os indios que iam ao posto dormiam sobe o chão. Este fato tem uma grande importancia, que será aumentada ainda mais, si os linguistas puderem aproximar seu idioma dos falados pelas tribus do grupo Gê. Certamente é preciso maior indagação para que se possa concluir alguma coisa; mas devemos ainda notar que não foram encontradas redes de dormir nas cabanas dos Nhambiquára, onde, em diferentes ocaziões, foi possivel examinar todo o mobiliario dessas habitações. E si forem confirmadas as opiniões de R. Schuller sobre a natureza do grupo



[285
372
824]

FIG. 1.—ABANO DE FOLHA DE BACÁIBA.

[Bacáiba leaf fire-fan]

linguistico Gê, passarão os Nhambiquára a fazer parte da familia Aruak, onde já se encontram os seus vezinhos Parecís.

Na coleção etnografica recebida pelo Museu, enviada pelo Coronel Rondon, acham-se como substancias alimentares amostras de milho, feijões e de uma conserva de mandioca muito semelhante ao "Kêtâhê" dos Parecí. Existem tambem na coleção algumas amostras de breu indijena. E'massa negra que amolece e funde a temperatura muito baixa, adquirindo intenso brilho, e des prendendo cheiro rezinozo; parece que é uma mistura da rezina do Oanani (*Syphonia globulifera*), e cêra. O principal emprego dessa massa é a fixação dos cordões que ligam a ponta á haste das flechas.

Os artefactos dos Nhambiquára têm um certo valor. Para a confecção dos abanos uzam as folhas de bacáiba (Fig. 1), sendo os foliolos trançados em grupos de 4, dois

342 provided with a fairly large doorway; it could easily hold some twenty people. The other had the shape of a triangular prism, with one of its [lateral] faces to the ground. It was more carefully constructed, and measured nine meters in length, three and a half in width and two and a half in height. One of its ends was closed; on the side, hidden by the leaves which hung from the roof, there was a small door. The other end was fully open. The hut was oriented in an east-west direction, the closed end facing the east. Thus in the afternoon the rays of the sun entered the house for a few hours.

Two forked stakes, one at each end of the building, supported the ridgepole. [222] Several beams designed to hold the huge covering leaves of the babassu palm ran from the ridgepole to the ground.

The palms which were laid on one side of the roof were folded at the top over the ridgepole onto the other side; in order to hold [283 824] them in this position, two rods ran the length of the house, tied to the inner beams with knots of embira (1) cord.

1. A bast fiber yielded by one of the embira trees. (Ed.)

Tagnani and Tawite villages also consist of two huts. Each, with its entrance oriented in an east-west direction, is evenly circular at ground level and conical in shape. From the apex of the cone a pole rises a few spans above the roof; it is always forked at the tip, as shown in the photograph. The doorways are set on opposite sides of the building, facing each other.

We still do not know how the Nambicuara trace the circle which delimits the hut; it must be a freehand line, for that is how they draw this figure on their gourds. In the middle of the house they set up four stakes forked at the tip and a centrl support. [Fig. 16]

The forked stakes form an overhead rectangle of wood, from which flexible poles run down into the ground along the circle which delimits the house. These poles are secured and connected by horizontal rods which complete the framework of the hut. The covering consists of bacaba palm leaves arranged in layers. As seen from within the hut, the first layer consists of plaited leaflets fastened to the [223] woodwork. [Plate p. 226]

513 At the post of Três Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[248 824] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[171] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

201 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikátnerá!"

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

[272] They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like
262 young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when
252 still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of the fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[262 824] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked

1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

[262] From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush (uidniarê) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niarê, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige,
266 perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

372 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[262 SP4 184] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (Polyphorus sp.) which the others disregard.

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [296] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[113]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

411 The bows of the Serra do Norte Indians (hukiçú) are made of
171 ipê (1) wood and are very long, measuring from 1.70 to two meters;

[824]

1. [In this region, the term covers] trees of the Tecoma and Jacaranda genuses, Bignonia family. The forest variety is J. copaia, D. Don; the field varieties comprise the yellow type (T. ochracea, Mart.) and the purple or black kind (T. ipê, Mart.). (A. J. de S.)

the section is semi-circular. Of all Brazilian tribes, only the Catukina of the Purus River coil the twine around the weapon in a similar way. The cross-section of the Catukina bow, however, is quadrangular.

[Fig. 54]

We made an experiment to determine the approximate strength required to lend a bow the necessary power.

The bow we used measured 2.38 [sic] meters in length by 0.047 meter in its greatest width; its tucum cord [268] had a diameter of 0.002 meter. To set in this bow a fifty-centimeter arrow required 66 kilograms of dynamometric traction.

The [Serra do Norte] Indians use the Mediterranean release (Morse's fourth method): bow vertical, arrow resting against the left edge of the bow and held at the base between the index and middle fingers of the right hand.

In the Americas, this method is peculiar to the Eskimo; the "Redskins" employed another. In Brazil, no [other] tribe uses it as far as I have been able to ascertain; [269] for the most part, our Indians use the third method outlined by Morse.

[269] [Brazilian bows fall into the following categories listed by Hermann Meyer: 1) Peruvian; 2) Northern Brazilian; (1) 3) Guiana;

1. Semi-circular cross-section; dark red, smooth wood of a leguminous tree.

411
278

experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

441 Aieraçú: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[227] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong [824] imbé liana (Philodendron imbe, Mart.).

[Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

[324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a Bauhinia. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . . .

381 The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatai (Hymenea stigonocarpa [824] or H. stilbocarpa), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of duhutaarú, which means "wax."

[Fig. 62]

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
824 [Lupinus cascavella] used in fishing.
278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).

262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--Guaiatú: white maize.

--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated, 252 is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater [145]

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--Katunuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[824] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was [251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415 Mortars (nutêzê) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

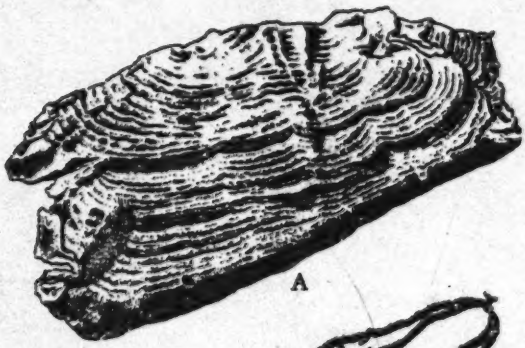
[262
824]

[283
825]

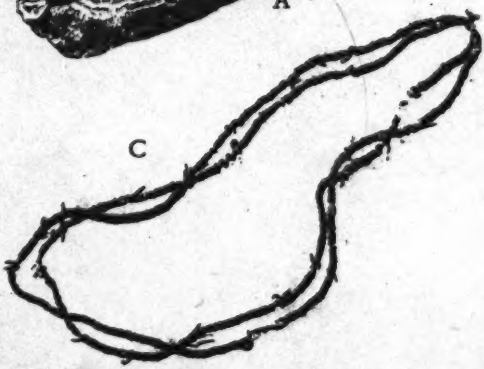
[237]

[301]

[531]



A

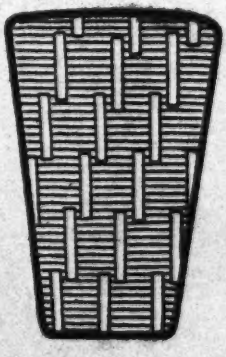


C

12417

B

982



D

A. Arezi mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[203 286] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [855] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children).

[283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 924 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ... (28) p. 30B.]

301 [280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the
[824] seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . .

Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of
[825 237] the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa)
[824] palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

291 The ialaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

301 [281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

285 Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

[293] . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, . . . are of pentagonal shape . . . .

534 A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçú) seems
[171] to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajoz tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. . . . (70, p.]

/213 cont./
278 126 [1H] [162]
last Çabanè-Tagnani survivors, again showed me the complete preparation of curare. All the information gathered in the various Ñambikwara groups visited agrees with what I was able to observe.

In possession of these facts I prepared several times a certain quantity of curare identical to that of the Ñambikwara. The action of these different samples was tested in the field in order to be used in comparison with later experiments upon the return of the mission; thus any possibility of error due to a possible alteration of these products was eliminated.

A year has gone by since this time, and the various solutions brought back have kept their activity; they made it possible to examine rigorously their curarizing properties.

Preparation of Curare

278 824
Plant. Ñambikwara curare is prepared with only one plant, a Strychnos which grows in the sandy brushwood of the central plateau of the Mato Grosso. Although not rare this species is not abundant anywhere.

It is a bush two meters high (Pl. III, A), with a rather strong stem and downward-hanging branches, more or less sarmentous and sometimes changing into tendrils at the ends; I never saw a really twining example of this species. The branches have a reddish bark, /214/ without thorns, which is covered, as is the stem, with white concretions. The leaves are elongated and small or medium in size. The species is very polymorphous. No specimen bore flowers or fruit.

The Strychnos group is one of the most difficult to study. Many species rarely flower, and in the absence of flowers it is often impossible to identify them.

In certain features the species of the Ñambikwara is comparable to St. medeola. It exists in the plant collection of the Rondon Commission, but also without flowers and undetermined.

/214 cont./

278 Only the bark of the roots impregnated with a reddish,
824 gummy juice is used in the preparation of curare. The plants which grow in sandy places are considered to be richer in poison; they are recognized by the bright red color and moisture exuding from incisions made in the bark. Roots from clayey earth are dry and considered incapable of giving an active product.

The Ñambikwara of the Juruena consider it essential to gather the roots in the morning at dawn before the sun gets too hot, and they only use fresh bark. The Çabanè use dried, stored bark by preference.

Çabanè Curare

278 The preparation of Çabanè curare may be taken as typical. It comprises three main operations: draining of the bark in portions with fresh water; rapid boiling to rid the product of some of its impurities; slow concentration at low heat.

[410] Immediately after their harvest the roots are washed and then scraped with a splinter of bamboo or a piece of iron to detach the bark. Small, very fine shavings are thereby obtained which are dried and kept in baskets or gourds.

[411] Draining of the bark. The bark is placed in a small, elongated basket (kǫnǫsimatã) of bamboo lamellae reinforced by large leaves (kǫnǫkǫnǫsi) and hung by two vertical supports over an earthen dish. Over the bark they pour 200 to 250 cubic centimeters of cold water; a blood-red liquid filters off slowly. The filtering takes 15 to 20 minutes; when it is almost over fresh water is again poured over the bark. This operation is repeated six to eight times until the bark is exhausted (Pl. IV, A-3).

[412] Boiling on a brisk fire. After each operation the liquid obtained is poured into a receptacle placed directly over a strong fire; it is constantly /215/ stirred with a wooden spatula and does not take long to boil in large bubbles. When it

8:Vellard--17 D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Salvat

Plate V

/See caption on next page./

Çabanè

Plate V

271 Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A. The curare is skimmed during the boiling.

[Nr] B. Testing of the degree of concentration of the product with the aid of a straw.

[415 324] C. Funnel made of a leaf rolled into a horn and the leaf used to make it.

[415 323] D. A pot of grey clay, badly baked, used to prepare and keep curare (Nhambikwara of the Cabixi River).

For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
221 411 184 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[189] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[17] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE—Continued

137
824

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Siriva		*Syagrus speciosa*	Dugndúgatsu.
Taquara para ponta de flecha	Bamboo for arrowheads		Kayêasu.
Taquara para flauta secreta	Bamboo for sacred flute		Ka'd'inensu.
Taquara para panpipe	Bamboo for panpipe		Wasingatsu.
Tucum		*Astrocaryum tucuma*	Halô'tsu.
PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON			
Timbó		*Paullinia pinnata*	Kúuntu.
PLANTS USED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC WAYS			
Lissira			Kalinasu.
Embira			Sa'hlu.
MAGICAL PLANTS			
Paratudo			Inháukâdâosu.
ANIMALS HUNTED FOR FOOD[1]			
Anta	Tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	Alúnsu.
Ariranha	Otter	*Pteronura brasiliensis*	Díwisu.
Bugio		*Alouatta ursina*	Ihru.
Caitetú	Peccary	*Tayassu pecari*	Y'ákisu.
Camondongo	Mouse	*Mus musculus*	Súuhlu.
Capivara	Capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	O'nsu.
Coatí	Coati	*Nasua narica*	Kaisu.
Cotia	Rodent	*Dasyprocta aguti*	Dúhru.
Cuatá		*Ateles ater*	Hósadasu.
Cuxio		*Ateles paniscus*	Kalinsu.
Jaguatirica		*Felis pardalis chibiguazu*	Ianaráwidnsu.
Lontra	Otter	*Lutra paranensis*	Kwantnáisu.
Macaco-prego	Monkey	*Cebus apella*	Hótsu.
Onça parda	Brown panther	*Felis concolor*	Ianaránenensu.
Onça pintada	Jaguar	*Felis onca*	Ianarátasu.
Ouriço		*Coendou prehensilis*	Hoioótasu.
Paca		*Cuniculus paca*	Úlutsu.
Porco do mato			Yákadesu.
Preguiça		*Bradypus tridactylus*	Aláisu.
Rato do chapadão		*Scapteromys guambiguarae*	Nótasu.
Saguí-piranga		*Midas rosalia*	Takísu.
Tamanduá-bandeira		*Myrmecophaga jubata*	Díkiisu.
Tamanduá-mirim		*Cyclopes didactylus*	Wáinsu.
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	*Tolypeutes tricinctus*	Núunsu.
Tatú-canastra		*Priodontes giganteus*	Wahrúru.
Tatú-cascudo			Sunaisu.
Tatú-liso			A'hru.
Tatú-15-quilos			A'látasu.
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yetábru.
Veado campeiro (b)	do		Whídisu.
Veado mateiro		*Mojama rufa*	Kuákliasu.

[1] Other sizes yet unidentified are also eaten.

[p.125]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

OTHER ANIMAL FOODS COLLECTED

136
262
825

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Gafanhoto	Grasshopper	*Solitárias*	Kiônsu.
Jacaré	Cayman	*Caiman*	Wâkîsu.
Jabuti		*Testudo tabulata*	Yutânhru.
Jibóia	Boa constrictor	*Constrictor constrictor*	Wâkîsu.
Lagartixa	Lizard	*Anisolepsis*	Yenalâkadasu.
Lagarto	...do...		Sinsu.
Larvas de abelha (Jatí)			Waiwêniu.
Larvas do besouro em buriti			Hinasu.
Larvas do besouro em taquara			Alukînasu.
Larvas do besouro em pau podre			Netîlhâtîasu.
Mel	Honey		Du'su.
Sauva	Ant	*Oecodoma cephalotes*	Sawîdnsu.
Sucuri	Anaconda	*Eunectes murinus*	D'lhodasu.
Tracajá	Turtle	*Podocnemis dumerilianus*	Hadîkîsu.

BIRDS[1]

Arara	Macaw	*Ara ararauna*	Ainâsu.
Ema	Rhea	*Rhea americana*	D'a'su.
Gavião (all species)	Hawk		Tauptâ.
Jacú		*Crax*	Ala'su.
Jacutinga		*Cumana jacutinga*	Kwâyisu.
Jaó		*Tinamus noctivagus*	Wahâtasu.
Macuco		*Tinamidae*	Aitsu.
Mutum		*Crax alector*	Whîsu.
Papagaio	Parrot		A'hîu.
Perdiz	Partridge	*Rhynchotus rufescens*	Halutchegngisu.
Periquito (grande)	Parakeet		Sawîhru.
Periquito (verde)	...do...		Kanâkisu.
Pombo caçôca	Pigeon		Kwasî'su.
Rolinha		*Columbina picui picui*	Wâsu.
Seriema		*Cariama cristata*	Kwalâtsu.
Tucano (grande)		*Ramphastidae*	Yolachdasu.
Tucano (pequeno)		...do...	Yolâsu.

FISH

Peixe	Fish		Âidasu.
Jaú		*Paulicea luetkeni*	Kwîhru.
Lambarí		*Tetragonopterus jenynsi*	Hâru.
	Long-tailed fish		Aydlumasu.
Matrinchão		*Brycon brachypoma*	Wanâkisu.
Pacú		*Prochilodus*	Kalâ'tsu.
Piava			Ûnâtsu.
Robalo (Traira)		*Hoplias malabaricus*	Aitindasu.

[1] All birds are eaten except the vultures (urubú).

[p. 126]

164 The aboriginal name for this disease in the Serra do Norte is báanêcêdútú. I believe that the word refers to the curvilinear shape [825] of the lesions, for báanêndútú is the generic name given by these Indians to the spirally constructed gastropod shells.

The above will suffice to indicate that this pathological manifestation had not yet been described among Brazilian aborigines.

Some of the skin diseases peculiar to our Indians bear no similarity to the báanêdêdútú of the Serra do Norte.

The following diseases may be disregarded at once [as possibly related forms]: yaws [pian], mange [curub], pinhã, munga, pareb, xerodermae (ichthyoses), leishmanioses, etc.

[Page of plates p. 184.]

[185] Pereb is the Tupian name for commonplace skin boils such as those caused by staphylococcus.

Pinhã was found among some Amazon Indians by Martius. It is probably a kind of furuncular disease. Martius considered it a sort of anthrax.

Yaws is now well known; as far back as 1558 it was admirably described by Thévet, and in 1578 by Jean de Léry. In 1613 the learned priest Yves d'Evreux masterfully pointed out its likeness to the "Naples disease." The Indians of the Serra do Norte exhibit nothing of the sort.

It should also be noted that they do not know leprosy or the leishmaniosic sores which afflict the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

I did not see a single Indian afflicted with malignant sores [feridas bravas], while the infirmary at São Luiz de Cáceres overflowed with victims of the disease who came from the camp.

Nor does the Nambicuara disease bear any similarity to the skin disorder of the "Antisian" Indians (Mosetene, Tacana, Yuracare) who live on the eastern watersheds of the Andes in Peru and Bolivia.

The hombres overos, as the Spaniards named these Indians, exhibit large, irregular, whitish patches of unclear contours, located chiefly on the joints.

D'Orbigny states that these spots never have a grainy appearance; that children are spared; and that the skin of those affected remains completely smooth.

101 The Anunze of Campos Novos speak of the "Tayopa" and "Shaodi-Koka" who have not yet been found; in the far north of the region, Rondon has recently discovered tribes such as the Kepikiriwat(1)

1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná and other tribes were described in Missão Rondon [The Rondon Mission] (Rio, 1916), and in the memoirs of Curt Nimuendajú published in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes. The Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 25 (1925) contain "Notas Antropometricas sobre os Indios Urupás [Anthropometric Notes on the Urupa Indians]" by Roquette-Pinto and A. Childe.

which belong to other groups.

The Tagnani and Tawite refer to an enemy tribe which they call "Malutundú," "Ualutdú" or "Ualút-ndú."

[Page of plates 216.]

[217] It is likely that the Indians on whom the Nambicuara [825] have bestowed this name, which means tatu galinha [a nine-banded armadillo, Dasypus tatusia novemcinctus] are the Mundurucu of the Upper Tapajoz.

It is worth noting that the Anunze called the Cocozu "Cocozê," while the latter call the former "Anunzú."

The Cocozu call the southwestern group "Uaintaçú," while the Anunze call them "Uaindzê."

These Uaintaçu or Uaindze are the same people known in the vicinity of Mato Grosso, on the Guaporé River, by the name of "Cabishi"—a term which in turn has been applied by the Paressi in a pejorative way to the Cozarini group of their own tribe.

The Paressi have also bestowed on the Nambicuara the name of "Uaikoákôré" (Ground Brother) because they sleep directly on the ground.

[142] The Tapanyuna of old, located by the chroniclers on the Upper Tapajoz, must have been Nambicuara of the Cocozu group, who are indeed the darkest people in the whole Juruena Valley. They fit their Tupian appellation of "black men."

[Fig. 18]

241 They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

262 As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[252] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata,
262 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after
[265] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca),
[225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

264 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, clucking their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[825] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paressi call cőlori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantacú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 [115] We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was [825]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaze. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

000
[411]
223 [245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some
231 become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes
[825] campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[825] Doves (Chamepelius talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atrastus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

855 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

484 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

[262
824]

[283
825]

[237]

[301]

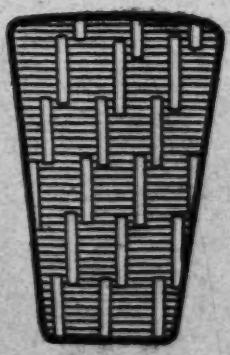
[531]

A

B

C

12417



D

A. Arezi mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

301 [280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the [829] seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River also use. . . . .

[825 237] Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other bracelets [824] are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa) palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

291 The ialaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

301 [281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

285 Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

[293] . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, ... are of pentagonal shape . . .

534 A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçú) seems [17] to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajoz tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. ...(70, p.]

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193 197 171]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ŝibŝa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) uai lanjena taikednjena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

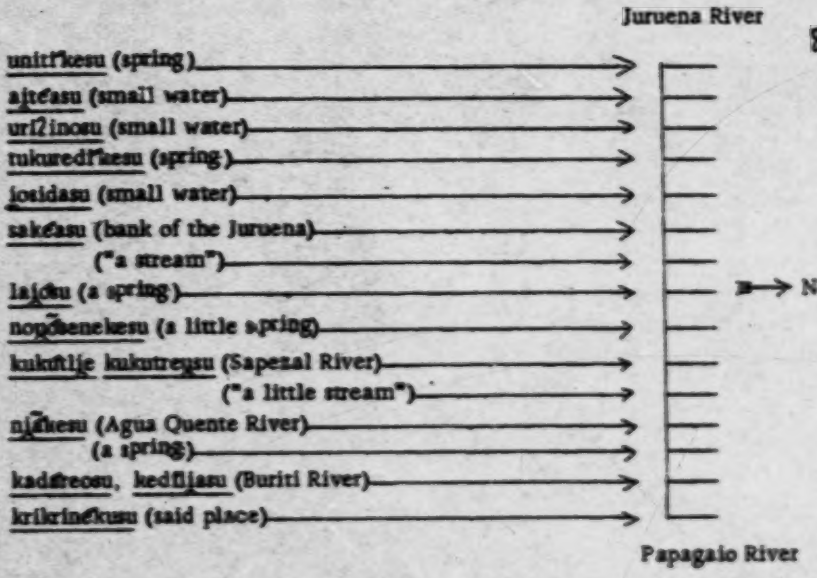
different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahéndesu	ahéndesu	delénde	pãte
Black	ŝundne	atuũdisu	uãre, dédane	tapũte

continued



TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read 173
above (p. 50) a remark of B1 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the
decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as [183
legacies of the "ancestors": 829]

58. iromore ikãtage uiʼttige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] 773
It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already 539
given. (1) Here is the text used by adults:

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narudne kãuihire
narukanihire naukauriʔaure
nahutende kãingarage naukãdo uriʔere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

593
182
462
[342]
[415]
The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[157]
of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593
831
462
562
[517]
Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
[183]
inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

593 fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely
831 realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are
462 considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folk-
[83] lore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tágare u̯ĩrige, bl), a
562 typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second
[198] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

[538] 5. u̯ĩtnoṣ̂unatukhne jo̯ʔotnuṣ̂utnãdnj̯ani deneṣunatukhne. (bl)

The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, al), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

198 This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact
562 correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect al, they give words an ending —ṣ̂u instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedj̯utu or —kedj̯uzu.

834 nights" kanaro'etẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are
842 particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains
834 were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of
[833] total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife
[856] [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (togri?iri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

[71] 1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome:
[847] the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

831 The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to
832 love can be summed up in their formula tamindige mõndage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden
[833] meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament.
[847] In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order
833 than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

831

1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, Id., IX 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc. cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [55] the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal 30 septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. uetnoãdige iochãdige uilikade uelikãdelikinere nukeajore judotig jurojenje nikama jurojotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

* * * * *

595
601 sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
262] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
● [832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridna(kitim, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

nights" kanaro?etendige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (tourí?ri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome: the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to love can be summed up in their formula tami?ndige mondage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament. In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
42
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 68 and 69).

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (*winsúenditsu*) as the cause of pregnancy (*halá-jitsu*). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anúnsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do
[847] not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks
[824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitánrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (B)]

562 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851
201 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uéttl!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own aticú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edẽdé edẽdé edẽdé signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 [201] The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tayétte, tayétte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 833 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated yiĩnedjutu and, in the central and southern dialects, tamĩndige, tuyĩrare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahyĩnosu (nosu = man, al), tamĩnde, yaĩre. On the other hand, in the northern

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, juũreli, while "father" is uãinko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ʃikiʃikiʃi, whose
197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds uinikuʃiʃu (a1), iekejakãtige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ãinʃore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninfʒore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: uetnẽdige, b1; from uẽtte, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tuãde takenãde tamĩndige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[834] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

834 nights" kanaro?etẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are
842 particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains
834 were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of
[833] total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife
[856] [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (touri?iri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

[71] 1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome:
[847] the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

831 The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to
832 love can be summed up in their formula tamɨndige mondage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden
[833] meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament.
[147] In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order
833 than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkolékenore, b1--to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uatalãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children
163 are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and
847 it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child
855 pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.
[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them:

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (*winsúenditsu*) as the cause of pregnancy (*halá-*
jitsu). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anúnsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for
[847] fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks
[824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitánrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102(B)]

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, jutireli, while "father" is yainko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ʃikiʃikiʃi, whose
197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds yinikuʃiʃu (a1), iekejakatige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ainʃore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninʃore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: yetnedige, b1; from yette, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tyaade takenaade tamindige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[834] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

nights" kanaro etẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (tourirri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, undoubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome: the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to love can be summed up in their formula tamindige mondage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament. In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

756 by singing calls his *anúnsu*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúnsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anúnsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anúnsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the sha-
755 man's orders. The procedure followed in curing an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anúnsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anúnsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *ayánkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry and make the children ill. To cure the children,
[755] a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made
533 through singing. The Waklítisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anúnsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *ayánkadisu*. Shamans practice
[834 continence before important rites, for if the
756] *anúnsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

[p. 101 (A)]

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnes*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (*winxúendítra*) as the cause of pregnancy (*kalé-*
jítra). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special kut when calling their *anúnes* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Wakítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for
[841] fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks
[824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitánebu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (a)]

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, juûreli, while "father" is uaĩnko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ŝikiŝikiŝi, whose
197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds uinikuŝiŝu (a1), iekejakãtige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ãinŝore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninîŝore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: uetnẽdige, b1; from uẽtte, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

●835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tuaãde takenaãde tamîndige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[684] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

[581] Duremõdednige (bl), say the Nambikwara men: "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodyinuere, bl) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tayorotige, bl). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiiere, bl), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjotige, bl) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjotige, bl) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

[171]

> 1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: ".... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
● 856 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara.

836 who seem to be susceptible to violent passions. We knew an Indian who fled with a Paressi Indian girl during our stay, and lived with her for several months hidden in the bush and fleeing the husband who was in hot pursuit after them. Here is the way an informant (B15) tells of a former adventure. He reconstructs a dialogue with the beloved woman:

51. ajndarinjē —otendnjē—ajdotēha ajdakaniajni sutnadajē ajrhajtasiindige tamintednjē (b1)
Do you want to make love?--I do not wish to.--You are worth nothing! I want to make love or I will kill you! Let us go make love.

Very anxiously the woman responds:

higekanhiē uajrirē uaīridednjē etjēdahē dung-rajeni (b1)
Do it quickly, my husband will be angry, he will beat me.

684 626 There is no social sanction against adultery; but the wronged husband can avenge himself in a fearful manner and in circumstances of this type poison, used either against the wife or against the lover, plays its role. In order to avoid such incidents, the companions intervene between the adversaries and counsel the seducer to disappear for a while:

52. ijehetnjē ajkuakatednjāni ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde ekuúde kajādodni uajknareniani (b1)
Go away.--I am going far away.--When this moon is ended and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, then, in that one, you may return.

We knew an Indian (C11) whose wife disappeared one day, having left with a member of his group. He thought first of revenge, but his companions intervened, and it was finally decided that the lover should keep the wife and would give him a dog as compensation. Several months later, the lover died (we were not able to find out whether the death was normal or accidental), and the woman returned to her husband, who said he was very happy to have acquired the dog [562] also. This story should not be interpreted in the sense of an equivalence, conceived by the Indian spirit, between a woman and a dog. We have insisted too much on the fundamental role of the woman in Nambikwara [112] life to have to return to that here. But in groups where trade [112] exists in such a primitive form (1) exchanges of goods have as a

1. Cf. p. 93 f.

627 The chief admon-
[622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakitisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

421
[428]
[764]

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

[837]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Wakitisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*oyénkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anánsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *toupiá*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

[782]
753
[821]
776

Toupiá is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lálukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *toupiá* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinánsu*), who lives with *toupiá*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[821]

[p. 99(a)]

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
● [137] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite
unlike their neighbors, the Paresní women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running
through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head
swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a
simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent
to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and
a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support
the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index
finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended
index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, say-
ing "Uérti!" (son).

891 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possi-
ble effort. When we returned from the village on the Urunas to the
post on the Juína, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the
baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search
of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own stuff
and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We
know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised
ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my
gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon
away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunse threaten the storm with their weapons,
waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where
they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the
storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It
has been ascertained, however, that they do not consume their dead
and do not eat them. They bury them directly [258] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582] and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (bl) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutebãdige tamĩndige (bl)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhaṣiẓete. (bl)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kajrobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

1: Levi-Strauss--95 E-8 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tapirapé SP9

T
607 customs of the country, which is to have Chetouasaps or hosts or
171 godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this hospitality or godfathership is very strict among them: for they actually consider you their children while you live with them, they go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks

4. Voyage dans le nord du Brésil. Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

of the "French who were lodged by godfathership in these villages."(5)

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

T The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is
592

6. Loc. cit. II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also, Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

to be noted that these words Atouaraap and Coton-anap differ, for the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named." The "Coton-anap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding, privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner, who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a
N T theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.

607 [83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship
171 between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi. All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way. The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services
N of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists
[338] among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

N
T
607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
N which make up for the absence of an available sister.
T
N We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
171 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
582 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
607 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the
601 second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarute or jopa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouanap (Yves d'Evreux) or cotonamap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

N
171
601

1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

[581] Dutemõdednige (bl), say the Nambikwara men: "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodginigere, bl) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tayorõtige, bl). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
●[938] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiligere, bl), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
584 (amnõtige, bl) his old wife to take another (ulamumõtige, bl) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

[71]

1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: "..... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
556 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually prohibited by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

607 is consequently much wider than "brother-in-law" as we understand it, including as it does approximately half the masculine members of a man's generation; the rest, of course, receive the name "brother" (consanguineous or
[608] classificatory). It should be noted that in the Nambikuara kinship system men alone have brothers-in-law and, conversely, women alone have sisters-in-law.

602 Only in the case of brothers-in-law are the Nambikuara conscious of a
607 link between a special type of behavior and the position occupied by a kinsman in the relationship system. Generally speaking, there are no rules of avoidance or of privileged familiarity between particular kinds of relatives. The relations with the spouse's parents do not differ substantially from those with the parallel uncle and aunt and, although it is true that relations between consanguineous or classificatory siblings are rather reserved, the natives are unable to define this diffuse behavior. As a matter of fact, while siblings and parallel cousins do not avoid each other, they do not joke or even talk together unless there is a special reason for doing so. Sisters-in-law, on the contrary, comport themselves very freely. They laugh and joke together and render each other small services, such as rubbing each other's back with urucu paste. And, more especially, exceptional relations are revealed when one passes to the brothers-in-law.

607 We have already mentioned the partial polygyny which exists in the group.
858 The chief or shaman periodically withdraws several of the youngest and prettiest women from the regular cycle of marriages; consequently, young men often find it difficult to marry, at least during adolescence, since no potential spouse is available. The resulting problem is solved in Nambikuara society by homosexual relations, which receive the rather poetical name *tamindigu ka'dudigu*—"sham love." Relations of this kind are frequent among young men and are more publicly displayed than heterosexual ones. Unlike most adults, the partners do not seek the isolation of the bush, but settle close to the camp fire in front of their amused neighbors. Although the source of occasional jokes, such relations are considered childish and no one pays much attention to them. We did not discover whether the partners aim at achieving complete sexual gratification or whether they limit themselves to such sentimental effusions and erotic behavior as most frequently characterize the relations between spouses. In any event, the point is that homosexual relations occur only between *male cross cousins*.

We never learned whether or not the same relations continue to exist between adult cross cousins; it does not seem likely. Nevertheless, the freedom and demonstrativeness displayed by brothers-in-law toward one another are not characteristic of the relations between brothers or between the members of any other class of relatives. One often sees among the Nambikuara (who, in fact, like to indulge in expressions of affection) two or three men, married and

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always 607 838

tarúlę ialáviętę

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case. 607 571

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our fieldwork we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabáne* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarúnde* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group. 184 571 621 197 731

514
515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.

514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation (1). Following this, they are only subject to

1. Cf. below, p. 109.

certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. jaqoõdage edẽdẽ edẽdẽ edẽdẽ kano kano kano kano kano kanabo huiiac tamĩndige. (b1).
The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

841 2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen
147 which women are indisposed. But the above remarks
171 seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edẽdẽ edẽdẽ edẽdẽ signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 [20] The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tayẽtte, tayẽtte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 683 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated [illegible] and, in the central and southern dialects, tamiʼndige, tuyiʼtare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahyiʼnotu (notu = man, al), tamiʼnde, yaiʼre. On the other hand, in the northern

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl [302 and paint her with a mixture which includes latex 314] from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 4, c and d). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

881 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls 841 during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid 278 which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Wakitiu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitanbu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

582 There is no special marriage ceremony, for 585 when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who 584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of 585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[p. 104 (A)]

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edēdē edēdē edēdē signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian [20] clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tayēttē, tayēttē, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 256) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 683 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated uiī'nedjutu and, in the central and southern dialects, tamī'ndige, tuuī'rare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahuī'nosu (nosu = man, al), tamī'nde, uāī're. On the other hand, in the northern

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, juûreli, while "father" is uaĩnko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ŝikiŝikiŝi, whose
197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds uinikuŝiŝu (a1), iekejakãtige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ãjnŝore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninîŝore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: uetnẽdige, b1; from uétte, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tuaãde takenaãde tamîndige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[684] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

nights" kanaro'etẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (tourí?iri, c) "so that he will walk quickly" so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupí. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome: the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to love can be summed up in their formula tami'ndige mõndage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament. In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

854 11. kalajodné daẽ joʔdnoherẽ (b1)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nõm tebũ nihiṷi (b1)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855 593 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hõduje odengenãhjen ṣuadaʔien tanãhnãdaje. (b1)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862] During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as
855 great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the
593 father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same
● [843] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. mif'nde taṷirẽtnore ikolãagetire (b1)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

[736] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them. Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[742] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children. Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

15. uāitento dohonenŝiram kānaram hēpatnē atātene uejdenkiathattene uaīndonle. (b1)
Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man! Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

595 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of
571 polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called "mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a state of companionship with them, especially with the girls, which also extends to all the children of the group. We have already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke together, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games, such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. Another example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, without ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close, appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys might have in our society. They rarely imply service or attention. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

1: Lévi-Strauss--92 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambikuara SP17
Tupinamba SP9

TN 601 171 The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

TN 601 552 171 The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins among the Tupi, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico eté, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces—and very attractive women they are—do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [81] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Tarageaf, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden, The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

TN [342] found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others. With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the [342] father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

I: Lévi-Strauss--93 E-6 (1908-1939)1948 SP17 Nambikwara SP17
Tupinamba SD1

receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraïb of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers, and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85;
Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

649 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous evil eye, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse (coitus) as the cause of pregnancy (fecundation). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their evil eye there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Wakitáun. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose. Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitãnihu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

6: Levi-Strauss E-S (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

In questions of relationship they never use the word *ete* (true) since they call their father's brothers "father," their brothers' sons "son," and their father's brothers' sons "brother"; when they wish to designate their actual father or son, they say *aruale amandengara* "my father who engendered me," or, for a son, *amaire amandengo* "my son whom I engendered." I never heard an Indian call his wife *amandengo ete*, but simply *amandengo* or merely "mother of my children," and I never heard a woman refer to her husband as *amandengo* "real husband," but simply *amandengo* or *amandeiro* calls "father of my children." They use these terms indifferently for their husband or lover. If the husband calls one of his wives *amandengo ete*, he means the most esteemed or best loved wife and she is often the last one he took.[5]

This text also shows that the Tupi encountered a difficulty in their kinship system, namely, how to distinguish the classificatory parents or children from the consanguineous ones. This stresses the structural similarity between their kinship system and that of the Nambikwara, since the latter met with the same problem. Apparently the Tupi, like the Nambikwara, felt no need for special terms, but when it was necessary, made comments based on physiological considerations. When the Nambikwara are asked to point out the real status of their consanguineous children, they add to the name for "son" or "daughter" another word, the meaning of which is "child" or "little one." The physiological implication of this new term is perfectly clear, since is is ordinarily used to designate newly born animals, while the former terms are applied only to relationships within the human family. Complementary indications regarding the assimilation of the father's brother to a classificatory father may be found in Soares de Sousa.[6]

The old authors give numerous examples of cross cousin marriage and of marriages between uncles and nieces. Here again Anchieta will be our main source:

> Though many Indians have several nieces, and very attractive indeed, nevertheless they do not use them as wives. However, brothers have such authority over sisters that they consider their nieces as belonging to them and that they are entitled to marry them and to use them ad libitum if they wish. In the same way they give their sisters to some and refuse them to others. Tarugua[ç], an important chief of the village of Jurubatiba in the plain of San Vicente, had two wives one of whom was his niece, his sister's daughter.[7]

Both types of marriage are treated as symmetrical institutions in the same document: "... because the fathers give them the daughters and the brothers the sisters...."[8] Furthermore, cross cousin marriage is referred to by Staden:

---

[5] *Informação dos Costumes dos Indios do Brasil* (Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 8, 1846, I 2da Serie), p. 259.

[6] *Roteiro do Brasil* (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 14, 1851), pp. 316-317.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, p. 259. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

"They make presents also of their daughters and sisters . . . ",[1] by Soares de Sousa,[2] Claude d'Abbeville,[3] and others. With a sound sociological feeling, Anchieta establishes a link between the custom of a man marrying his sister's daughter and the recognition of the male as the only one responsible for conception, a theory also shared by the Nambikuara. On this matter, Anchieta writes:

They call the brothers' daughters "daughter" and treat them as such. Therefore they would not have sexual intercourse with them, since they believe that the true kinship link has its origin in the father, whom they consider the only agent, while the mother, according to them, is merely a container in which the children are formed. . . . For that reason too, they use the sisters' daughters "ad copulam" without sin. . . . For the same reason, the father will give his daughters in marriage to their uncles, their mother's brothers, a thing which, until now, was never done with the nephew who is the brother's son. . . .[4]

Cross cousin marriage seems to have a very wide distribution throughout South America.[5] But among the Tupi *avunculate* marriage in particular aroused the interest of early travellers. For instance, Léry notices: "As to the uncle, he marries his niece";[6] and Thevet: "As soon as they are born, the maternal uncle lifts them from the ground and keeps them for his future wives."[7] Magalhaes de Gandavo expresses himself as follows:

It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, the daughters of their brothers or sisters; these are considered their legitimate and true wives. Fathers of the women cannot refuse them, nor can any persons other than their uncles marry them.[8]

But this statement seems to be doubly inaccurate. For other references to the same phenomenon one may turn to Nobrega,[9] Vasconcellos,[10] and Soares de Sousa.[11]

---

[1] Hans Staden, *The true History of his Captivity* (Ed. Malcolm Letts, London, Vol. II, Ch. 18), p. 146.

[2] *Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil em 1587*, nova edição (São Paulo, 1938. Cap. CLVII).

[3] *Histoire de las Mission . . .* (Paris, 1614).

[4] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 250-306. The same interpretation is made by Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil 1549-1560, Cartas Jesuiticas I* (Publ. da Academia Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1931).

[5] For instance, Breton gives clear evidence of its occurrence among the Antillean Caribs: "First cousins whom we call father's brother's sons call each other 'brothers' and the father's brothers are also called 'fathers.' The children of brothers do not marry, but they may contract marriages with the children of their father's sisters." *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-Français* (Auxerre, 1665), p. 11.

[6] *Voyage faict en la Terre du Bresil*, ed. Gaffarel. (Paris, 1880. Vol. 2, ch. 17), p. 85.

[7] *Cosmographie Universelle*, p. 932.

[8] Pedro de Magalhaes de Gandavo, *The Histories of Brazil* (The Cortes Society, New York, 1922. II, ch. 10), p. 99.

[9] *Cartas do Brasil. Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

[10] *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil* (Lisboa, 1865. I, 82), p. 133.

[11] *Tratado*, pp. 157, 152.

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (*winsúndiitra*) as the cause of pregnancy (*halá-*
jitra). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
853 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anúnsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Wakítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for
[847] fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks
[824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitánrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (B)]

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
189 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [238], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uainaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

297 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[292] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Ururau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl, [304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bbore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than tthe women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, peendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of tthese.

534 (arātasu-ahāru), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[42]

[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kūkedetu ūkedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called du²ūru (a1/2) du²ūnde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

●544 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: tali'ttige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dōsu saikēdutu ²akedātelusu alōsu usiī'nkedjutu inkētu jakesājutu ire ire iagēkedjutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inkātu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

2: Lévi-Strauss E-S (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

chiefship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the oldest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being presaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also fears vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous andura, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (winsúcudítra) as the cause of pregnancy (halá-
jítra). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their andura there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do
[847] not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 586] are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks
[824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitánzhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (B)]

841 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and
[309] tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed
on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on
an angle so that the two points eventually press
through the lobe creating a hole. As the child
grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks
[551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not
named, being known only as the child of so-and-so
until puberty, when it receives a name. The
Wakihlisu appear to have no avoidances following
the birth of a child, although the Kitaulu are
[845] said to practice a modified form of couvade.
Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate
[849] children are likewise accepted and are cared for
by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma
appears to be attached to an unmarried mother;
however, this attitude may be a recent develop-
[845] ment. Crippled or malformed babies are not
[847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years
853 old or until another child is born. Women in the
band assist one another in nursing and taking
care of the infants. If a woman should have two
small infants, another woman who has lost her
854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are
carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a
strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of
the mother. This strap which is made from
embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in
width. Women evidently are accustomed to
carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the
tiny women were observed carrying not only their
child but also a huge burden basket full of fire-
wood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins
to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning
while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with
a rat which we had caught in a box trap the
night before, neither of us having the courage to
put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries
suggested we give it to the Nambiquara. Kaoro
then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave
853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation
252 the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out
the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it
on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been
partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its
tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her
cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it
had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

?Roquette-Pinto--41 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP1? Nambicuara SP1?
(ca. 1912)

752 They spread saliva on báanâcedútú sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing k'ss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikricekmerá--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

[532] [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

113 1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and
tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed
[304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on
an angle so that the two points eventually press
through the lobe creating a hole. As the child
grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks
[553] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not
named, being known only as the child of so-and-so
until puberty, when it receives a name. The
Waklitien appear to have no avoidances following
the birth of a child, although the Kitaorku are
[845] said to practice a modified form of couvade.
Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate
[848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for
by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma
appears to be attached to an unmarried mother;
however, this attitude may be a recent develop-
[845] ment. Crippled or malformed babies are not
[847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years
853 old or until another child is born. Women in the
band assist one another in nursing and taking
care of the infants. If a woman should have two
small infants, another woman who has lost her
child will nurse one of them. Small children are
854 carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a
strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of
the mother. This strap which is made from
embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in
width. Women evidently are accustomed to
carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the
tiny women were observed carrying not only their
child but also a huge burden basket full of fire-
wood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins
to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning
while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with
a rat which we had caught in a box trap the
night before, neither of us having the courage to
put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries
suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro
then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave
853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation
the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out
252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it
on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been
partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its
tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her
cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it
had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

[p. 103 (A)]

534 (arátasu-aháru), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[112]

[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kúkedetu úkedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called du²úru (a1/2) du²únde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: talíttige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dósu saikédutu²akedátelusu alósu usiínkedjutu inkétu jakesáitutu ire ire iagékediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inkátu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

846 784 1. She wears no decoration or ornament;

[107] 2. She does not touch food, neither to harvest it, to gather it, to prepare it nor to cook it;

3. She speaks to no one and no one says a word to her;

4. She avoids groups and when curiosity draws her toward our circle, she attends the distribution and exchange of gifts from a distance and in silence. If someone gives her or her husband a present (for example some beads), it is immediately given to the baby;

5. Every day she receives her food from her mother (a18), who gives it to her without speaking, and occupies herself with certain cares of the baby such as delousing it;

6. She does not bathe in the river, but washes herself with the water which she herself goes to draw in a gourd;

7. She goes away with her husband, sometimes for whole days, and, upon departure, follows him at a distance without saying a word; on these occasions, she takes the baby along;

A21 behaves similarly:

1. He does not go with the masculine group when they go hunting or gardening;

2. He rarely goes away, and then with his wife. The rest of the time he spends stretched out without taking part in any creative activity; they say he is ill (inkatu);

[162] 3. In the degree to which he and his wife perform the most indispensable activities, there is no division of labor between them. Either one buries the baby's excrement, or places in the coals the manioc received by a22 and a18 which constitutes their sole nourishment. Both are extremely thin, and appear very weak; their hair has not been cut or washed for a long time.

Toward June 20, 1938, this behavior was modified. For three consecutive days A21 and a22 disappeared for the whole day, doubtless to hunt, for, after several fruitless trips, they return (June 23 at 15 o'clock) with the following small game:

a. An irara (Mustela sp.);

b. Three bats;

c. Two lizards and their eggs.

846 252 The irara and the bats have already been put over the flame to burn off the hair. a22 begins immediately—and for the first time—to clean and crush a small quantity of manioc and she quickly puts a cake under the coals. At the same time she puts the broken lizard eggs there, and [108] takes them out barely cooked; she divides

846 252 them between herself and the baby. For the first time, she exchanges some words with her neighbors while laughing.

846 252 224 In the meantime, A21 has cleaned the irara. He gives the stomach, the large intestine, the small intestine to a2 (wife's sister); she, aided by her daughter a5, cleans the intestines, puts them on to cook and begins to eat them with a5 and a3.

A21 cuts the tail of the irara, cooks it rapidly, and eats it with his wife and baby.

The three bats have been given to a2 (wife's sister) and a14 (sister), who divides her lot with her son A16 and her son-in-law A15. a22 cooks the lizards and the organs (liver, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys of the irara). She gives the whole thing to her husband, who gives a piece of liver to the baby and divides the rest with his wife.

All of these operations are carried out very rapidly in a sort of hurry, and are finished at the end of a half-hour. At 30 minutes past 15 o'clock, a22 lights a different fire from the one that each household uses, and places the irara there. She then goes to take her first bath in the river, and brings back some water in a gourd to wash the baby. Toward 16:15 the cooked irara is taken from the fire by A21. At this moment everyone has returned to camp and has taken his habitual place. A21 and a22, seated near the new fire, occupy a central position. A21 cuts the irara into five pieces and divides it among the members of the family, as was said previously. (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 74 f.

From that time on, A21 and a22 take up normal activity and are no longer distinguished from their companions.

846 Thus the period of abstinence is characterized by relative isolation of the couple in question, which is at the same time under a certain number of taboos (social contacts, baths, preparation of food, dress, eating of certain foods). It ends at the moment when the child takes its first meal not consisting solely of milk (in this [224 862] case the lizard eggs and the irara liver. This meal is part of a hunting feast offered to the group by the parents who up to now were under the taboo. However, the atmosphere in which these operations are carried out merits attention. No solemnity surrounds them, and the parties concerned perform them with the same routine and nonchalance which characterizes daily activities. It is not a question then of a ceremony with the psychological implications which this term carries, but of a collection of acts which must be done, and are done, with a minimum of attention accorded to their exceptional character.

834 nights" kanaro?etẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are
842 particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains
834 were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of
[833] total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife
[856] [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (touri?iri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

[71] 1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome:
● [847] the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

831 The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to
832 love can be summed up in their formula tamĩndige mõndage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden
[833] meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament.
[47] In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order
833 than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkɔlékenore, b1—to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uataʔãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 163 847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.

[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them:

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anúnsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse
[842] (*winsúenditsu*) as the cause of pregnancy (*halájitsu*). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in
756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would
833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anúnsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this
[834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklítisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for
[847] fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose.
[832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages
[843 are attributed to sterility in women, and a man
586 may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks
[824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitánrhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

[p. 102 (B)]

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed [304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks [551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Wakítisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitánrhu are [845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate [848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent develop- [845] ment. Crippled or malformed babies are not [847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

853 Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her 854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of fire-wood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation 853 the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out 252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed [304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks [551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Wakítisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitánrhu are [845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate [848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent development. [845] Crippled or malformed babies are not [847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years 853 old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her 854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of firewood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation 853 the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out 252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

114 In questions of relationship they never use the word *ete* (true) since they call their
171 father's brothers "father," their brothers' sons "son," and their father's brothers' sons "brother"; when they wish to designate their actual father or son, they say *xeruba xemonhangara* "my father who engendered me," or, for a son, *xeraira xeremimonhanga* "my son whom I engendered." I never heard an Indian call his wife *xeremireco ete*, but simply *xeremireco* or *xeracig* "mother of my children," and I never heard a woman refer to her husband as *xemenete* "real husband," but simply *xemena* or *xemembira ruba* "father of my children." They use these terms indifferently for their husband or lover. If the husband calls one of his wives *xeremireco ete*, he means the most esteemed or best loved wife and she is often the last one he took.[2]

This text also shows that the Tupi encountered a difficulty in their kinship system, namely, how to distinguish the classificatory parents or children from the consanguineous ones. This stresses the structural similarity between their kinship system and that of the Nambikuara, since the latter met with the same problem. Apparently the Tupi, like the Nambikuara, felt no need for special terms, but when it was necessary, made comments based on physiological considerations. When the Nambikuara are asked to point out the real status
851 of their consanguineous children, they add to the name for "son" or "daugh-
842 ter" another word, the meaning of which is "child" or "little one." The physiological implication of this new term is perfectly clear, since is is ordinarily used to designate newly born animals, while the former terms are applied only to relationships within the human family. Complementary indications regarding the assimilation of the father's brother to a classificatory father may be found in Soares de Sousa.[3]

114 The old authors give numerous examples of cross cousin marriage and of
171 marriages between uncles and nieces. Here again Anchieta will be our main source:

> Though many Indians have several nieces, and very attractive indeed, nevertheless they do not use them as wives. However, brothers have such authority over sisters that they consider their nieces as belonging to them and that they are entitled to marry them and to use them ad libitum if they wish. In the same way they give their sisters to some and refuse them to others. Taragoaj, an important chief of the village of Jaribiatiba in the plain of San Vicente, had two wives one of whom was his niece, his sister's daughter.[4]

Both types of marriage are treated as symmetrical institutions in the same document: " . . . because the fathers give them the daughters and the brothers the sisters. . . ."[5] Furthermore, cross cousin marriage is referred to by Staden:

---

[2] *Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil* (Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 8, 1846, I 2da Seria), p. 259.

[3] *Roteiro do Brasil* (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 14, 1851), pp. 316-317.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 259. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocoza in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkɔlékenore, b1—to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uataʔãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 163 847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.

[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them:

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed [304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks [551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Wakítisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitânrhu are [845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate [848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent development. Crippled or malformed babies are not [845] [847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

● 853 Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her 854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of firewood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave 853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation 252 the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

853 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and
252 the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination.
[262] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has
[304] his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present
[553] at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her
[202] female relatives. The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the
[251] camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

752 They spread saliva on bâanêcedûtû sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing kiss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikriceknerá--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

[532] [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

113 1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

> 1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãṣere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeṣere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

> 10. uĩtsotnaniena narũdneraiena indõtenaiena ũnʔeere (b1) the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

●854 11. kalaj̯odné daẽ j̯oʔdnoherẽ (b1)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nõm tebũ nihiu̯i (b1)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855 593 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hõdnj̯ẽ odengenáhi̯en ŝu̯adaʔien tanãhnãdaj̯e. (b1)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862] 855 593 During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same [843] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. mif'nde tau̯irétnore ikəláagetire (b1)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikĩndurige, b1); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being ouẽnsaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednjẽn durẽnje (b1)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ãjrige ajŝũngnerage denano inŝira ãjkira ãjknira tããta halonoo tatlĩkta ãjndage hntimbãta uĩrige imãgəra imãgəra (b1)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Arawak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

The Wakl'tisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paressi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakl'tisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
● 854] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed [304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks [551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Wakĺítisu appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitánrhu are [845] said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate [848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent develop- [845] ment. Crippled or malformed babies are not [847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

853 Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another wŏman who has lost her ●854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of fire-wood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave 853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation 252 the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

7: Roquette-Pinto--13A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

142
516
854
291

Tagnani mother and daughter

Tagnani mother and son

Tagnani Indian

Serra do Norte Indians

7:Roquette-Pinto--28A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[230]

516
291

Nambicuara at Três Buritis

[854]

Nambicuara children

854 Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

622 They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

578 622 One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Cocozu and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there: Nuleke, Krikriceknerá (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. "sloth], Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Uiantaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Cocozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

622 Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

562 The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true, She [462] gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is

512 [516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nut- [306] [515] shells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 824 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [856] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

115 a7. --A pretty woman of some twenty years, perhaps less; young
157 wife of A6. Her parents are living and reside, she says, in the village. She is asintu of A1 and a2, arindesu of a3 and a4, aseetasu of a5. She is stupid, egotistical, interested only in herself. She considers herself very seductive, which appears to be (from the Indian point of view, of course) very exaggerated. She systematically refuses to show the slightest interest in the two daughters of her husband, conducts herself very amorously as concerns him.

115 a8 and a9--About six and two years, daughters of the first mar-
●855 riage of A6 and daughters of the deceased daughter of a14. The two
157 children are practically left to themselves. Their stepmother does not bother with them; their father takes care of them when his manly tasks and his wife permit him the time. Their grandmother is their
[603] chief aid and it is to her that they run when they hurt themselves, are hungry, thirsty or afraid. But she herself is absorbed by the cares of her sons, of her stepson (A15) and of her husband. And very often the baby is neglected for entire days, covered with ashes and filth, unless some woman of the group, seized by pity or simply [43] disgusted, takes her and gives her a bath. Most often it is her big sister, precociously mature, who takes care of her, carries her, even though she is scarcely any bigger, feeds her and cleans her up. Both are charming children, gay and hungry for caresses like those who are habitually deprived of them. Their lot is a great worry for the
[181] community. Under this regime of a hard life constantly absorbed by the small tasks, each one of which is hard work, one can with difficulty accept other cares than one's own. And these neglected children are a perpetual source of irritation, of which they are often the victims, even when taken care of. Many times we wondered if we should not take charge of the youngest of the children. They would have given her to us gladly. The baby was so cute that we would have been tempted if the perspective of seeing ourselves having a quarrel on the return trip with the Service for the Protection of the Indians had not, very reasonably, dissuaded us.

115 A10. --About 40 years. He is alonsu of A1, ajunkedisu of a2,
157 ahuinosu of a5, married to a11. His parents are dead. He is amiable and grinning, he suffers from a hernia which he hides under a piece of cloth hanging from his waist. His activity is considerably decreased. He is little interested in our work and not very eager to understand our questions and give us information.

a11. --About 40 years. Wife of A10. She is a "sister" of a2, a "wife" of A1, a "mother" of a5. She is dark, eager and industrious,

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkalékenote, b1—to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uatalãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 163 847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.

[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them.

855 8. u̯érisekihíndage numí sekolai̯ene élamnihíng (b1)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ítte ŝédeŝedédnege tóodaγige ka ka ka u̯udérige (b1)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯éttu (a1), tau̯étte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikátu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanned, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

> 1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãṣere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeṣere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

> 10. u̯ĩtsotn̯aniena narũdnera̯ena indõtena̯ena ũnʔeere (b1)
> the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband--places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

854 11. kalaɻodnẽ daẽ ɻoʔdnoherẽ (b1)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nõm tebũ nihiɲi (b1)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness
593 that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hõdnjẽ odengenãhjen ɻuadaʔjen tamãhnãdaɻe. (b1)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862] During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as
855 great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the
593 father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same
[843] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. mifnde tauirẽtnore ikɔlãagetire (b1)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[432
411
415]

[231
342
415
285]

[231
222
482
●855]

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [296] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[113]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

000
[411] [245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds
223 which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some
231 become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes
[825] campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[825] Doves (Chamepelius talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atrastus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

● 855 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

484 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[283 286] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [855] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children). [283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 924 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ... (28) p. 30B.]

834 nights" kanaroʔetẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are
842 particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains
834 were late, and the first shows came in September after six months of
[833] total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife
[856] [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (touriʔiri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

[171] 1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome:
[847] the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

831 The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to
832 love can be summed up in their formula tamiʔndige mõndage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden
[833] meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament.
[147] In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order
833 than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

855 8. u̯ērisekihĩndage numĩ sekəlaj̯ene ēlamnihĩ (b1)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ĩtte ʂ̂ēdeʂ̂edēdnege tōodaγige ka ka ka u̯udērige (b1)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯ēttu (a1), tau̯ētte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikātu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

595
571 piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers: "Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
856 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives, take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves, timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, beside their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of play. In certain groups (central and south), the children manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights or contests which they do together, and lead an existence modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gathering wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting expeditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know what an important role the women have in the economic life of the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy
482] in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and we make the remark:

16. uaɟnuɟtte uɟkɔrage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

ɥeɟkɥātnore uainuetuikədeʔena tāɟtnɟene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

595
571 piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers:
"Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
856 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives,
take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves,
timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great
success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, be-
side their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among
themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of
play. In certain groups (central and south), the children
manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided
straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights
or contests which they do together, and lead an existence
modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal
day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then
the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the
sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gather-
ing wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they
walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to
play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much
later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious
of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara
life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected
of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting ex-
peditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare
to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to
unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped
branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know
what an important role the women have in the economic life of
the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy
482] in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and
we make the remark:

16. uainuttte ufkɔrage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

uefkuatnore uainuetuikɔdeʔena tãitniene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to
raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

857 iõndage ŝutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ŝutentere kuajkano (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[868] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ŝutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the first skeleton of the hut, are called indeleaore; likewise, the
[534] double (kalõde) or triple (lutəndione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtiane takənaãtiane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[192] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

857 nuts for her sister a20 and eats them with her. When they are
182 satisfied, they give the rest to a8, who cracks them, in turn, for her little sister.

857 The relationships between children giving each other the names husband and wife are more obscure, and we have not succeeded in forming a clear concept of them. We have pointed out a slight taboo exists concerning the expression of this kinship relationship. However, generally, the young "husbands" or "wives" do not manifest any special behavior toward one another, either positive or negative. Nevertheless, we have encountered indisputable cases where the young potential spouses conduct themselves as true spouses. In the evening they leave the family fire and carry burning pieces of wood to light their fire in a corner of the camp. The witnesses pay scarcely any attention to this action. For example, someone will make the remark:

18. u̯ĩtnau̯ri u̯ĩrai̯re ti̯ãahete u̯ĩrai̯ena norẽteu̯ii etlĩtere (b1).
The children are taking fire to make a fire, they blow to make flames.

[72] and the young "husband" says to his potential wife:

19. tadoõtaku̯i nikuitũteraui̯ etʔere aituruu̯i u̯atadahaki (b1)
Bend down! Stir the fire, carry! Look (for more). Put it there!

857 After this, they install themselves near their fire and give
864 themselves over, insofar as it is within their means, to all the erotic acts that they have seen their elders practice. The incident is greeted by the adults with indifference, or, at the most, with amused smiles: u̯ẽtnõ taminusere, "there are the children having little sexual relations," they say in passing. We have only verified these practices in a haphazard way among the young children (5 to 7 years). They seem to be absent among those nearer puberty, but, in the latter case, a lacuna appears in our observations, due to the lack of subjects for comparison.

857 As regards strangers, the attitude of children is quite variable.
609 Certain ones manifest fear and hostility for a long time:

20. tau̯ẽtte ʔ̂iina i̯aʔirina uni̯ena (b1)
My child is frightened, he is ashamed, he doesn't move.

sometimes explained by a surprising external detail:

herãkəlou̯i iʔ̂ĩrena (b1)
he is afraid of glasses.

Others (or the same ones after several days or weeks of acclimatization) are curious, friendly, eventually mystifying. Thus,

857 609 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small animal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nʔiuɣenãghẽẽ nʔuɣẽeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 157 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. [551] Almost all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an [224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other animals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten, 231 262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehẽna uɾtte uɾkɔrage, "the woman caresses the baby," or uãinuẽtte uɾkɔrage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking, 482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they 231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [ie. From the children.--Analyst]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. jakhũninde ɾteru ɥirokũnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: ɥosɾ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hõte ɥãinde miramiraina hõte ɥairɾdniena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣarisena tãkɸlahẽ tãkela ãyorisẽ kãdaiena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[593] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[858] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

595
601 2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiesu aʔouerelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nukanaitere, which could be a feminine of nukanaiore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
● 858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

> 1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãṣere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeṣere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

> 10. uĩtsotnaniena narũdneraiena indõtenaiena ũnʔeere (b1) the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

> 1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãṣere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeṣere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

> 10. uṛtsotnaniena narũdneraiena indõtenaiena ũnʔeere (b1)
> the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

854 11. kalaɟodné daẽ ɟoʔdnoherẽ (b1)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nóm tebú nihiɥi (b1)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855 593 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hódnɟẽ odengenáhɟen ŝuadaʔien tanãhnãdaɟe. (b1)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862] During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as
855 great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the
593 father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same
[842] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. miɟ́nde taɥirétnore ikɵláagetire (b1)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

846 252 them between herself and the baby. For the first time, she exchanges some words with her neighbors while laughing.

846 252 224 In the meantime, A21 has cleaned the irara. He gives the stomach, the large intestine, the small intestine to a2 (wife's sister); she, aided by her daughter a5, cleans the intestines, puts them on to cook and begins to eat them with a5 and a3.

A21 cuts the tail of the irara, cooks it rapidly, and eats it with his wife and baby.

The three bats have been given to a2 (wife's sister) and a14 (sister), who divides her lot with her son A16 and her son-in-law A15. a22 cooks the lizards and the organs (liver, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys of the irara). She gives the whole thing to her husband, who gives a piece of liver to the baby and divides the rest with his wife.

All of these operations are carried out very rapidly in a sort of hurry, and are finished at the end of a half-hour. At 30 minutes past 15 o'clock, a22 lights a different fire from the one that each household uses, and places the irara there. She then goes to take her first bath in the river, and brings back some water in a gourd to wash the baby. Toward 16:15 the cooked irara is taken from the fire by A21. At this moment everyone has returned to camp and has taken his habitual place. A21 and a22, seated near the new fire, occupy a central position. A21 cuts the irara into five pieces and divides it among the members of the family, as was said previously. (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 74 f.

From that time on, A21 and a22 take up normal activity and are no longer distinguished from their companions.

846 Thus the period of abstinence is characterized by relative isolation of the couple in question, which is at the same time under a certain number of taboos (social contacts, baths, preparation of food, dress, eating of certain foods). It ends at the moment when the child takes its first meal not consisting solely of milk (in this [224 case the lizard eggs and the irara liver. This meal is part of a hunting ● 862] feast offered to the group by the parents who up to now were under the taboo. However, the atmosphere in which these operations are carried out merits attention. No solemnity surrounds them, and the parties concerned perform them with the same routine and nonchalance which characterizes daily activities. It is not a question then of a ceremony with the psychological implications which this term carries, but of a collection of acts which must be done, and are done, with a minimum of attention accorded to their exceptional character.

853 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and
252 the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination.
[262] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has
[304] his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present
[553] at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her
[202] female relatives. The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the
[251] camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

855 8. u̯érisekihíndage numí sekəlai̯ene élamnihíŋ (b1)
●863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. u̯ítte ŝédeŝedédnege tóodaγige ka ka ka u̯udérige (b1)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tau̯éttu (a1), tau̯étte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikátu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

857 nuts for her sister a20 and eats them with her. When they are
182 satisfied, they give the rest to a8, who cracks them, in turn
for her little sister.

857 The relationships between children giving each other the names husband and wife are more obscure, and we have not succeeded in forming a clear concept of them. We have pointed out a slight taboo exists concerning the expression of this kinship relationship. However, generally, the young "husbands" or "wives" do not manifest any special behavior toward one another, either positive or negative. Nevertheless, we have encountered indisputable cases where the young potential spouses conduct themselves as true spouses. In the evening they leave the family fire and carry burning pieces of wood to light their fire in a corner of the camp. The witnesses pay scarcely any attention to this action. For example, someone will make the remark:

18. u̯ĩtnau̯ri u̯ĩrai̯re ti̯ãahete u̯ĩrai̯ena norẽteu̯ii etlĩtere (bl).
The children are taking fire to make a fire, they blow to make flames.

[72] and the young "husband" says to his potential wife:

19. tadoõtaku̯i niku̯itũterau̯i etʔere aituru̯i u̯atadahaki (bl)
Bend down! Stir the fire, carry! Look (for more). Put it there!

857 After this, they install themselves near their fire and give
● 864 themselves over, insofar as it is within their means, to all the erotic acts that they have seen their elders practice. The incident is greeted by the adults with indifference, or, at the most, with amused smiles: u̯ẽtnõ taminusere, "there are the children having little sexual relations," they say in passing. We have only verified these practices in a haphazard way among the young children (5 to 7 years). They seem to be absent among those nearer puberty, but, in the latter case, a lacuna appears in our observations, due to the lack of subjects for comparison.

857 As regards strangers, the attitude of children is quite variable.
609 Certain ones manifest fear and hostility for a long time:

20. tau̯ẽtte ʔiina jaʔirina unjena (bl)
My child is frightened, he is ashamed, he doesn't move.

sometimes explained by a surprising external detail:

herãkaloui iʔĩena (bl)
he is afraid of glasses.

Others (or the same ones after several days or weeks of acclimatization) are curious, friendly, eventually mystifying. Thus,

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
● 865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

> 1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãṣere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeṣere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

> 10. uĩtsotnaniena narũdneraiena indõtenaiena ũnʔeere (b1) the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. i̯akhūninde ī̆teru u̯irokūnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: u̯oṣī̆, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hōte u̯ā̆i̯nde miramirai̯na hōte u̯airī̆dni̯ena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣariṣena tākəlahẽ tākela āɣoriṣẽ kā̃dai̯ena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

857 iõndage ʔutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ʔutentere kuajkano (b1).
When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

●[368] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ʔutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the first skeleton of the hut, are called indeleaore; likewise, the
[534] double (kalõde) or triple (lutəndione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:
17. kakõtiane takənaãtiane (b1).
Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!
[192] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

[736] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them. Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[842] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
●869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children. Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

15. u̯áitento dohonenŝiram kánaram hépatnẽ atátene u̯eidenkiathattene u̯aíndonle. (b1)
Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man! Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

595 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of
571 polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called "mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a state of companionship with them, especially with the girls, which also extends to all the children of the group. We have already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke together, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games, such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. Another example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, without ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close, appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys might have in our society. They rarely imply service or attention. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

551 As seen by the list, two categories of names exist. The adults possess a name of their own. The children are named after their parents—son, or daughter, of so and so. The name used in this case is usually that of the mother (a5/a12 (but who is not a child), A16/a19/a20); but not always: a8 and a9, whose mother is dead, are both called after their father, daughters of Tairiisu. As concerns a23, who is a little baby, a wide divergence manifests itself among our informants (it must not be forgotten that they are children, and that their information is uncertain), and the name of Karlokineru, daughter of Karlolesu, her father, has been taken even though her mother is living. But, as will be seen farther on, during our stay A21, a22, and a23 are confused in the same borderline way. On the other hand, the fact that the names of Kiatorekineru and of Idonerekineru could be chosen for a20 and a22 suggests that they are not the daughters of a18, but parallel cousins of her daughters. If such is not the case, the two names may be part of a collection, or have been attributed wrongly to their supposed holders.

[553 ●881] Adolescents receive their names from the chief at the moment of puberty. The name giving is a point to which we shall return later on. The fact that certain adults are designated on our list by a technical term is undoubtedly explained by the fact that our informants did not know their true names. Nevertheless, it must be noticed that, in the two cases being discussed, a12 is a pregnant woman and a22 a woman who is nursing a child. Both are submitted to complex prohibitions. A special prohibition rests perhaps on the name of individuals placed in certain situations.

[40] Whatever the case may be, these are the only names which we have been able to obtain and, regarding the prohibition which covers them, in the course of this report, we will not use them more than they are used in the daily life of the Nambikwara Indians. We shall now give some information concerning the individuals composing the group studied.

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
●881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikĭndurige, bl); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being ouẽnsaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednie̅n durẽnie (bl)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ai̯rige ai̯ŝungnerage denano inŝira ai̯kira ai̯knira taata halonoo tatlĭkta ai̯ndage hntimbata ui̯rige imagəra imagəra (bl)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

831

1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, id., IX, 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc. cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

●881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [553 the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal 304] septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. uetnoãdige iooñãdige uilikade uelikãdeli'kinere nukeaiore judotige juroŝenie nikamã jurojotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

* * * * *

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

853 252 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination. [862] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 [304] When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present at the ceremony. [553] The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her female relatives. [202] The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the camp until the moon is full. [251] While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

[302 314] Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

881 841 278 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Waklítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitánrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

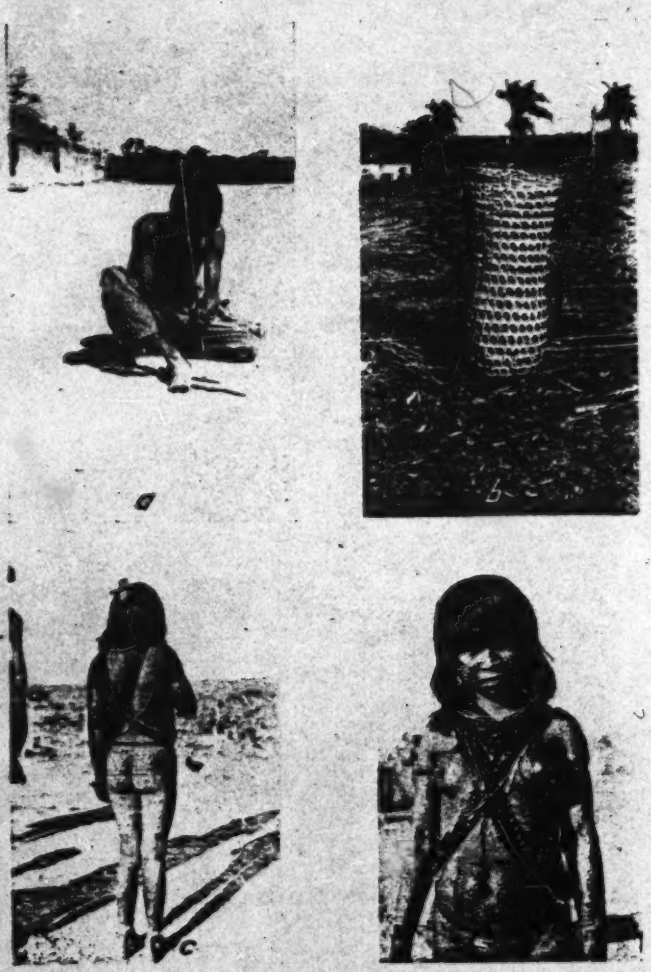
MARRIAGE

582 585 There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who 584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of 585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

372
316
415
482



881
301
302
291
142

PLATE 8.—Nambicuara [illegible].—a, Cascade making fire. b, Nambicuara burden basket. c and d, Nambicuara girl with necklace and painted designs in preparation for puberty ceremony. (By courtesy of Rev. L. Buckman.)

[p. 136 (I)]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. jakhũninde ɾteru ɰirokũnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: ɰosɾ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hõte ɰãinde miramiraina hõte ɰairɾdnjena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣarisena tãkɔlahẽ tãkela ãɣorĩsẽ kãdajena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
• 887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[137] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paresi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétñ!" (son).

●888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.